

BRITANNIA
ROMANA:

OR THE

ROMAN Antiquities of BRITAIN.

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Roman Antiquities

OF

BRITAIN:

In THREE BOOKS.

THE

- I. Contains the HISTORY of all the ROMAN TRANSACTIONS in *Britain*, with an account of their legionary and auxiliary forces employed here, and a determination of the stations *per lineam valli*; also a large description of the *Roman* walls, with maps of the same laid down from a geometrical survey.
- II. Contains a compleat COLLECTION of the ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS and SCULPTURES which have hitherto been discovered in *Britain*, with the letters engraved in their proper shape and proportionate size, and the reading placed under each; as also an historical account of them, with explanatory and critical observations.
- III. Contains the ROMAN GEOGRAPHY of BRITAIN, in which are given the originals of *Ptolemy*, *Antonini Itinerarium*, the *Notitia*, the anonymous *Ravennas*, and *Peutinger's* table, so far as they relate to this island, with particular essays on each of these ancient authors, and the several places in *Britain* mentioned by them.

To which are added,

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, and INDEXES to the INSCRIPTIONS and SCULPTURES after the manner of *Gruter* and *Reinesius*.

ALSO

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEXES both of the *Latin* and *English* names of the *Roman* places in *Britain*, and a GENERAL INDEX to the work.

The whole illustrated with above an hundred COPPER PLATES.

By JOHN HORSLEY M.A. and F.R.S.

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T O

Sir *Richard Ellys* Bar^r.

S I R,

EMINENCE in religion and learning is so rarely united with eminence in family and fortune ; that it is no wonder, if this happy concurrence attract the eyes, and raise the admiration of all who observe it. Notwithstanding your industrious concealment

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of

DEDICATION.

of your uncommon knowledge and abilities, they could not pass unobserved by the ablest judges; and all, who have the happiness of your personal acquaintance, are witnesses of a most becoming piety and true virtue.

YOUR kind and early disposition to encourage this undertaking, was a great obligation upon the author; and I gladly embrace the first publick opportunity of making a grateful acknowledgement. The work now implores your protection; and it is not easy to find another name, that would do it equal honour in the learned world, and at the same time remove the objections of those, who think that all the studies of men in my profession ought to be confined to one subject. The *FORTUITA SACRA* are a lasting monument (though I hope not the only one you will leave) that the truest concern for religion, and the greatest knowledge of divine things, are not inconsistent with the most accurate acquaintance, and profoundest skill, in all the branches of curious and polite learning.

IN

DEDICATION.

I N the following account of the remains of the *Roman* grandeur in our island, you will find some traces of that elegance of life, which you, SIR, so happily enjoy. That you may long continue to shine in it; that God may long preserve you to do farther important services to religion, and to your country; and that in a degenerate and corrupt age you may long adorn, and protect the cause and interests of piety, liberty and virtue, are the sincere and fervent prayers of,

S I R,

Morpeth, Jan. 2,
173 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Your most obliged

and most obedient

humble Servant,

John Horsley.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

I*T is very common for men to be drawn from slight beginnings into schemes of a vast extent, and for a large expensive fabric to arise from some originally small design. This collection, which at first I intended only for my own amusement and pleasure, now ventures to shew itself in public; and from some general and brief hints for private use has swell'd to that bulk, in which at present it appears. It is now above four years since I was first prevail'd with to compleat this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application. The first book cost me much labour and time in my study, to draw out an history of transactions, through so many ages, and at such a distance from our own times, wherein a great part of the memorials relating to them are lost, and those which remain so very short and imperfect. But I need not inform the world, that the second book was the most expensive and tedious. Several thousand miles were travelled on this account, to visit antient monuments, and re-examine them, where there was any doubt or difficulty. A short trial was sufficient to convince one, how many originals had remained till then undiscovered, and how few had been published with due accuracy. And therefore I omitted no care nor pains, that was necessary to copy these with the greatest exactness, which was the principal design of the work. The third book is an addition, which at first was not intended, and for that reason has occasioned a considerable delay of the publication. I am now however pleas'd that it has been added, and hope it will not be found less curious or useful than the others, since both that and the maps belonging to it have had their full proportion of labour.*

SOME perhaps may be inclined to censure me, for having spent so much time on subjects, which by many will be thought of no great importance. And I must so far own the charge, as to confess, that if I had foreseen it would have cost so much time as it has done, I believe I should never have undertaken the task; though when I had once engaged in the work, I thought my self obliged on many accounts to go through with it, and leave nothing undone, that I was capable of doing, in order to render the whole more compleat. It has happened in this, as it often does in building, that the expenses of the bookseller, and my own time and labour, are fully triple our first
compu-

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computation. What return we shall have, must depend on the learned world, and the reception they shall now see fit to give this performance.

IT is common for authors in their prefaces to run out into large commendations of the subject on which they treat. Every one is fond to have that part of learning maintain'd in the highest esteem, which he himself is best acquainted with. But I shall only beg leave to remove a common objection; which though it may have a plausible appearance at first; yet threatens in its consequences the destruction of all useful learning; or at least of all speculative knowledge. What signifies that knowledge, say some, which brings no real advantage to mankind? And what is it to any one, whether the Roman walls pass'd this way or that? or whether such a Roman inscription is to be read this way or another? To this I would answer: There is that beauty and agreeableness in truth, even supposing it to be merely speculative, as always affords on the discovery of it real pleasure to a well-turned mind: and I will add, that it not only pleases, but enriches and cultivates it too. It would be easy to name a thousand theorems in mathematics and natural philosophy, which perhaps the most censorious would be ashamed to say were not worth knowing; and yet perhaps would be hard put to it, to shew what advantage they have brought either to themselves or others, unless the cultivation of the mind in any respect be reckoned among real advantages, as doubtless it ought to be. There are a multitude of places in the unknown parts of the world, whose very names we should be pleased to know, though it is hard to say, what we should be the better for this knowledge. But the principal, though unheeded, fallacy in this way of arguing does manifestly lie in taking a small part, and considering that separately, and then drawing a conclusion from thence concerning the whole. This method of reasoning would overthrow all useful arts and knowledge. In a large treatise, or collection, the minuter parts are not to be separated from the rest, and the importance of these in this abstract view to be estimated; but the usefulness of the whole design is first to be regarded, and the lesser parts to be considered as they bear relation to the whole. A minute inquiry into particular circumstances of time and place, separately considered, may be looked on as a matter of no great moment; and yet what is all chronology and geography but a collection of these, digested into a regular body? And an account of such circumstances has always been allowed to render the relation of any fact both more entertaining and useful. Why then should it be thought a trivial matter to trace them out from antient monuments, when they contribute so much to the light and pleasure of history? And even as to names, which may seem to be of the least importance,
few

few persons read any narratives of facts, but they are desirous at the same time to know by whom they were performed, and especially if they appear to have been the actions of princes or bodies of men. If these lesser things then are not without their use, surely the accounts of the actions themselves, with the many antient rites and customs both civil and religious, which are conveyed to us by such monuments, several of which could not otherwise have been known, must afford equal pleasure and profit to an inquisitive mind. But my design here was not to enlarge upon the advantages of works of this nature, but only to remove an objection, to which by some they may be thought liable. I have always looked on it as an instance of divine wisdom, that it should be so order'd, that different men have such different tastes and inclinations. By this means the several parts of knowledge are more cultivated: and I think we owe our thanks to any one, who will apply himself to the study of any particular thing, though it seem minute, and may not suit our taste or inclination to pursue it our selves. This gives us, at least, an opportunity of knowing on easier terms what can be said on that subject.

BUT whatever objections may be started against some particular things, or the more minute parts of the following work; I can scarce think any will be so severe, as to affirm the main of it to be useless. He would be very singular, who should assert that all history was of little importance; and I think the history we should be most concerned for, is that of our native country. Now the first book in this Britannia contains the first history we have of Britain, which can be rely'd on. I may venture to call it the original and foundation of the true history of our island. And the clearing up the chronology, which is esteem'd so great an advantage in other historical accounts, will not I presume be thought a disadvantage in this. The geography intermixed in this part, and the large account of the Roman walls in England and Scotland, will I hope be own'd by the impartial, to be entertaining and curious incidents; not less improving and useful, than the description of modern fortifications would be in a modern history.

THE second book contains the strongest evidences of several parts of the history, together with the pagan theology and diverse other customs, taken from the most authentic proofs, which I flatter myself will not be judg'd trifling or useless. This sort of knowledge has been long in esteem. The youth in every polite nation are generally employed in acquiring some skill in the Roman language, antiquities, and customs; and an acquaintance with these is suppos'd to be essentially necessary to a learned education.

THE

THE third or geographical part, I need not insist on. Antient geography is as necessary to the right understanding antient history, as modern geography is with regard to modern history. And as our respect should begin at home, so we should have the greatest regard to what concerns our own island. The new discoveries and improvements made on this subject are submitted to the judgement of others.

I KNOW the virtues of the antients have been largely applauded by many, and recommended as very worthy of our imitation. Tho' I cannot carry my compliment to the antients in this respect so far as some others have done; yet no doubt a great many things may be learned from those antique monuments, which are both instructive and useful. At least there is nothing, that can give us a more affecting sense of the vanity of this world, and of all that is in it. Such vast works, suitable to so powerful and extensive an empire, all laid in desolation! Ipsae periere ruinae! What surprising revolutions and catastrophes may we read not only in history, but in these very monuments! How many men rais'd on a sudden, and then more suddenly cast down again, disgrac'd, and murder'd! At least all those great men, as well as most of their great works, are now reduc'd to ashes. It is certainly more commendable for gentlemen of estates, and persons of quality, to spend their time in the prosecution of such entertaining knowledge, than either in idleness or vicious pleasures. And it is the glory and felicity of the present age, that we have a HERTFORD, a PEMBROKE, an OXFORD, with other illustrious persons of high rank and dignity, who have both apply'd themselves with industry and success to these polite and agreeable studies, and have generously encouraged them in others.

ANTIENT authors and antient subjects have generally met with more favour, and less envy, than modern.

Plus vetustis nam favet

Invidia mordax quam bonis praesentibus.

I would hope for the same favour on this occasion. I have been under great obligations to several honourable and learned gentlemen, whose names with proper and grateful acknowledgements I have mentioned in the book. And I have endeavoured to pay all possible regard to the sentiments of such great men; but yet have always given up those schemes and conjectures, which I found inconsistent with matter of fact, or disagreeable to the original monuments. To these I have all along had a constant and inviolable regard,

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regard; and was always careful to take them, as I found them to be in fact, and not to make them, as I might fancy or wish them. I never attempted to press them into the service of any scheme, either of my own, or of any other person; but was careful to build my schemes on matter of fact, as the surest foundation. And I hope my conduct in this respect will make my collection more valuable. I have also on all occasions with the greatest freedom proposed the difficulties, that seemed to attend any particular opinion, which on the whole I might be most inclined to admit; and have laboured as much to give an objection to my own sentiment its full evidence and strength, as if it had been a favourite argument for it.

BUT instead of enlarging further on these heads, I would rather chuse to fill up the remainder of this Preface with some additional remarks, which have occurred on the last revisal of the printed sheets sent down to me from London. And I shall begin with the historical part, which stands first in the work itself.

I STILL think portus Itius, from whence Caesar sailed, must have Pag. 11. been about Calais. Twenty six English miles from land to land answer, according to Dr. Halley, to twenty eight and a half Roman, but according to the proportion I have settled*, just to twenty eight. And it might be no more than twenty eight miles from land to land, and yet be thirty (as Caesar calls it) from haven to haven. Dr. Halley, as I have observed, thinks that Gessoriacum must not have been Boulogne. But the argument from Eumenius seems strong against the doctor's opinion. For that antient author "in his panegyric on Constantine uses the words Gessoriacense lit-
tus, but in another panegyric on his son Constantine, speaking of the same place, he calls it Bononiensis oppidi littus". In a note at the bottom of this same page 11, it is said, that the distance in Antonine's Itinerary of Gessoriacum from Ritupae is 350 stadia, or nearly 44 Roman miles. But this I now find is an error in the learned Dr. Gale's edition of that Itinerary; so that instead of 350, we must read 450, which agrees exactly with Dion. Some copies have 401, which number answers to Pliny's 50 miles with sufficient accuracy.

IN the Daily Courant 23 Novem. 1731, there is part of a letter of M. de la Bastide, relating to a Roman way in Languedoc, in which there are some things that seem worthy of notice, and proper to be mentioned here. The measure of a Roman mile, or the

b

distance

* See p. 122, and 160.

† See Mr. Ward's essay on Peutinger's table, p. 507.

‡ Burt. Anton. Itin. p. 32.

distance between two milliaries, according to this letter, is just 752 toises and 4 feet, or 4516 French feet, which make 4823 English feet very nearly. But there are 5280 English feet in one of our measured miles. According to this measure therefore one English mile would be equal to $1\frac{1}{11}$ Roman, that is 21 English miles would equal 23 Roman, or $10\frac{1}{11}$ English $11\frac{1}{11}$ Roman. But how far the exactness of this mensuration is to be relied on, I know not. However, this computation comes nearer the proportion generally followed than mine of 13 to 14, to which I was determined by a curious disquisition of Mr. Robert Stewart, professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, which he sent me in manuscript. Among other observations and arguments there mentioned, some are drawn from the measures in the Itinerary, compared with actual mensuration on the surface. What I have done this way my self, may be seen in B. III. c. 2. so that I shall add nothing more about it here.

This book was not only composed, but the copy of it out of my hands a considerable time, before the third was fully resolved on. And it is not to be imagined, but that a more thorough enquiry into all the antient geographers, who give any account of Britain, must improve one's thoughts on this subject, and in all probability be attended with some change of sentiments. All I intended of the geographical kind in the first book, was only some general hints deduced from such passages in the classics or Latin historians, as I had occasion to quote. I have sometimes also made use of Ptolemy. And now on a review I see no reason to retract any one remark concerning the geography of Britain, which I have drawn directly from the Roman historians: and the following observation will remove all ambiguity from what I have said in two or three places concerning Ptolemy, as also all seeming inconsistency between the same passages in the first book, and my essay on this author in the third. When I mention Ptolemy in the first book, I speak of his own notion of the situation of countries, which he assigns to such and such people, though it be evident that his notion is erroneous: but in the third book I am more distinct, and have endeavoured to rectify these errors, and to shew what the truth is, which he probably aimed at.

Page 17. *Thus when I say, that the Cateuchlani and Parisi are inserted on the eastern coast by Ptolemy, between the Icenii and Brigantes, I mean only as to this geographer's own notion; for in fact this is the situation of his Coritani and Parisi, as plainly appears from the bare inspection of Mercator's map of Britain according to Ptolemy, and the map of Ptolemy rectified; both which maps are in the third book.*

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book. Urolanium (or Verulamium) supposed to be the town of Cas-
sivellaun, is ascribed by this same writer to the Cateuchlani, and
yet these people are not mentioned by Caesar among those who sur-
rendered to him. But possibly though the name be different, they
might be the same with, or a part of, some of those which Caesar
has mentioned.

I HAVE nothing to add under the second historical period, un-
less I should observe, that the common opinion of the Severn's being
the river to which the Romans advanced, and where Plautius fought
the Britons, seems to be very well supported from Dion's account;
according to which, Plautius having left a garison among the Bo-
dunni, advanced still farther before he came to this river, which
the Britons thought unpassable. Now the Severn has most probably
been the western boundary, at least of some part, of the country of
the Bodunni or Dobuni, and seems in all respects to answer to the
circumstances mentioned in the relation. un-Pag. 23, 30.

UNDER the third historical period I have said, that if Deva did
not belong to the Ordovices, it must have belonged to the Brigantes;
meaning, if we ascribe it to any people mentioned by our historians:
for the Cornavii, to whom, as I had observed just before, Ptolemy
assigns it, appear not in them. I therefore need not stay to guard or
restrain this passage, but shall pass on to the next period. Pag. 45.

WHAT I have occasion to mention in the fourth period, is the
passage concerning Virius Lupus. He appears from Xiphiline to
have been present at the battle of Lugdunum, and to have born
a considerable command in it. That historian tells us, that he was
repulsed in the beginning of the battle, and many of his soldiers slain.
It is plain, that the inscription in Camden^b mentioning this legate
could not be erected before the march of Severus against Albinus, for
as Spartian informs us^c Caracalla had neither the name Antoninus,
nor the title Caesar (which are both ascribed to him in the inscrip-
tion) before that march. Neither do I think it probable, that Se-
verus could have any legate here before the death of Albinus, who
had the command of all the British army, as Herodian assures us^d.
That Virius Lupus continued here præses of the province after Ca-
racalla left the island, we find by the rescript to him from Caracalla
in the Roman law^e, which I have quoted in the margin of the
history. The passage is thus: Quae sententia rescripto imperatoris
nostri Pag. 56.

^a This same remark must be applied to the
note at p. 34. The Cateuchlani might in fact
reach from Oxfordshire to Lincolnshire exclusively,
but Ptolemy makes them reach the sea coast

^b Br. R. p. 311.

^c Scr. II. A. p. 341.

^d Lib. II. c. 48.

^e ff. Lib. xxviii. t. 6. l. 2. §. 4

nostri ad Virium Luppum Britanniae praesidem comprobata est. *And that Severus was then dead, and consequently imperator noster must be referred to Caracalla, is clear from this, that in the same sixth book ad Sabinum of Ulpian, from whence this passage is taken, we have the stile divus attributed to Severus*.*

Mr. Ward observes, "that some coins of Antoninus the son of Severus have only Caesar upon them, and others the addition of IMP. DEST. There are likewise two inscriptions in Gruter, which begin with the words, M. AVRELIO ANTONINO CAES. IMP. DESTI- NATO^b. But these titles as to him were little more than nominal, and declarative of his right of succession to the empire. A person might indeed be admitted as an associate in the empire with the title of Caesar, as is plain from the instance of Albinus, who was join'd with Severus under that character^c. But it appears from Spartian, that it was not till after Severus had taken the city Ctesiphon in his Parthian expedition, that the army declared his son Antoninus partner with him in the empire^d. From which time, as Casaubon rightly observes, he had the title of Augustus in common with his father^e. That this must have been in the sixth year of the reign of Severus, is evident from the inscription at Rome upon rebuilding the Pantheon by these two emperors; where we have the date of Severus's reign, TRIB. POT. XI. and of Antoninus's, AVG. TRIB. POTEST. V.^f which shews that the joint reign of the latter began in the sixth of the former. For Pertinax was killed on the 28 March^g, and immediately succeeded by Didius Julianus, who reigned two months and five days^h, which brings us to the first of June, when Severus succeeded him. But Ctesiphon was taken in the latter part of the year, as we learn from Spartian,ⁱ which must be the sixth of Severus's reign; and the inscription at Rome must have been erected some time between the first of June in his eleventh year, and that day of the year when Ctesiphon had been taken, or the declaration of the army afterwards made, on which the sixth of Antoninus would have commenced. This is evident from their usual method of computing the years of each emperor's reign by the tribunitial power, which was annually resumed on the day upon which the reign first began, as Cardinal Noris has very learnedly proved^k."

Pag. 67. *IN the beginning of the fifth historical period I have observed that Caracalla, when he concluded a peace with the Caledonians, did*

* ff. Lib. xxiv. tit. 1. l. 23.
^b P. cclxvi l. 8, 9.
^c Spart. in vit. Severi.
^d Ibid.
^e Ad loc.

^f Grut. p. 1. n. 1.
^g Capitol. in vit. sub fin.
^h Spart. in vit. sub fin.
ⁱ Hemall prope tempore. In vit. Sever.
^k Cenot. Pisan. 261.

did probably deliver up a part of what Severus had recovered by war. Xiphiline^a from Dion expressly affirms that on this occasion some lands^b and fortresses were delivered up to the enemy.

THE sixth chapter treats of the Roman forces in Britain. I^{Pag. 76.} shall just hint, that the Vexillarii^c on some occasions have been joined with the horse and praetorians^d.

THE stations per lineam valli are determined in the seventh chapter. And here in describing the station at old Penreth, I have first said that the fort is about 132 yards in length, and 110 in breadth, and afterwards that the east and west ramparts are 140 yards long, and the north and south 120; where it must be observed, that the latter measures include the thickness of the ramparts, which the former do not. But to pass from this, I have hinted also in another place^e, that I grow more and more inclined to favour Brampton for Bremetenracum. For it must be owned that the name Voreda given in the Itinerary to this station at Old Penreth argues equally against its being Bremetenracum and Petriana^f, and strongly against both. If the account I had from a good hand of the remains of a Roman fort near Brampton should prove true, it would go far to put the matter out of question. But the gentleman himself was very uncertain, having had no opportunity of examining it closely, and therefore we must remain in suspense. Again, if affinity of names should weigh so far with any, as to make them conclude that the names Olenacum and Virosidum have been transposed: I would only observe, that 'tis possible there may be such a transposition, and yet the names of the garrisons be as they now stand in their right places; so as that the ala Herculea may belong to Virosidum, and the cohors sexta Nerviorum to Olenacum. Such sort of transpositions are generally acknowledged with respect to the numbers and names of places in the Itinerary, which seems to be nearly a parallel case.

THE eighth chapter contains the antient state of Hadrian's val-
lum, and the wall of Severus. Here amongst many other remarks I have taken notice, that I had not been able to discover any passes through the wall at the milliary castella, though this was what I^{Pag. 121.} expected. Dr. Hunter has since told me, that in the next castellum west from Walwick, there was a gate through the wall, and that some of the iron belonging to it was found by Mr. Wilson of Walwick:
but

^a Life of Caracalla near the beginning.

^b Πρὸς μὲν τὰς πολέμους καὶ ἀποδύσεσιν, καὶ τῆς χάρας αὐτῆς ὑβρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ὀφέλια ὑβρίσιν. Lib. I. xxvii. p. 870.

^c See page 96.

^d Tacit. Hist. Lib. II. c. 18. Cessum erat Spurius coercere intra munimenta militem, nec tres praetorias cohortes, et mille vexillarios, cum paucis equitibus, veterano exercitu objicere.

^e Page 481. ^f See page 107.

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but this did not occur to me. I take the castellum intended, to be that which is a little disjointed from the wall; though not so much as to leave a sufficient passage for a single man. In the last line of the same page I have observed that Echard as well as Sir Robert Sibbald makes Hadrian's vallum only eight miles long; I must now do that justice to Dr. Echard, as to declare that in a later edition of his Roman history he makes the length of the wall eighty miles.

I SHALL comprehend in a small compass all I have to say more with respect to the present state of the walls, the subject of the ninth chapter. I have taken some notice of the out-buildings at Walwick-Chesters between the fort and the river. I might have added, that these buildings seem to have been continued near the river lower down than the fort. I have also said that the shorter military way from Carrvoran has terminated eastward at this station. I should rather have said only, that it came up to this station; for I am now of opinion that it has been farther continued, 'till it reached Watling-street.

THE last chapter in this book respects the Roman wall in Scotland, which as I have said I cannot affirm to have been built as Severus's from west to east. The contrary I think appears rather more probable, from the number of monuments with inscriptions on them found near the west end of the wall, which monuments 'tis plain were erected after the respective parts of the work mentioned in them were compleated.*

BUT I now proceed to the second book, which contains the account and explication of the antient monuments.

I HAVE in the introduction to this book said, that the inscription DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG. thought to have been found near Chester, might possibly be the same with the Yorkshire inscription DEAE NYMPHAE ELAVNAE. But since the late discovery of the image of the goddess Brigantia in Scotland, with the inscription under it BRIGANTIE S. I have found just reason to alter that opinion^b.

BESIDES the introduction, I have premised to the collection a chapter, containing an historical or general account of the Roman inscriptions and sculptures in Britain. To what has been there said, I see nothing necessary to be added; except indeed that whereas I have observed concerning the inscription at South Shields, that the names of the emperor, and circumstances of the station suit Marcus Aurelius,

* See Scotland N. 1, 11, 111, &c. and the observations particularly on N. 11.

^b See the observations on the inscriptions, p. 305, and 341.

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Aurelius, it should also have been added, that the titles *pius felix*, which follow, direct to Commodus or Caracalla.

THE second chapter in this book consists of the collection of monuments. But what I have further to offer in relation to them will best be considered under the next chapter, which contains the observations upon them.

AMONG the inscriptions which are comprehended in this second Pag. 193. book under the general name of Roman, there are two in the Greek tongue; one of these *Nor. cvi.* has been long known and celebrated among antiquaries, though never accurately published before; the other (*Dur. xxv.*) I discovered myself. The former is to the Tyrian Hercules; the latter, as I take it, to Aesculapius. I once suspected that the first word, of which there are any visible remains, in this latter inscription might have been *σωτηρι* conservatori, a title frequently applied to Aesculapius, and possibly *ἰατροῦ* or *Ἀσκληπιοῦ* might have gone before; and perhaps some will still prefer this reading, though I have given the preference to another in the collection. But the other Greek inscription, as it has been more known, and is more perfect, so is it also more curious. The curiosity and value of this inscription tempt me to add a few lines here to what is said in the observations upon it. Mr. Ward in his learned remarks has justly observed, that several antient writers take notice of the peculiar regard and worship paid to Hercules by the Tyrians. None mention this more expressly than Curtius, who makes Hercules their guardian deity. To this deity one of the kings of Tyre erected a temple and a statue, as Josephus informs us from Menander, the supposed translator of the annals and history of the Tyrians. And it is plain from the history of the Maccabees, that when the quinquennial games were celebrated at Tyre, Hercules was especially worshipped, and had sacrifices offered to him. And hence it is, I suppose, that some good commentators judge the Baal of the Sidonians to be this same Tyrian Hercules.

IN that part of the letter of M. de la Bastide, published in the Pag. 203. Daily Courant 23 November 1731, which I had occasion to mention before, it is remarked "what care was taken to point out the several emperors, who repaired the roads, not only by the inscriptions on the millary stones, but also by the very shape " of

* This supposition would be more congruous to the conjecture of an ingenious gentleman; namely, that the *Latin* inscription might possibly be cut after the other was damaged, and so the altar being turned, made to serve again.

^b *Herculi (quem praecipue Tyrii colerent) Lib. iv.*

c. 2. — Herculis, cujus numini urbem dicaverant.

Ibid. c. 3.

^c *Antiq. Jud. Lib. viii. c. 2.*

^d — *L. ii. c. 4. v. 18, 19.*

^e *1 King. c. 16. v. 31.*

“ of the stones. That of Augustus is round, and 24 inches diameter, with an inscription engraved simply without any manner of ornament. Those of Tiberius are all square like pedestals, and little polished. Those of Claudius are round, their inscriptions contained in a border, and near two thirds of an inch deep in the stone, with a sort of a moulding about them. Those of Antoninus Pius are pretty much like those of Claudius, only with this difference, that Antoninus's columns are not so high, and that part which is in the ground is square like a pedestal, much larger than the body of the column.” The stone here numbred xxv, which is inscribed to Antoninus Pius, has some affinity with those milliaries of his above mentioned. But since it is not usual to cut the number of paces upon such stones, this most likely refers to the wall, though erected in the form of a milliary. However there are other milliary stones in this collection, as Northumberland N. LIX. Lancashire N. III. and Yorkshire N. III.

I HAVE little more to say with relation to the inscriptions in Scotland.

Pag. 205. IN N. XXIX. here I imagine we are to read, instituerunt sacram aram. Thus we have aram instituerunt, in a remarkable inscription found at Riechester in Northumberland^b. In the same inscription the first cohort of the Tungri is joined with the legio viceffima Valens victrix, which gave occasion to a friend to conjecture that it might be one of the auxiliary cohorts annexed to this legion.

SOME curious monuments have lately been found in Scotland, but too late to be inserted in their proper place in this chapter; for which reason I have been obliged to subjoin them to the end, at pag. 339.

SEVERAL new discoveries have been made in Northumberland since the work was begun; but yet all have been brought into the body in their proper order, except a small monument at Benwell. At the fort on the hill near this place have lately been dug up some large teeth; and some Roman coins, one of which is now in the hands of Matthew White Esq; of Blagdon, and has a fair Genius

^a In the observations upon this stone, which was erected by the *cohort prima Cugernorum*, notice was taken of a mistake in Mr. Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, page 62. where it is read, *legio quinta Germanorum*. But in his *additions and corrections* to that work lately published, page 9. l. 30. he has attempted to amend this error, and would have the words read, *vexillatio quinta Cugernorum*; supposing the inscription “to import, that a detachment of the fifth cohort or legion

“ of the Cugerni ” dedicated that monument to the emperor Antoninus Pius. But 'tis much he should fall into this second mistake, since that honourable gentleman, by whom he was first advised of the former, read the words *coh 11 CUGERNORVM*, having never seen any other copy of this inscription but Mr. Gordon's, *Plato 12. 3.* where it stands *11 CVOER*.

^b N. xcv.

on the reverse. Round the head is CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES, and on the reverse GENIO POPVLI ROMANI^a. I have also now heard that some more coins were formerly found at this fort, but I know not how far this account can be relied on^b. I have also discovered another inscription in Benwell, and inserted it in plate 9, and marked it IX^c. The stone is now built up in the wall near the cellar-door of Mr. William Pattison's house. It has been very ill treated by the masons, and yet both the inscription and sculpture may be made out. It appears to have been erected by the second cohort of the second legion stiled Augusta, though there are little remains of any letters in the first line. The inscription is on a plane raised a little above the rest of the face of the stone; the sculpture represents a Pegasus and sea-goat, having each a vexillum before them; that before the Pegasus is very visible, but the other is obscure. Sculptures of this sort occur pretty often, and particularly on another stone in this same village of Benwell^d. This stone, and the other belonging to the same place marked IX^d, are both of the centurial kind, and probably both have been brought from the face of the wall: they both bear the legio secunda Augusta, and one the tenth cohort of this legion, the other the second; so that they farther confirm my conjecture, that this legion and these cohorts were employed in building this part of the wall^e.

I CANNOT pass from this place without touching a little again on Pag. 208, &c. the curious inscription IOVI DOLICHENO N. VII. though I have largely explained it in the book. I have there observed that if Jupiter Dolichenus had any particular concern in iron mines (as some have supposed) the Romans might easily be induced from several circumstances to entertain hopes of finding such mines in the parts near Benwell, and to erect an altar to render this deity propitious to them. An ingenious friend, who is perfectly well skilled in these affairs, observes that the springs are often from the coal mines so replete with ochre, and the water of a red colour, that a stranger might easily be raised to great expectations of meeting with iron here. I have also pretty largely considered the meaning of the words numinibus Augusti in the same inscription. Numen Augusti is no doubt often applied to the emperor himself, signifying the divine emperor or his sacred majesty. But as this altar is erected for the safety of the same emperor as well as of the legion, I concluded this meaning could not be admitted here. I therefore suppose that the numina Augusti are the tutelar gods of the emperor, those to whom he was peculiarly devoted, and who were more especially propitious

to

^a See page 315. an account of another such medal found at Chester, the Roman Devo.

^b Compare page 213. l. 16.

^c N. IX^d.

^d See pag. 128.

to him; or those whom he was supposed to have a special interest and property in. I am inclined to think that numina Augusti so frequent in inscriptions may be illustrated by, as well as reflect some light upon, several expressions in the Roman poets, which are not uncommon, such as

haud numine nostro^a.

Te copias, te consilium, et tuos
Praebente deos^b.

Auspicium cui das grande, deosque tuos^c.

I have conjectured that this altar was erected after the defeat of the Brigantes mentioned by Pausanias, and before the march of the legion into Scotland^d.

Pag. 212. *BUT I must leave this, and pass to another equally curious inscription belonging to this same place marked IX^a. on which I have only one additional remark to make, namely that there is an Asti in Spain not far from Gades^e, though Pancirollus supposes the Asti in Liguria to be the people mentioned on this monument.*

Pag. 225. *I DARE not enter into the celebrated station at House-steeds among the fine monuments at that place, lest I should be tempted to dwell there too long; but I must touch at Little-chesters the next station to it. The first inscription here, N. LII. seems to furnish the name of a new proprætor, Claudius Xenophon; but as the contents of this inscription are somewhat uncertain, and the date of it much more so, I have not named this legate in the history.*

THE next inscription Deae Syriae is also curious; but it is scarce worth while to stop here to add the name Berecynthian and Phrygian mother^f to the other names of Cybele, which I have taken notice of in my explication of this inscription.

Pag. 228. *I PROCEED therefore to the inscription LIX on the milliary pillar near this place, BONO REIPUBLICAE NATO. This is an usual compliment paid to the emperors, but what particular emperor it is designed for in this inscription, may need a farther enquiry. The faint letters DRI, which on the last review were discovered above the word BONO, render it very probable that either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius has been intended. The implication of the letters DR is the same as in the Benwell inscription^g to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and Hadrianus is generally inserted among the names of this emperor. But as there is no room between the letters*

^a Virg. Aen. II. 396. so also nostrum Martem, Lib. XII. 187. and Dil sui. 539, &c.

^b Hor. L. IV. Od. XIV. 33.

^c Ovid. Trist. L. II.

^d Page 78, and 210.

^e See Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. III. c. I.

^f Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem

Invocat.

^g Nor. VII.

Virg. Aen. Lib. VII. v. 139.

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XV

letters DRI and the word BONO for the other usual names of Antoninus Pius, I think Hadrian must have been the emperor to whom this pillar has been inscribed, and to him the compliment upon it is very suitable. And if this be admitted, we shall hence be furnished with a strong argument to prove, that this military way from Walwick-chesters by Little-chesters to Carrvoran was laid in the time of Hadrian, and most probably at the same time when his vallum was raised, which favours the scheme I have advanced concerning this vallum^a.

I SHALL take my leave of the wall as soon as I have observed, that the curious sculpture N. LXIII, near Great-chesters, is thought by an ingenious friend, to have been erected, on occasion of the safety of the station and of the Roman garrison in it; after some furious attack of the natives; and that I now rather incline to read N. LXXV. cohortis primae centuria Libonis. The name in Horace is the inducement^b.

I MUST next take a short review of the station at Risingham. Pag. 234. Mr. Ward's reading prima statione in N. LXXX. must be right; and shews that this station was then the most advanced to the north, unless we suppose (as an ingenious gentleman conjectures) that this expression only means, its being the first station beyond the wall.

THE curious inscription and sculpture N. LXXXVIII, which is now Pag. 237. at Conington, though found at this place, demands a little farther regard. Much of the sculpture here perhaps is without any farther design, than to please the fancy of the sculptor. A friend imagines the two birds to be a heron and a cock, and conjectures that it may denote the Roman victory by sea and land. The stork sometimes appears on medals at the foot of Piety^c, but neither of these birds seem to resemble a stork. Possibly the birds, little fish, and flower-pot, signify only in the general, abundance both of provisions and pleasures. EQ (with a single Q) in this and some other inscriptions seems to be equestris rather than equitum, and it is cohors equestris in Pliny^d. But since cohors equitum and cohors equestris are equally good, as well as tribunus militum and tribunus militaris; I have yielded so far to custom, as to retain the word equitum in the reading. Sometimes we have PRAEF. EQ. (with a single Q) which is read praefectus equitum, nor do I incline to change it for praefectus equestris. It seems not capable of another reading than praefectus equitum in the Hexham inscription^e.

ELSDON

^a See B. i. c. viii. p. 127.

^b --- *Forum putealque Libonis.*

Epist. xix. Lib. i. v. 8.

^c *Science des Medailles, p. 231.*

^d See B. i. p. 94. in *Bris. Rom.*

^e N. cviii.

ELSDON seems to have been a smaller exploratory fort depending on Risingham and Riechester. My friends incline much to the opinion, that the two inscriptions here N. xcviij, xcix, are only two fragments of what was originally one and the same. If neither this nor my own explication be admitted, I would here offer another conjecture. Perhaps part of the former of these inscriptions has been on the capital of the altar, or however on that part which is now broken off at the top, so as that it has been I. O. M. PRO BONO or PRO SALVTE ET BONO GENERIS HVMANI. So general an address for the good of mankind seems more proper to be directed to some superior, than to a topical deity such as Matunus; to whom the address must have been made, if we suppose the whole to have been originally but a single inscription, and no such letters on the capital as I have conjectured. Geta, I think, could not well be stiled Augustus himself separately from his father and brother, unless when he was left to govern the province, whilst they went to disarm the Caledonians; and while Geta himself was in the province, there could not well be a legatus Augustalis at the same time. Some therefore conjecture that it may be imperante Clodio Albino in N. xcviij. Imperante Clodio Albino legato Augustali propraetore (if we suppose this to have been the form) suits him rather better than any other person; and no doubt his name would be erased out of such inscriptions, after Severus was fixed on the throne.

To pass by Corbridge on this occasion, I must next make a short stop at Hexham. The two curious inscriptions there N. cvij, cix, may be reviewed with pleasure. In the first every remaining letter is certain, even the backward s in CONCESSINVS is also sure. I still think Concessinius has not been the imperial legate. I remember no instance where the titles of the office legatus Augustalis, propraetor, are set before the name of the legate himself. Manu praesentissimi numinis dei is a high compliment indeed to the emperor, and only fit for those who made living gods of living monsters. The meaning of the word praesens here is suitable enough to a common acceptance of it with the Roman poets and others. So we have in Horace, praesens Mercurius^a, praesentia numina^b, &c. But to pass these and such others over, Virgil has a passage so much to this purpose, that I must beg leave to quote it at large.

*Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat,
Nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere divos.
Hic illum vidi juvenem, Meliboeae, quotannis
Bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant^c.*

As

^a Lib. II. Sat. III. v. 68.
^b Epist. I. Lib. II. v. 134.

^c Buc. Eclog. I. v. 41.

As the poet here has the emperor in his view, so by tam praesentes he seems to mean so propitious and ready to assist. Our translators of the bible apply to God the expression, a very present help. I have nothing to add with respect to the other curious inscription found at this place^b, unless it be thought worth while to observe the name Pertinax here ascribed to Severus, which name, as Spartian informs us, was given him by his own order^c; as also that the emperors names are in the nominative case.^d But I have staid too long near home in my own county, which I must now leave, and make more haste through the next.

& The like construct again in CV. 1. of the inscriptions.

Mr new remarks on such inscriptions or sculptures of Cumberland, as are already explained in the following treatise, will be but few. I have attempted an explanation of an obscure and aukward inscription yet remaining in the fort at Burdoswald N. VII; and Mr. Ward has also lent his friendly assistance. This gentleman endeavours to remove the difficulty arising from the same person's having the actual command of a cohort at the same time that he was only designatus tribunus, by supposing designatus (which word is plain on the stone) to have been one of the proper names of the tribune. If this should chance not to give satisfaction to every body, I would beg leave here to offer another solution as follows. Tribunus cohortis, as designing the commander of an auxiliary cohort, is a very frequent expression, both in our inscriptions and in the Notitia; and it is certain that the auxiliary cohorts were generally commanded by Roman tribunes: but yet I know no sure proof that this was constant and necessary. Praefectus or praefectus cohortis sometimes, at least, designs the like commander of such a cohort. The commander of the first cohort of the Batavians, and the several commanders of the first cohort of the Tungri at House-Steeds have no other title^e. And yet I cannot but think, that when the commander was a tribune, he would scarce fail to assume this title himself, nor would others neglect to ascribe it to him. In the antient constitution of the Roman army, I see no officer higher than a centurion; whose command related directly to a particular body, and was restricted to it. The legati, 'tis evident, were at first general officers, whose authority extended to the whole army, any part of which might be subjected to the command of any of them. And what the legati were to the whole army, that were the tribunes (six in number) to a single legion. They jointly commanded the whole legion, and the authority of each tribune reached to the whole of it.

Cum

^a Psal. XLVI. v. 1. **יְהוָה נִשְׁעָן** i. e. very easily found, or ready at hand.

^b Cum, ix. p. 249.

^c Se quoque Pertinacem vocari jussit. In vis. Severi. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 341.

^d See Not. N. xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, &c.

Cum mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

Hor. Lib. i. Sat. vi. v. 48.

Some seem to be of opinion, that a single tribune had once the sole command of a legion, grounding their opinion chiefly on such expressions as tribunus legionis and tribunatus legionis, which occur both in antient authors and antient monuments. But these expressions prove not so much as that does which I have quoted from Horace, and none of them imply that a tribune singly had the full command of a legion^a, though his authority reached to the whole of it. It is certain, that lower down in the empire a particular legion was, at least frequently, related in a special manner to a particular legate, and appropriated to his command. Hence we have not only legatus legionis, but legatio legionis in Tacitus^b, as expressive of this very command. So also a cohort, and sometimes some other body of men nearly equal in number^c, was frequently appropriated to the command of a tribune. The auxiliary cohorts, more especially when in garrison and so perhaps more independent, were for the most part under the command of a Roman tribune. The expression tribunus cohortis is rarely, if ever, applied in our inscriptions to any but auxiliary cohorts, and seems to be of much the same form and meaning with tribuni vexillationum, and to denote a Roman tribune with the particular command of such a cohort. In all the centurial inscriptions found on the face of the Roman wall, which were certainly executed by the legionary officers or soldiers, we never meet with tribunus cohortis, or any intimation that a particular cohort was under the special command of any single tribune; though here was the fairest opportunity for it, if this had been the case. Tacitus indeed applies the expression both to legionary and praetorian cohorts^d; and Ulpian the lawyer speaks both of the tribune of a legion and of a cohort^e. Vegetius informs us that all the legionary cohorts (excepting the first milliary cohort^f) were, as the prince pleased, either under the command of a tribune, or a praepositus. The case 'tis likely was the same with respect to the auxiliary cohorts; so that a commander of an auxiliary cohort was not a tribune as such, nor vice versa. These two titles or offices were separable, though frequently united^g. If this be supposed, it is no way inconsistent

^a See Britan. Rom. p. 94, and 208, &c.

^b See Brit. Rom. p. 39.

^c So Zosimus, Lib. iv. speaks of 1500 exploratores under the command of three tribunes. And Rhuardesius (in his remarks on the Notitia printed at the end of Panciroli's edition of it) has observed in Ammian. Lib. xxv. vexillationum tribuni. And the number of men in a vexillation was I believe nearly equal to that of a cohort.

^d Scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis. Hist. Lib. iii. c. 68. — Duo praetorianum cohortium tribuni — venerunt. Ibid. Lib. ii. c. 41.

^e Dimissum accipere debemus tribunum, sive cohortis, sive legionis. L. 2. pr. ff. de his qui notantur infamia.

^f The tribune of this cohort corresponds more exactly to the name χιλαρχος in the Greek.

^g Unus primae milliariae tribunus praerat, armorum scientia, virtute corporis, morum honestate praecipuus: reliquae cohortes prout principi placuisset a tribunis vel praepositis regerantur. Lib. ii. c. 12.

^h Thus I also suppose that even in the later times a legion was not always commanded by a parti-

inconsistent, for the same person to have an actual command of an auxiliary cohort, and yet be only a designed tribune, or even not so much as this. If he was but designed for this honour, 'tis reasonable to suppose that this would be taken notice of in such an inscription. But I must proceed.

I FIND in my observations on N. XIII, I have said that the Pag. 255.
emeriti were much the same with the evocati and beneficiarii, meaning as to their privileges and exemption from duty. The evocati were usually of the emeriti, called out to war on special occasions; though Galba is said in Suetonius^a to have given the name evocati to a company of young gentlemen of the equestrian order. The beneficiarii in the army seem to have been such, as by the favour of their benefactor enjoyed some pension or pay, but were treated with marks of esteem and also exempted from duty. If emeriti, evocati and beneficiarii were the same, yet the names seem at least to give us three different views of the same persons.

I INCLINED to read N. XXXII, MATRIBVS OMNIVM GENTIVM. Pag. 262, 263.
Some very learned friends adhere to Mr. Ward's reading VICTORIBVS OMNIVM GENTIVM, and apply these words also to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian. But I think that a temple said, in the inscription, to be OLIM VETVSTATE CONLABSVM, can hardly be supposed to be erected to the then reigning emperors, or to any two men when living: nor is it so probable that if it had been erected to two emperors then dead, it would have been rebuilt; and still less probable that if it had been originally consecrated to any deity, it would upon the rebuilding have been alienated from that deity, and dedicated to the two emperors then reigning. Suetonius indeed tells us, there was a temple at Athens, which had been begun to Jupiter Olympius, and long afterwards agreed upon to be finished and consecrated to the genius of Augustus, while he was living^b.

I SHALL only just mention the conjecture of a friend with rela- Pag. 264.
tion to the first imperfect inscription here, which is, that we should read milites or militum at the beginning of the third line, and Optatus at the beginning of the fifth; neither of which is improbable.

IN the observations on the inscription N. XLIV, I forgot to men- Pag. 267.
tion, that the letters are too large to be represented by the general scale of one eighth, and therefore they are reduced to a sixteenth.

particular *legatus*. For we have to the last *praefectus legionis*, &c. which sort of title seems to answer to our commander in the general. 'Tis plain from some ancient inscriptions, that the *praefectus legionis* was superior (in title and honour at least) to the *primipilus* (See *Gale Ant. Itin. p. 51.*) The names *legatus* and *tribunus* might imply a superi-

ority in honour and title, even where there was no farther extent of power and command.

^a *In vit. c. 10. Delegis et equestris ordinis juvenes, qui manente anulorum aureorum usu evocati appellarentur, excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent.*

^b *In vit. c. 60.*

Pag. 272. *I would chuse to insist a little more largely on the curious sculpture at Netherby, N. XLIX. It is undoubtedly a genius, and if what it has on its head could be thought the usual modius or calathus, it would exactly agree with the genius of the Roman people, as represented on many coins, and particularly on that lately found at Benwell-hill, which I have given some account of before. But none of the drawings seem reconcileable to this conjecture. If it be a mural crown or towered head, I am much inclined to think it the genius of Rome. When towns are exprest on medals by the heads of human figures, they are usually thus represented. The mural crown is said to be "the ornament of the genii and guardian deities of cities and towns -- and that the genii of provinces and cities have towered heads." I only farther add, that we have an inscription found near the borders of this county of Cumberland, from which it seems to appear that a temple had been erected to the genius of Rome ^b.*

Pag. 274. *THE curious inscription found at Old Penreth N. LI, and now at Great Salkeld, I have largely explained in my observations. Mr. Ward in his letter inclines to read the last imperfect letter, (which we suppose to have been R) BREMETENRACI^c. But as I am more doubtful than I was about the name of this station, I would only observe, that if B should be the initial letter of the name of the place, we need not be tied down to the name Bremetenracum in the Notitia. I look upon it as certain that Old Penreth is the Voreda of the Itinerary, for which Ravennas has Bereda.*

CUMBERLAND has furnished only one new discovery to be taken notice of in this preface, which is represented on Plate 46, and marked LII^a; I shall now proceed to give some short account of it. This stone was very lately discovered near Old Penreth, being built up in an inclosure. I could not have an opportunity of examining it my self, but an ingenious friend in that neighbourhood has at my request re-examined the original, and compared the copy with it once and again, so that I believe it to be pretty correct. Part of the stone is broken off at the bottom, and probably a part of the inscription with it, and there seem to be but little hopes of ever retrieving it. Besides this, the stone has suffered by injury of time and the weather. Some of the outer part of the stone, deeper than the impression of the letters, is gone at each corner at the bottom, and some of the letters of the inscription are obscure, particularly the three first letters of the second line, where lies the principal difficulty

^a Science des medailles, p. 200, 201.

^b Not. N. cxiii. See the observations.

^c Page 351.

difficulty as to the reading. My friend at first took them to be ETC, but on a careful review it was agreed that the third letter was a G, which no doubt stands for Genio; for thus the sense is connected and current. G for Genius is common, and we have an instance of it in this county of Cumberland^a; and another on the borders of it, in Northumberland^b. Jovi optimo maximo et Genio, etc. The Genii of persons and places are not unfrequently join'd with Jupiter optimus maximus on the same altar^c. If this reading be admitted, it seems to favour the opinion, that by numina Augusti^d on altars, we are to understand the tutelar gods of the emperor. Nothing of an M, nor any mark or contraction for it, appears at present after the v in the fourth line, though this was carefully sought for. The last line has probably been II GALLOR. for the second equestrian cohort of Gauls was at this place, as appears from N. LII. I suppose EQ has been in the line below, now broken off. This inscription must have been erected about the time when Philip the son was Augustus or emperor, as well as the father; and in the year 248 the two Philips were consuls together (the father the third time, and the son the second) and both stiled imperatores in the Fasti consulares. We have another inscription in our collection to the emperor Philip and his son, but there the son is only stiled Caesar^e. The form dominorum nostrorum Philipporum is pretty singular, and deserves a remark; and this shews that the title dominus noster and domini nostri was used as high as the reign of Philip.

THIS is the only new discovery in this county, at least of any moment, which is not taken notice of in the second book. Dr. Hunter, the last time I saw him, told me he had seen at Burdoswald an imperfect stone, on which nothing was certain but the usual letters for votum solvit libens merito; but I suppose it is now lost, for I could not see it when I was in the place, where it lay when the doctor observed it. Mr. Gilpin of Scaleby has been also so obliging as to send me a draught of a Roman shoe or sandal he has in his possession, and also of a Roman altar, which he had lately received from Beaucastle, and has now added to his collection. This altar has the securis on one side, and the culter on the other, and the praefericulum on the side of the capital. But as the inscription is effaced, I have not inserted the draught on any plate; nor of the sandal, because that falls not directly under my province. However this and other civilities, which I have received from that gentleman, demand my publick acknowledgements. But to proceed.

I

^a N. XLIII.^b N. CXIII.^c See Fleetwood's Sylloge, p. 5. and 7.^d Nor. N. VII.^e Cum. N. LVIII.

Pag. 280. *I THINK N. LXIII. might be read Jovi Augusto, it being no uncommon thing to represent the emperors under the figures and names of the deities, and Horace himself ascribes the name of Jupiter to Augustus.*

Jovis auribus ista

Servas.

Lib. i. Ep. xix. v. 43.

But I yielded to the force of Mr. Ward's remark from Bandurius. Before I pass from this inscription I would just hint, that what Mr. Ward says of Antoninus Pius being of Nemausus or Nîmes is not designed to intimate, that this was the place of that emperor's nativity, or the place where he was educated; but only that he was by his father descended from a family which was of this city. Capitolinus's words are, Paternum genus e Gallia Transalpina, Nemausense scilicet --- Ipse Antoninus Pius natus est --- in villa Lanuvina; educatus Lauri in Aurelia. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 124, 125, 126.

Pag. 281. *AFTER I have just observed, that a person named Julius Tutor, (N. LXVI.) is frequently mentioned by Tacitus^a; I shall next take another view of the curious Elenborough altar now at Flat-hall near Whitehaven, N. LXVIII; though I have little to add to my large explication of it. I have conjectured that Volanti vivas on the back of the altar may be such a wish as Petrei vivas and Valentiniane vivas. And every body knows that sometimes such wishes appear on coins, as plura natalitia feliciter, and that remarkable one Badnela flureas zemper^b.*

Pag. 293. *HAVING thus got through Cumberland, I shall quickly run over the rest of the counties in England. What I had further to offer relating to the Greek inscription here, p. 293. N. xxv. has been hinted above, p. xi. Only give me leave to add, that Xiphiline names a Flavius Titianus in the reign of Caracalla, whose murther was procured by Theocritus the emperor's favourite^c. Westmorland requires no addition, nor Lancashire.*

Pag. 307. *I SHALL be obliged to stay but a little longer in Yorkshire. My notion of provincia superior, which occurs in an inscription belonging to this county, N. v. is confirmed by Caesar's calling the southern side of Britain the lower^d.*

Pag. 309. *BUT I must now speak a little more distinctly to a learned remark made by Mr. Ward on N. VIII. He supposes it to be the en-*

^a Hist. Lib. iv. c. 55, &c.
^b Science des Medailles, p. 80.
^c N. LXXVII. p. 879.

^d Inferior ad meridiem spectat. D. B. G. lib. v. c. 10.

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sign of a cohort or manipulus, which this signifer bears in his right hand, and the vexillum of a century which he holds in his left; and thinks it probable from a passage in Caesar that every cohort had its particular ensign^a. If this last conjecture be admitted, signum would seem to be the proper name for the ensign of a cohort, and signifer for the bearer of it; because signum and signifer are used in the passage quoted from Caesar, and signifer is also in our inscription.^b But an inscription in Northumberland bears tertiae cohortis vexillum^c, though this may mean no more than the vexillum of a century of this cohort, and possibly the centurial mark may have been on the stone, though now effaced; for each century had a vexillum, as Vegetius expressly affirms^d.

*a Caecina
signum
et quod
centurionum
vexillum
est. Tac.
Hist. 4. c. 20.*

BUT I must leave this now, and go forwards. I have observed^{Pag. 310.} that the funeral inscription N. x. must have been cut after the decease of the person, though he had prepared the funeral monument himself. Haec sibi vivus fecit plainly shew the latter, and ibidemque mortuus as plainly the former. See page 288.

MR. Ward suspects that the name of the god Dui may have been^{Pag. 313.} corrupted from Zuis; and I have since imagined that it may possibly come from Tuisco, the god from whence our Tuesday is supposed to take its name; or however that these might be originally names of the same god, but somewhat altered.

I HAVE nothing to add to Lincolnshire, and but very little to^{Pag. 315.} Cheshire. The reading domo Samofata in N. II. (as it is plain on the stone) Mr. Ward justifies and explains by such parallel instances in Gruter, as domo Roma, domo Cremona, and the like.

I PLEASED my self with the hopes, that the other part of the^{Pag. 316, & 6.} imperfect inscription belonging to this county N. VI. might have been recovered before the publication of this work; but I now despair of it. The conjectures I have offered about it must be uncertain; I still know nothing more probable, and yet I cannot say, that what I have given satisfies me.

I HAVE nothing new to say with respect to Derbyshire, Mon-^{Pag. 326.} mouthshire and Gloucestershire, but I must add two or three things with relation to Somersetshire. It is the conjecture of my learned friend Mr. Ward, that AD. P.F. in the fifth line of N. II. may be read adoptivus filius, instead of adjutricis pie fidelis as usual. If the usual reading of these letters should be retained, I
would

^a B. G. Lib. II. c. 25.

^b N. LX.

^c See the quotations, page 96.

would suspect, that either an F has been omitted at first through mistake, occasioned by the F preceding; or that it has been effaced at the beginning of the sixth line, as the L at the beginning of the fifth, and so read FILIVS IVLII SECVNDI.

IN the inscription next to this^a I have supposed the letters at the end of the third line to stand either for centurio, eques, or else decurio equitum. This latter conjecture supposes the implication before the Q to stand for DE.

Pag. 327. THE fine head at the Bath will bear a review, and afford new pleasure^b. And I think on the review, that the quantity of hair, and situation of the holes, look liker Apollo and a laurel, than Pallas and a helmet.

Pag. 328. SOME of the sculptures at the Bath, which are entirely defaced, I have rather chosen to omit, than give them, either from other people's imaginations, or my own. The four which I have marked with N. IX. are all of them yet in some measure visible. The funeral bust goes by the name of Lady Mog, and has been severely battered with stones by the children. Besides these which are engraven on the plate, there was also another human figure, which seemed to hold somewhat in its hand too large for a corona, and more like a hoop. " I remember (says Mr. Addison) I have " seen an antique statue of time at Rome with a wheel or a hoop " of marble in his hand^c."

Pag. 329. MR. Ward in his essay on Peutinger's table^d at the end of Britannia Romana has observed, that in itineraries names were put in the ablative, and hath by an ingenious conjecture endeavoured to account for this form. This gave occasion to others to suspect that the inscription on my Lord Hertford's cup might be somewhat of this nature. Success in some expedition might occasion the embossment of the commanders itinerary on this patera. But then the order of the names must be changed, as thus: CAMBOGLANS * BANNA A MAIS ABALLAVA VXELODVM. If we suppose this to be the patera belonging to some commander, I should guess the reason of the inscription to be some remarkable victory or success at those places, or perhaps only that he had commanded at these several forts and garrisons with success and applause. The case and construction of the names, I shall not pretend to determine; but the ingenious reading of the learned Mr. Gale is more satisfactory to me.

T H E R E

^a N. III. *ibid*.

^b N. VI. page 327.

^c Dialogue upon ancient medals, on Ser. 1. fig. 14.

^d Page 305.

^e The reading this name Camboglans, which in the Notitia is Amboglanna, may be favoured by the modern name of the river Cambeck.

THERE is a sculpture of Janus bifrons found in Kent, the account Pag. 332. *of which should have been brought into this page ; but not having an opportunity to inquire into it myself, Mr. Ward has obliged me with his thoughts upon it, which may be seen in his letter pag. 343.*

BEFORE I finish my review of this book, I must beg leave to take notice, that I intended at the end of it to have published at large four or five inscriptions, the originals of which, though not found in Britain, yet have some reference to it. The title under which they were to have appeared, was that of foreign inscriptions, and some short observations upon them were designed to have been annexed. In the first book at pag. 79, I have referred to them under this title, and at pag. 83, as in the second book. But when I come to reconsider this matter, I find the design already so much anticipated, that to give all these inscriptions at large would now be superfluous; two of them having been printed intire already, and some pieces of the rest interspersed in several parts of the work: I shall here therefore only give a brief account of each of them, and where they may be found. One of these inscriptions I have inserted at large in a note p. 21, as it was communicated to me by Mr. Wright, who copied it himself in the palace of Barberini at Rome, and has since inserted it in his travels. Another of them I have given in the second book p. 305, from Gruter, which was found at Amerbach in Germany^a. There is part of another in p. 446, which is also taken from Gruter, and was found at Nomentum in Italy^b. The reasons, which led me to mention these several inscriptions, are given so fully in the places referred to, that nothing more need be said of them here. In p. 79, I take notice of the legio sexta victrix, which by an inscription in Gruter we find was transported from Germany into Britain^c. And I there observe, that the letters P. F. which are often added as part of the character of this legion, should be read pia fidelis, rather than pia felix, as I shew afterwards. Gruter has an inscription in this form L. VI. VICT. P. F. which he says was found near Gulick in Germany^d. Again in p. 83, speaking of the legio vicesima, one of the legions which were sent over into Britain by Claudius, I observe there is a foreign inscription with these words, PRAEF. LEG. XX. VALEN. VICTR. which is also in Gruter, and by him said to have been found at Parma^e.

I NEXT proceed to review the third book, which contains the Roman geography. But as this was last, and in respect of the former

^a P. XCIII. 5.

^b P. CDXXXIX. 5.

^c P. CDLVII. 2.

^d P. DXXIV. 7.

^e CDXCII. 5.

former but lately composed; I see little that's material, which I should desire to have either altered or added.

Pag. 364. *IN my essay on Ptolemy's geography of Britain I have little new to remark. I have declared against the common opinion, founded on the etymology of the names, that Alata castra is Edinburgh, because the situation of Edinburgh differs vastly from that of Ptolemy's Alata castra, which according to this ancient geographer belongs to the Vacomagi, a people situated beyond the Tay, or between that and the frith of Cromartie, and is one of the most northern towns of this people. However I am convinced now, that it is not so far north as Tayne, which I think must have belonged to the Caledonii, and that the copy of Ptolemy, which I used on this occasion, is erroneous in this particular. I have therefore placed Alata castra in the corrected map, where I suppose it answers to Ptolemy's situation of it according to the other copies.*

Pag. 369. *I HAVE supposed Dunum to be the bay at the mouth of the river Teese; but an ingenious friend suspects, it may be that near Scarborough called Scarborough-wick; and also questions, whether the size of Ptolemy's Thule favours the opinion that it is Schetland.*

Pag. 373. *BUT to pass this over, I would observe concerning the country of the Otadeni, that though from Ptolemy's not seeming to mention any other people but them on the eastern coast between Forth and Tine, I have conjectured their country might have all this extent; yet I am now more doubtful of this conjecture. The Otadeni were perhaps confined between Tine and Tweed, and the Damnii may possibly have been extended from sea to sea across the island. This supposition, I think, makes the division of the several countries more regular; though it be an objection against it, that Ptolemy says not of the Damnii, as of the Brigantes, that they reached from sea to sea.*

Pag. 376. *THE chief thing I have next to insist on is the river Toisobius, which I have supposed to be Conway, chiefly because Ptolemy names it before the Cancanorum promontorium. But the codex Palatinus has Gangorum promontorium before Toisobii fl. ost*. So that if this copy should be followed, the river Dovie might answer Toisobius in order, as there also seems to be some affinity of name. But then there is scarce a river considerable enough for Stucia between Dovie and Tyvi (which is agreed to be Tuerobis) unless we take up with Rhydal river, at the mouth of which is Aberstwith. Aber signifies the mouth, and so Stwith is left for
the*

* See page 357, in the margin.

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the antient name of the river. Stw in old British answers to ΣΤΥ in the Greek. But I shall add no more with relation to Ptolemy.

THE review of Antoninus's Itinerary, an essay on which is contained in the second chapter, will detain me a little longer, though I shall be as short as I can.

I HAVE taken some notice of the uncertainty and errors in the numbers of the Itinerary. But Cellarius carries this too far, when he says they are less exact here than in Peutinger's table. See pag. 508. I think the two essays plainly shew the contrary, at least as to Britain. The addition of M. P.M. which (as Mr. Ward has observed in his essay on Peutinger's table, p. 509) the Paris edition often reads at length milia plus minus, would seem to intimate, that the original numbers were not perfectly exact; but other editions have constantly and only M. P. for mille passus, or millia passuum.

I HAVE said occasionally, that it does not appear that many Roman monuments were carried off by that people, when they finally left this island; but I might have carried the matter farther, and affirmed that this does not appear concerning any at all. In the same page I have taken notice of a vicinal military way in Northumberland, which seems to have gone from Elsdon by Greenchesters to Watling-street. Some are of opinion that this has been continued directly to Riechester. If so, I think the visible branch, which crosses the river at Elishaw, must have been the communication between Watling-street and it. For the continuation of Watling-street above Elishaw, on the south-west side of the river, is still very visible. Or perhaps there have been two branches of Watling-street both leading to Riechester, the one by a bridge at Elishaw to be used when the river was unpassable, the other more direct along which they marched when the river was low. This seems to have been frequently the case in larger rivers, as the Humber and Severn; but here the compass and distance are so small, that one would scarce have thought it worth while, to lay two ways for crossing this river.

BUT what must detain me the longest is a letter relating to a part of the second iter, which I have been honoured with from a gentleman of Northamptonshire, whose excessive modesty will not permit me to name him, though his merit and civility demand my most grateful respect. Inclosed in this letter I had an accurate draught of that part of Northamptonshire, through which the Roman way passes, done by Mr. Eayre. I must beg leave on this occasion to make

two

two or three short remarks, which may add some farther light to the conjectures I have advanced in the Britannia. I had learnt from a gentleman of that country, that the cross which stands at the intersection of the two grand Roman ways (the Fosse and Watling-street) goes by the name, not of High-cross but Twy-cross. This brought to my mind the god Dui of the Brigantes, and Tuifco; but at the same time I thought it more probable, that the name might arise from the intersection of the two Roman ways just where the cross stands; Twy being not much different from the British and Saxon words signifying two. This conjecture proves agreeable to Mr. Eayre. I find by this gentleman's draught, that Claybrook is about a mile east from Watling-street, and more than a mile distant from High-cross. I suppose Cleycester mentioned by Camden and Dr. Stukeley, where Roman antiquities have been found, has stood on Watling-street, or near to it, at the distance of about a mile from the cross. Mr. Eayre has observed in his draught, "that from Bennones to Manduessedum, a Roman camp on Watling-street, measures by the wheel ten miles and a quarter." This I suppose is the measure on the surface, for according to Mr. Beighton it is not quite ten horizontal miles between these two places: and then if the station at Cleycester was a mile farther south, this will nearly make eleven English and twelve Roman horizontal miles, the distance in the Itinerary between Manduessedum and Venonae; which (as I have observed in the place quoted in the margin) confirms my conjecture that the miles in the Itinerary are Roman horizontal, not direct, but including the turns. Daventry is exactly eighteen miles distant from High-cross, and so seventeen from Cleycester, according to the scale which Mr. Eayre has annexed to his draught. In this second iter the distance between Venonae and Bennavenna is seventeen miles, in the eighth iter eighteen. I suppose the exact distance has either been between the two measures, or possibly the short diverticulum from the military way is taken into the computation in the latter number, and not in the former. However the exactly correspondent distance in the Itinerary has inclined me to declare in favour of the neighbourhood of Daventry, in preference to Weedon for the station of Bennavenna. Leger's-Ashby is wrong laid down in Camden's map, and as Mr. Eayre informs me has nothing of Roman antiquity about it, and therefore must be thrown quite out of the question. But between Daventry and Watling-street is Burrow-hill camp, and near it a Roman work called Burnt-walls, containing about six acres according to the computation of the same gentleman. This is large enough for a common station, and

Burrow-

Burrow-hill *might be the exploratory and summer encampment.* Mr. Eayre's account of Burrow-hill is; that it has a triple ditch, is the largest of all the Roman camps in that part of the country, being a mile long, and half a mile broad, and has a lofty situation with a vast prospect into the neighbouring country. He adds, that there are one and twenty of the usual tumuli in it. This last particular seems rather to argue against its having continued to be a Roman encampment. According to the same gentleman, from High-cross to the river Avon is eight miles and a quarter, and so about seven from the Roman station to the river. Lilburne is a mile from that part of the Avon, where Watling-street crosses it, and about as much east from Watling-street. Mr. Eayre takes notice of some remains at the east end of the church, which he takes to be the ruins of a Saxon castle. If this be compared with Dr. Stukeley's account, and what I have farther said about it^a; it seems to me very probable, that some Roman work or station has been here. Tripontium is according to the Itinerary nine Roman miles from Venonae, and it appears from what has been said, that this suits Lilburne with sufficient accuracy. So that upon the whole I most incline to fix Tripontium here, and rather here than at Bugby in Warwickshire, because we have no certain account of Roman antiquities at Bugby, and it seems to be too far off from the military road, so that the excursion would be too great for the number of miles allowed for it in the Itinerary. But I must now dismiss this subject, and return my hearty thanks to Mr. Eayre.

I HAVE observed that the military way in Cambridgeshire, visible at Hogmagog-hills, and pointing towards Grantchester, is yet supposed by some to have crossed the river at Chesterton. If there has been any Roman camp at each of these places, it is very probable that a branch of the way might go to each, and both branches unite again afterwards. In this fifth iter I have taken notice of some fortified ground near Chesterton on the river Nen, through which the military way passes obliquely. This encampment has been perhaps for better securing the pass of the river; and some restraint they seem to have been under, as to the ground on which the camp is situated, may have been the reason why the ramparts were not drawn parallel to the military way. vi- Pag. 431.

I HAVE little or nothing to add to my essay on the Notitia, contained in the third chapter. I have supposed Derventio in the Notitia to be the same place with that of the same name in the Itinerary. But I freely own that I am very doubtful as to this matter, and on a review am rather more inclined to Dr. Stukeley's Pag. 487.
h opinion

^a Page 436.

opinion, that the Derventio of the Notitia is Little-chester in Derbyshire. But I shall pass over this, and say nothing at all here*
 Pag. 489. *with respect to Ravennas.*

Pag. 505. *MR. Ward's learned essay on Peutinger's table fills the last chapter, and closes the whole of the work; I had no opportunity of seeing it before the sheets were printed off, but I have since read it carefully over. I shall in a very small compass give an account of what occurred to me upon the perusal, and then put an end to my preface, which it is high time for me to do. I am pleased with the remark, that the names in itineraries were generally put in the ablative. Some names may be in the genitive, as Segeloci and others. But those in that form are more likely to be generally in the ablative of the third declension. And if we should suppose all the names in the original to have been uniformly in the ablative, no doubt the transcribers might now and then change a termination or case.*

PEUTINGER'S table, as to the form of it, seems not unlike one of our modern maps, where the distance in miles is set between the several places; but I must forbear to enlarge any farther on this subject. It would not indeed have been amiss, if, in the settling the stations of the Itinerary, I had compared more exactly the numbers there with these in this table, as far as they go. I confess I have not received much light or benefit from the comparison, now that I have made it with what diligence and accuracy I could; but perhaps an abler hand may strike more light out of it. And therefore I shall here give a short view of this matter, and leave every one to make the most they can of it, and to compare it, if they think fit, with what I have said in my essay with respect to the several places mentioned in this table.

*Names and distances according
to the Itinerary.*

Names and distances in Peutinger's table.

ix iter.

Peutinger's table.

*A Venta Icenorum.
Sitomago xxxi.
Combretonio xxii.
Ad ansam xv.
Camuloduno vi.
Canonio ix.
Caesaromago xii.*

*Ad Taum.
Sinomagi xxii.
Convetonio xv.
Ad ansam xv.
Camuloduno v.
Caunonio viii.
Baromaci xii.*

Latter

* See page 489, in *Brit. Rom.*

*Latter part of the second iter.**Peutinger's table.*

Vagniacis.

Madus.

Durobrivis ix.

Raribis xvii.

Durolevo xvi.

Burolevo vii.

Duroverno xii.

Duroaверus vii.

*In the xii and xv itinera.**Peutinger's table.*

Muriduno.

Ridumo.

Isca Dumnoniorum xv.

Isca Dumnomorum xv.

THE other series or three names in the table, Ratupis, Dubris, Lemavio, correspond to no part of any iter, though the corresponding names in the Itinerary Ritupis, Dubris, Lemanis, are very obvious.

THE numbers in the table, as far as to Camulodunum, are certainly wrong, where they differ from those in the Itinerary. For when they differ, those in the table are always less than the other; and yet the larger numbers summed up are rather too small for the general distance between Venta Icenorum and Camulodunum, if Caister and Malden be the two places. The distance between Combretonium and Ad ansam is the same in both, for which reason it should be observed more strictly in fixing the places; this therefore will perhaps be thought of weight sufficient to turn the scale in favour of Caisterford for Ad ansam. And six miles more (according to the shortest scale in the map of Essex in Camden, which seems to come the nearest to the itinerary miles in this county) bring us very near to Malden. The difference in the next distance from Camulodunum to Canonium is only a mile, and the number in the table, namely viii, suits my conjecture about this place with greater exactness^b. The Itinerary and table agree in the next distance to Caesaromagus, and the distance, as I have determined the places, is very accurate.*

THE numbers in that part of the table, which correspond to a part of the second iter, are all very different from what they are in the Itinerary. But I cannot yet see, that the numbers in the table will relieve us as to any one difficulty, which attends the settlement either of Vagniacae or Durolevum. So that I have nothing more to observe as to the numbers in the table, except it be that the distance between Isca Dumnoniorum and Muridunum is the same there as in the Itinerary, and xv miles in both. This should incline us to adhere more scrupulously to this number and distance, though

I

I

* See page 445.

^b Pag. 446, 447.

P R E F A C E.

I scarcely know who does. The attempt I have made to solve the difficulty here, may be seen in my essay on the Itinerary, to which I refer^a.

I SHALL only next remark, that whereas in the table a mark of a large town is sometimes set near the name, as at Sinomagi, Isca, etc. this may sometimes perhaps be of service in fixing the place.

I HAVE only farther to add with relation to this table, that whereas I imagined some of the unknown names in Ravennas might be discovered in it; I now find upon trial, that it is not in my power to discern any certain resemblance.

I NEED say nothing here of the maps and other draughts, which will be found in the several places of the work; the reason and uses of which will, I presume, sufficiently appear upon the view of them. No pains or expence has been spared through the whole, to give every thing the greatest evidence, in order to render this part of knowledge the more agreeable and entertaining. And as I have never differed from others, or taken notice of their errors, but for the sake of truth; so I would hope for the like candor, in any involuntary mistakes I may have been guilty of in so large a design. But 'tis time to conclude this long preface, and to release the reader to the perusal of the work itself.

^a Pag. 462, 463.

E R R A T A.

P A G E 16. line 44. read *fugantes*. p. 30. note a r. *legioni a*. p. 41. l. 13. r. *three thousand*. p. 42. n. ^a. r. *Tor. i*. p. 47. n. ^a. r. *Lib. i. v. 7*. p. 56. n. ^a. r. *Lib. xxviii. c. 6. l. 2*. p. 65. n. ^b. for *αἰτίων* r. *αἰτίων*. p. 69. l. 13. et alibi. r. *Diocletian*. l. 38. for *to* r. *by*. p. 72. l. ult. insert *about this time*. p. 73. l. 7. r. *Bulchobandes*. p. 75. l. 17. r. *not long before*. p. 78. l. 24. r. 209. p. 80. l. 23. make the reference ^a. p. 84. l. 17. r. 69. l. pen. for *The* r. *for*. p. 88. l. 19. r. *Frisin*. . . p. 97. l. 8. for *auxillarios* r. *vexilla*. l. 24. r. *τακταί*. n. ^a. r. *Vardulorum*. p. 104. l. 37. r. *fourth cohorts*. p. 105. n. ^a. r. *N. ix a*. p. 117. n. ^a. r. *sumptu*. p. 121. l. 31. for *other* r. *outer*. p. 124. l. 14. dele *both*. p. 168. l. 29. place the period after the word *wall*. p. 213. l. 33. for *viii*. r. *v*. p. 215. l. 44. r. *xxvi*. p. 217. l. 9, 10. r. *Egliciano*. p. 223. n. ^b. insert *See likewise Arnobius, ubi supra*. p. 231. l. 31. r. *Vetia*. p. 276. l. 39. r. *the two next*. p. 277. l. 16. r. *Fuscianus*. p. 290. l. 5. r. *basilicae*. p. 294. l. 45. d. *Cranei*. p. 298. l. 24. d. *Craneorum*. p. 303. place the first S in l. 34. at the beginning of l. 35. p. 306. l. 41. r. *Σπαρχαί*. p. 314. l. 18. for *Pairington* r. *Pickering*. p. 317. l. 12. r. *Asi- acae*. p. 321. l. 43. r. 209. p. 364. l. 17. r. *antiqua- ries*. p. 375. for *Suffolk* r. *Suffex*. p. 377. l. 19. r. *Tuesis*. p. 383. l. 33. for *19 1/2* r. *10 1/2*. l. 35. r. *55 1/2*. p. 385. l. 20. r. *Manchester*. p. 413. l. 39. r. *The course of the other military way*. p. 421. l. 4, 5. transpose *vii* and *x*. p. 430. l. 2. r. *Iconl*. p. 451. l. 31. r. *Lamesty*. p. 474. l. 14. for *though* r. *for*. p. 483. l. 19. r. *old sewers*. p. 484. r. *south-east and north-west*. p. 515. l. 37. for *last* r. *first*.

BRITANNIA ROMANA.

BOOK THE FIRST:

Containing an historical account of the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*, from the first descent of *Julius Caesar* till the *Romans* abandoned the island.

The Introduction.

TO enter into the fabulous accounts of the monkish historians would be lost time and labour. Their narratives relating to the affairs of *Britain* are in many instances contradictory to the *Roman* historians, and very often to one another. 'Tis true the venerable *Bede* is famed for his learning, judgment, and probity. He flourished in the beginning of the eighth century; but since this was too late for him to have any acquaintance with the *Roman* affairs from his own knowledge, or even from any such tradition as could well be relied on; I don't see, that what he affirms is to be any farther depended upon, than as it is supported by classic authority, or deduced by good remarks or proper reasoning from some more antient and authentic historian; and every body then is at liberty to judge of the sufficiency of the testimony produced, as well as of the strength of the reasoning upon it. This may at least with equal reason be applied to modern historians and their accounts. We may often be obliged to an ingenious author for suggesting a proper remark, which otherwise might have escaped us; but the bare authority even of the greatest modern names in regard to antient facts cannot be of any importance. The case is much the same even with respect to the later *Roman* historians, when they give an account of affairs that were transacted several centuries before; unless we have reason to suppose that they had their accounts from some more antient authors, which are now lost. I have therefore taken *Caesar* himself as the principal standard for the *Roman* transactions in *Britain* in his time; and *Tacitus*, with some few passages of *Suetonius*, from *Claudius* down to *Domitian*. Some other authors, among which *Dion Cassius* and his epitomizer

B

Xiphiline

Xiphiline are the chief, furnish such farther light and assistance as justly deserve our regard ^a. The transactions under the later emperors are taken from the later *Roman* historians, chiefly *Xiphiline* and the *Scriptores historiae augustae*; to whom I have occasionally added *Herodian*, *S. Aur. Victor*, *Eutropius*, *Amm. Marcellinus*, with some others. And the accounts of these writers are farther illustrated and confirmed by inscriptions, and books that are not directly historical; chiefly *Ptolemy*, *Antonine's Itinerary*, and the *Notitia*.

CHAPTER I.

The first historical period, from *Julius Caesar's* first descent into *Britain* to the reign of *Claudius*:

In which are contained, I. Caesar's first expedition against Britain. II. His second expedition, with an account of his battles and conquests here. III. An inquiry into the time of these two descents. IV. An inquiry into the place from whence he sailed hither, and where he landed, and his marches up the country. V. Some account of the antient geography of Britain. VI. The Roman affairs in Britain from Caesar's second expedition to the reign of Claudius.

JUL. CAESAR.

I. **JULIUS CAESAR** was the first *Roman* who made an hostile attempt upon *Britain*, as we are inform'd by *Tacitus* ^b. And the same author afterward seems to insinuate, that *Britain* was unknown to the *Romans* before *Caesar* discovered it ^c. *Suetonius* also affirms, that "*Caesar* made an attempt upon the *Britons*, who before were unknown ^d." *Diodorus Siculus* speaks also in the same strain, and informs us, that "according to their accounts the *Britons* in antient times were entirely free from foreign power: for that neither *Bacchus*, nor *Hercules*, nor any other hero, or potentate, had ever made war upon them—*Julius Caesar* was the first, &c." ^e

Suetonius farther informs us, that according to the opinion of some, "*Caesar* was moved to this expedition by the prospect of getting large pearls here ^f." And no doubt *Tacitus* from such hints as these has formed that

^a Dion informs us, that he spent ten years in collecting the materials for his work, and twelve years afterwards in composing it. Lib. lxxii. p. 829. And he is so exact, as to tell us what he relates from his own knowledge, and what from the narrations of others. Ibid. p. 826. And as to the latter, tho he professes to give the accounts of those who wrote before him; yet at the same time (as he says) he interposes his own opinion, where he apprehends they were led into any mistake. Lib. liii. p. 510. Had his own large work been preserved entire, we should doubtless have known many things which are dropt in the epitome; but we have this good reason to credit the writer of it, that in those parts where both are extant, we generally find the abridgment express'd very nearly in the author's own words.

^b Primus omnium Romanorum Divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus. In vita Agricola, cap. 13.

^c Potest videri ostendisse posteris. Ibid.

^d Aggressus est et Britannos ignotos antea. In vit. Jul. Caes. cap. 25.

^e Ἀπὸ τοῦ μὲν παλαιῶν ἀναμνηστῆρος ἐγένετο ξενικαῖς συνάμασι (ὅτι γὰρ Διόνυσος, οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆα παρρηλῆφαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων ἢ δυναστῶν ἐστρατημένον ἐπ' αὐτὴν) καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ—πρῶτος τῶν μνημονομένων ἐχειρώσατο τὴν νῆσον. Lib. v. cap. 8. p. 208.

^f Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus. Vit. Jul. Caes. cap. 47.

that part of his description of *Britain*, where he speaks of its “yielding gold, silver, and some sorts of pearls^a.” But in reality we need seek for no other motive of *Caesar’s* undertaking, than ambition and glory. *Caesar* himself in his *Commentaries* has under the head of the *Gallic* wars given us a very curious and elegant account both of his first and second descent upon *Britain*^b. And the reason he there avows for his expedition against *Britain* is, “that in almost all the *Gallic* wars the *Britons* had been aiding to the enemy^c.” The reason also which he gives for entering upon it, “when the summer was so far spent^d,” is, that in case the season of the year should not allow him to carry on the war; yet it would be worth while to go to the island, in order to discover and know the people, and the havens, of which even the merchants could give him but a very imperfect account, and that only of the sea-coasts that were nearest *Gaul*. So true is what *Suetonius* said, “that the *Britons* were before unknown.”

CAESAR therefore thought proper to send *C. Volusenus* before to make what discoveries he could, and return as soon as possible^e. In the mean time he himself marches with all his forces into the country of the *Morini*, “from whence the passage into *Britain* was the shortest^f.” Hither he orders several vessels from the neighbouring ports. The *Britons* having got intelligence by the merchants, of *Caesar’s* design, send ambassadors to offer him submission and hostages; he gives them fair words, and such advice as he thought for the interest of the *Romans*, and then dismisses them civilly. At the same time he sends over with them *Comius*, whom he had made king of the *Atrebates* in *Gaul*, and enjoins him to use his best endeavours to keep the *Britons* faithful to the *Romans* and their interest; and at the same time to assure them, that he would shortly be with them in person. *Volusenus* returns in five days time, and gives *Caesar* what information he had got^g; but as he never ventured on shore, it is not likely he made any great discoveries.

CAESAR having got together eighty transports, which he thought sufficient for the foot of two legions; and for the horse eighteen more, which were at another port eight miles distant^h; sets sail with the foot, and orders the horse to march to the other port, and follow him as soon as they could; but they did not proceed with any great expedition. *Caesar* himself with the foremost of the ships arrived on the coast of *Britain* about ten a clock in the forenoon, where he saw the enemy in arms upon the rising grounds. Not thinking this place proper for landing, because the hills were so near to the shore, that the enemy could reach it with their darts, he came to an anchor, and waited till three in the afternoon for the rest of the fleet; and calling a council of war, he acquainted them with what he had learnt from *Volusenus*, and with what he intended should be done.

WHEN the council was dismissed, *Caesar* having got both wind and tide for him, gave the signal for sailing; when weighing anchor they sail’d about eight miles farther, and then came to a “plain and open shore, where *Caesar* ordered the ships to lieⁱ.” The inhabitants being apprised of the design of the *Romans*, sent their chariots and horse before, and bringing up the rest of the army, endeavoured to prevent their landing. Here the *Romans* laboured under very great difficulties; for the greater ships could not lie near the shore; and

^a Fert Britannia aurum et argentum—oceanus margaritas. Vit. Agric. cap. 12.

^b Lib. iv. et v.

^c Quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat. Lib. iv. cap. 18.

^d Exigua parte aestatis reliqua. Ibid.

^e *Suetonius speaks nothing of C. Volusenus being sent to make these discoveries, but rather intimates that Caesar undertook to do this in person. Neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se por-*

tus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset. Vit. Jul. Caes. c. 58. Tho’ Suetonius appears from Caesar’s own account to be mistaken here, as Casaubon has also observ’d.

^f Inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Caes. B. G. Lib. iv. c. 18.

^g Ibid. c. 19.

^h Ibid. c. 20.

ⁱ Aperto ac plano littore naves constituit. Ibid. c. 21.

and the soldiers were obliged to leap down from their ships, encumbered and loaded with their arms, and to contend at the same time both with the waves and the enemy. On the other hand the *Britons* fought with great advantage, standing either upon the dry ground, or but a little within the water, and where they knew they might have good footing.

THE *Romans* being under such discouragements did not all behave themselves with their usual bravery. *Caesar* therefore orders the galleys to approach, and lie along the open shore, and by all manner of missive weapons to drive off the enemy. This piece of conduct did great service, the enemy being thereby obliged to give ground. The standard-bearer of the tenth legion, observing the soldiers to be somewhat backward, leapt down himself from the ship, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy, calling upon the soldiers to follow him. They who were in this ship accordingly follow the eagle, and others from other ships follow them; but by leaping down, and coming from different ships, together with other inconveniences, they fell into some disorder. And wherever the enemy saw a few of the *Romans* coming out of their ships, and separated from the rest, they set upon them with a much superiour number; whilst others from the open shore threw darts at them. *Caesar* upon this puts soldiers into the boats and pinnaces, and dispatches them to the relief of those, whom he observ'd to suffer most. As soon as the *Romans* got sure footing on the dry ground, the enemy retired, and the *Romans* could not pursue them, for want of horse. The *Britons* immediately after this defeat send ambassadors to *Caesar* to treat about a peace, and with them *Comius*, whom they had imprisoned. He demands hostages, and they give some, and promise more; and the princes assembling from all parts recommend themselves and their states to *Caesar's* protection. And thus the peace was concluded.

UPON the fourth day after *Caesar* came into *Britain* the eighteen ships with the horse set sail, and came within sight of the *Roman* camp, but were by distress of weather forced back to the continent. The same night it was full moon, and a spring tide. And the *Romans* not being acquainted with this, the galleys which they had drawn on shore were filled with water, and the ships of burden, which rode at anchor, were distressed and damaged, and several destroyed by a storm*. As soon as the *British* princes knew that the *Romans* wanted horses, ships, and provisions, and from the smallness of their camp concluded that their soldiers were but few, they resolved upon a revolt; imagining that if they could but hinder the *Romans* from getting provisions, prevent their return, or gain a victory over them, none would ever dare to make another such attempt upon *Britain*. *Caesar* wisely suspecting that this might happen, was continually getting what provisions he could into his camp; and repaired the ships that were least damaged with the materials of those that were the most shattered, and with what he had sent for from *Gaul*. By this means with the loss of twelve ships he made the rest fit for the sea again.

WHILE matters were in this posture, the seventh legion being sent out to forage, is set upon by the enemy. As soon as *Caesar* receiv'd intelligence of it, taking immediately with him the cohorts upon guard, he orders two others to take their post, and the rest to arm and follow him. When he came up to the legion, he found the soldiers hard put to it, and much needing the seasonable relief which he brought them. But the enemy desisted upon his approach, and he not thinking it proper to push any farther retreated to the camp.

THE

* Ibid. c. 26. *Suetonius* must no doubt refer to "destroyed by a storm." In *Britannia* classic vi this, or to the like misfortune in the second descent, tempestatis prope absumpta. Vit. Jul. Cæs. when he says, "The fleet in Britain was almost cap. 25.

THE *Britons* bent upon recovering their liberty, after some days (during which the badness of the weather had kept the *Romans* in their camp, and the others quiet) came in a great body to make an assault upon the camp; but were soon repuls'd by the *Romans*. For *Caesar* having now got about thirty horse, which *Comius* had brought him, drew his legions up before the camp, who beating the enemy pursued them as far as they could, and after they had set their houses on fire returned to the camp.

THE same day ambassadors were sent again to *Caesar*, to treat about peace; who thereupon demands double hostages, and orders them to be sent into *Gaul*; for the *aequinox* was near, and it was not thought safe to sail with such weak ships in the winter season. *Caesar* therefore, being willing to lay hold of the first favourable opportunity, sets sail a little after midnight, and all his ships arrive safe at the continent.

ABOUT three hundred soldiers that were in two of the transports, which could not reach the same haven with the rest, being put on shore elsewhere, are set upon by the *Morini*, but rescued by the horse, who were immediately dispatched to their relief.

I HAVE added this last paragraph, not so much for the sake of the history, as from a thought, that it might give some light into the number of men contain'd in a legion. These two ships are expressly call'd *onerariae*, or ships of burden; and the soldiers put on shore out of them are said to be about three hundred^a. This may be compared with another passage in the beginning of the story, "that *Caesar* judg'd eighty ships, which he calls also *onerariae*, sufficient for transporting the foot of two legions, and provided that number for this purpose; beside the eighteen design'd for the horse^b." What galleys he had beside were allotted to the officers. Now if two of these *naves onerariae* carried three hundred soldiers, eighty would carry twelve thousand; and consequently there were about six thousand foot in a legion. Indeed *Caesar* says elsewhere^c, that upon a certain occasion he had scarce seven thousand men with him; when it is evident from the former part of that story, that he had two legions and four hundred horse^d. To reconcile this with the conjecture I have advanced, we must suppose that those legions were not compleat, but that the others which *Caesar* took into *Britain* were in all probability strong and full. To compute the number of horse belonging to a legion we may consider, that a transport, which is sufficient for an hundred and fifty foot, will, as I am inform'd, conveniently carry between forty and fifty horse. This will make the number in the eighteen transports about eight hundred; and so four hundred horse will belong to each of the two legions. In the other story *Caesar* says, that he had four hundred horse with him, and if the foot, as I would conjecture, were not much above half the due number, the proportion pretty well answers. So also when *Caesar*, in his second expedition against *Britain* brought with him five legions, which I would suppose to be full, and two thousand horse; the proportion is the same, four hundred to each legion^e. It is no wonder that learned men have differ'd in their opinions about the number of a legion, since the accounts of the *Roman* authors themselves

^a Ex his *onerariae* duae eisdem portus capere non potuerunt, sed paullo infra delatae sunt. Quibus ex navibus quum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti, &c. Ibid. c. 32, 33.

^b Navibus circiter octoginta *onerariis* coactis contractisque, quod satis esse ad duas legiones transportandas existimabat—Huc accedebant octodecim *onerariae* naves—Has equitibus distribuit—Ibid. c. 20.

^c Ibid. Lib. v. c. 41.

^d Cap. 38, 39, 40.

^e When *Livy* speaks of legions consisting of four thousand two hundred foot, he makes the horse in a round number to be three hundred, which is not very different from the same proportion, for two hundred and eighty would be exact. His words are: Ubique non urbana tantum, sed etiam agresti juventute decem legiones scriptae dicuntur, quaternum millium & ducentorum peditum, equitumque trecentorum. Lib. vii. c. 25. The foot then in a legion seems generally to have been about fifteen times as many as the horse.

Equitibus duarum legionum sexcentis viginti quatuor milibus jam sen milibus] provolant muni. Liv. III. c. 6 U. c. 306.

themselves differ so much. This is only to be reconciled by supposing (which is very natural) that the numbers were various at different times, and even varied at the same time in different legions, according as they were fuller or weaker. *Eutropius*^a speaking of ten legions, computes them at sixty thousand men. This indeed is a mistake in him, and it appears from the fore-cited passage of *Livy* that those same legions made up but forty two thousand foot and three thousand horse; yet it seems probable from hence, that six thousand was the usual number, and that this led him into the error. To this computation we have also the testimony of *Vegetius*^b. I know the ninth legion, whose foot was cut in pieces by queen *Boadicea*, was recruited with two thousand legionary soldiers^c. But in answer to that it is to be considered, that this legion did still continue to be the weakest, even after this reinforcement, and when perhaps some of the others did not much exceed half their due numbers^d.

IN this first expedition *Caesar* made no advances into the country, but kept near to his camp. The soldiers were obliged to go out to forage, which once occasioned a battle. The *Romans* might have some advantage in it, but *Caesar* thought best immediately to retreat. The *Britons* afterwards attacked his camp, but were repulsed. Upon the whole the result of this enterprise seems to have been no more than to discover the most convenient landing, and to give rise to what I would call the *Ritupian* station. He thought it would be worth his while to undertake the expedition, if it were only to make a discovery of the island, in order to his making a more effectual attempt another time. Indeed if fortune had favoured him with the same success here, that he had against other nations; he might have awed the *Britons* into a surrender, even with this small force. *Caesar* himself seems to think that, “if in this attempt he “could but have had the assistance of his horse, to have pursued one victory, “which he in part obtained; that single push might have been sufficient to “reduce the whole island^e.” It is very observable, what success the *Romans* had in their usual conduct of dividing the princes and states whom they intended to subdue, drawing some into a confederacy with themselves, under pretence of taking them into protection, and assisting them against their neighbours; the most effectual way to destroy them all^f. *Tacitus* has very well described the great advantage, which the *Romans* had against the *Britons* upon account of their unhappy divisions. “Nothing, says he, was of more use to “us against these strongest, and bravest of people, than their want of unity, “and public councils. It was very seldom that any two or three of their “small states concerted measures together for repelling the common danger; so while each are fighting apart, they are all overcome^g.” The same historian tells us, that the *Hibernian* prince who fled to his father-in-law *Julius Agricola* often said in his hearing, “That one legion with a few auxiliaries would be sufficient to reduce *Ireland*^h.” We our selves have seen the wonderful success of some later attempts of a like nature. With how small a force have the *Europeans* over-run great tracts of land, and conquered mighty nations in *America*, by much the same conduct?

II. THO'

^a Factae legiones decem, qui modus sexaginta vel amplius armatorum millia efficiebat. Lib. 11. cap. 6.

^b His decem cohortibus legio plena fundatur, quae habet pedites sex millia centum. Lib. 11. cap. 6. *Vegetius*, who in this chapter gives a particular account of the number in each cohort, makes them amount in the whole to six thousand and one hundred. The odd hundred more is not material. Six thousand was still the round number in all probability.

^c Tacit. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 38.

^d Universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte aggressi. Idem, in vita *Agricolae*, cap. 26.

^e Neque longius proficui potuerunt, quod equi-

tes cursum tenere, atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam *Caesari* defuit. De bello Gallico, Lib. iv. cap. 24.

^f Vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 14.

^g Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Vit. Agric. cap. 12.

^h Saepe ex eo audiui, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique *Hiberniam* posse. Vit. Agric. cap. 24.

II. THO' *Caesar* seems to have had no very great success in his first expedition against *Britain*, yet he resolves with a greater force to make a second attempt. And therefore the next year orders a much larger fleet, and more adapted for this purpose, with a greater body of soldiers to *portus Itius*, "as knowing the most convenient passage into *Britain* was from this haven, and that the island here was but about thirty miles from the continent^a." When a favourable opportunity presented, he ordered both the foot soldiers and cavalry on board; and having settled an affair which gave him a small interruption, he set sail with five legions and two thousand horse about sun-set, with a gentle southwest wind^b, which wind together with the tide carried them too far to the north-east. For at midnight it fell calm, and they did not keep their due course, so that when it was light they perceived they had left *Britain* on the left hand. But the tide turning they fell to their oars, that they might make the same port of the island, where *Caesar* had the year before found the best landing.

THEY arrived at *Britain* about noon, but no enemy appeared. For the number of the ships made in all above eight hundred, including transports and ships which particular officers had prepared for their own accommodation; which number was so great, that the *Britons* affrighted at the sight of 'em had fled from the shore, and hid themselves in the country. *Caesar* landed his forces without opposition, and pitched upon a proper place for an encampment^c. And leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horse to guard the ships, about midnight he marches in quest of the enemy: being less solicitous about the ships, because they rode at anchor on a soft and open shore^d.

WHEN *Caesar* had marched about twelve miles, he discovered the enemy; who retiring with their horse and chariots to a river, began to engage from the rising ground, and endeavoured to prevent the passage of the *Romans*. But being successfully attacked by the *Romans*, they retreated to a place in the woods well fortified by nature and art. The soldiers of the seventh legion took this place, and then drove the enemy out of the woods; tho' *Caesar* gave orders not to pursue them, because they were strangers to the country, and great part of the day being now gone, he would have them reserve time to fortify their camp.

THE next day *Caesar* sends his army^e in three bodies to pursue the enemy. But before the last of them had got out of sight, he received the news of the fleet's having suffered very much the night before by a storm, and that many of the ships had been forced upon the shore. Upon this he countermands his forces, and goes in person to the fleet, and sees that what he had been informed of was true. For forty ships were lost, and the damage of the rest not easy to be repaired, tho' they were not intirely destroyed. He spends about ten days in taking care of the ships, drawing them upon land, and bringing them within the trench of the camp.

AFTER *Caesar* had fortified his camp, he leaves the same guard upon the ships; and returning to the same place again, finds a greater body of the enemy drawn together. The command of their army was given by joint consent to *Cassivellaun*, whose territories the river *Thames* about eighty miles from the sea, divided from the maritime states. The other states had been continually warring with *Cassivellaun* before the arrival of the *Romans*; but upon that they united, and gave him the command. Their horse and chariots

skirmished

^a Omnes ad portum Itium convenire jubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam tractum esse cognoverat, circiter millium passuum triginta a continenti. De bel. Gall. l. v. c. 2.

^b Leni Africo provectus. Lib. v. c. 7.

^c Loco castris idoneo capto. Lib. v. c. 8.

^d Eo minus veritus navibus, quod in litore molli atque aperto deligatus ad anchoras relinquebat. Ibid.

^e Milites equitesque. Lib. v. c. 9.

skirmished with the *Romans* in their march, but were beat off by them, who pursuing too far lost some of their own men. After some respite, as the *Romans* were employed in fortifying their camp, the *Britons* fell upon them, surprising the guard; and then charged back again through two cohorts, each the first of their respective legions, which were sent to the relief of the *Romans*; and made a safe retreat. *Caesar* probably takes notice that these two cohorts were the first of the legions, because they usually consisted of the bravest men, and (as *Vegetius* says) were more numerous than the other cohorts^a.

THE day after *Caesar* sent out three legions and all the horse to forage. The *Britons* who had begun to appear here and there set upon them; but were repulsed, pursued, and a great many killed. Upon this defeat they were deserted by their auxiliaries, nor did they ever after engage the *Romans* with their full force. During this whole time *Caesar* seems not to have been far from *Durovernum*.

AFTER this *Caesar* leads his army on to the *Thames*, towards the territories of *Cassivellaun*. This river could only be passed at one place by the foot, and there not without difficulty. He observed the enemy to be drawn up on the opposite bank of the river, which they had fortified with sharp stakes, having fixed some too at the bottom of the river, under the water. However, the *Romans* waded through (tho' up to the neck) with so much forwardness and resolution, that the enemy quitted the bank and fled.

CASSIVELLAUN now despairing, retains only four thousand chariots, and waits the motion of the *Romans*, sallying out now and then upon their parties, as he has an opportunity. The *Roman* army burns and wastes the country in their march, tho' the horse were not permitted to go far from the main body of the legions.

IN the mean time the *Trinobantes* offer to surrender, desiring to be protected against *Cassivellaun*, and that *Mandubratius* might be made their king, who had fled to *Caesar* in *Gaul*, after that *Cassivellaun* had dethroned and killed his father *Immanuentius*. *Caesar* demands forty hostages, and corn for his army, and sends *Mandubratius* to them. The *Trinobantes* comply with *Caesar's* demands, and are taken under his protection. And then the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassii* following the example of the *Trinobantes* submit themselves to *Caesar*. He being inform'd that *Cassivellaun's* town was not far off, marches his legions thither, and storms and takes it, tho' fortified with wood and fens, by nature and also by art.^b The enemy making but a short stand against the *Roman* army, fled out at the other side of the town; but many of them were taken and slain.

WHILST matters here are going on thus, *Cassivellaun* sends messengers to *Cantium*, which was governed by four kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carnilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, ordering them to draw all their forces together, and to surprise and fall upon the *Roman* camp, within which the fleet was intrenched. But they are repulsed by the *Romans*, who sallying out upon them, slay a great many, and take the noble commander *Lugotorix* (or according to others *Cingetorix*) prisoner.

AFTER this defeat *Cassivellaun* being wrought upon by his many misfortunes, the wasting of his territories, and chiefly by the desertion of the neighbouring states, sends to *Caesar* to treat about a surrender. And *Caesar* resolving to winter in the continent, demands hostages, appoints what yearly tribute *Britain* should pay to the *Romans*, and charges *Cassivellaun* to offer no injury to *Mandubratius* and the *Trinobantes*.

WHEN

^a Prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate præcedit. Lib. II. cap. 6.

WHEN *Caesar* had thus ordered affairs here, he draws his army down to the sea, and finding his ships repaired, resolves to transport his whole army and a great number of prisoners at two 'embarquements, by reason that some of his ships had been lost. But it so happened, that not one of the transports, which had soldiers on board, did miscarry in either of the expeditions^a. He set sail about nine in the evening, and made the land by day-break.

III. HAVING given some account of *Caesar's* two expeditions against *Britain*, it may not be amiss to enquire into the time when they were made. The learned and ingenious Dr. *Halley* has published a discourse on this subject in the *Philosophical Transactions*^b, which may almost supersede any farther enquiries about it, so that little more needs be done, than to give an account of what he has said on this head. The grounds he goes upon are briefly as follow. *Caesar's* first expedition was in the consulate of *Pompey* and *Crassus* (as he himself and *Dion* after him expressly affirm) or according to the Doctor in the year of *Rome* 699^c. But *Augustus* died in the year of *Rome* 767. Therefore the death of this emperor must have been sixty eight years after *Caesar's* first descent into *Britain*. Again *Drusus* made use of an eclipse of the moon to quiet the *Pannonian* army mutinying upon the news of *Augustus's* death. And by the help of this eclipse it may be certainly proved, that this emperor died in the fourteenth year of the Christian *aera*, and consequently that *Caesar's* first descent, which was sixty eight years before, must be (according to the Doctor) above fifty four years compleat, or in the fifty fifth current before the Christian *aera*. And the year being fixed, the very day, and almost the very hour, when he first landed, may be determined with a good deal of certainty. For it may be remembred, that *Caesar* having in his relation of this story mentioned the fourth day after his landing, says expressly, that the night after it was full moon. And as he had told us before, that the summer was at this time far spent, and yet the *aequinox* not come; 'tis plain that this full moon must have been either in *July* or *August*. But this year there was no full moon in *July*, but in the beginning of the month; whereas there happened two full moons in the month of *August*, one on the first day a little after noon, which therefore could not be the full moon *Caesar* refers to; and the other a little after midnight of the thirtieth, or on the thirty first before day: and that learned gentleman thinks this must be the full moon, which *Caesar* says happened in the night of the fourth day after his first landing in *Britain*. From whence it is plain that he first landed on the twenty sixth of this month, this supposition agreeing with all the circumstances mentioned in the story. It is evident also that he landed in the evening. For it was past three in the afternoon, before he sailed from the place where he anchored first, and after that he sailed about eight miles farther; which, tho' he sailed with wind and tide, must bring it at least to near five in

^a Obsidibus acceptis, exercitum reducit ad mare; naves invenit resecas. His deductis: quod et captivorum magnum numerum habebat, et nonnullae tempestate deperierant naves; duobus com-
meatibus exercitum reportare constituit. Ac sic accidit, ut, ex tanto navium numero, tot navigationibus, neque hoc neque superiore anno ulla omnino navis, quae milites portaret, desideraretur: at ex iis, quae inanes ex continente ad eum remitterentur, et prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero LX, per paucae locum caperent, reliquae fere omnes rejicerentur. Lib. v. cap. 19.

^b No. 193.

^c *Almeloveen* in his *Fasti consulares* places the consulate of *Pompey* and *Crassus* in the year of *Rome* 698. But this difference of a year between

the Doctor and him being constant, will make no change in the computation according to the Christian *aera*: for, according to both of them, there were just 68 years between the consulate of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and the fourteenth year of the common Christian *aera*, which according to *Almeloveen* answers to the 766 year of *Rome*, but according to Dr. *Halley*, to the year 767. As therefore *Augustus* died not fourteen years compleat after the beginning, but in the fourteenth current of the Christian *aera*, 68 compleat years before must bring us to the 55 current, or farther back than 54 compleat before the said *aera*. It is necessary to have the chronology exact, and well establish'd, because the truth of the Doctor's after-calculation depends entirely upon it.

in the evening, before he arrived at the place where the *Romans* made their descent: and one would think the remainder of the day should be little enough for them to battle it out with the *Britons*, before they could get upon the dry land.

SINCE then *Caesar* did not land till the twenty sixth of *August*, and returned before the *aequinox*, 'tis plain that he must have made but a very short stay in this country. For when allowance is made for the anticipation of the *Julian* ^a account, we can by no means stretch the time out to a month. He sailed back, according to his own account, "when the day of the *aequinox* " was near". Therefore we may reasonably suppose that he left this island about the twentieth of *September*, and consequently that he continued here about three weeks, after he had concluded his first peace with the *Britons*. The first week might well be spent in repairing the shattered ships, and getting provisions into the camp, whilst the *Britons* were preparing to revolt. In the second week might happen the rencounter between the foragers and the *Britons*, with what followed upon it; and in the last the attack the *Britons* made upon the *Roman* camp, which *Caesar* says was some days after the former fight. This was the last action; for on the same day the *British* ambassadors came to *Caesar* to treat about peace, which was quickly agreed on. And in a day or two after *Caesar* seems to have taken his leave of the island for that time.

THE next year, being the fifty fourth before the birth of *Christ* (according to the same computation) *Caesar* made his second descent earlier in the year, but at what time exactly no circumstances seem to determine. Only it is probable he did not come to *Britain* this second time till after the vernal *aequinox*; for by all his observations, in which he seems to have been curious and exact, he found the nights shorter in *Britain* than in the continent^c. And yet it appears, that *Caesar* had been some considerable time in *Britain* before the tenth of *August*. Because *Quintus Cicero* accompanied *Caesar* into *Britain*, and his brother *Marcus* in a letter to him, wherein he returns an answer to several he had received from him out of *Britain*, says, "that the fourth of these letters " was dated the tenth of *August*, and that he received it the thirteenth of " *September* ^d." This letter then was the fourth that *Quintus* had wrote from *Britain* to his brother *Marcus*. And it is in the first of these four, that he gives a general account of their success in *Britain*, so that they must have been here some time before this first was written. We may then well enough suppose him to have been in *Britain* two or three months before the writing of this fourth letter, and that by consequence *Caesar* probably came over in the month of *May*. It also appears from the same letter, that *Caesar* left *Britain* before the middle of *September*. For *Cicero* gives some account in it of a letter *Caesar* had written to him from *Britain*, dated the first of *September*, and which (as he tells his brother) he received the twenty eighth, in which letter *Caesar* takes notice that he was come to the shore, but *Quintus* was not with him^e. *Caesar* therefore must have left *Britain* before the middle of

^a The autumnal *aequinox*, which now on the leap-year falls upon the twelfth but near the eleventh of *September*, must in *Caesar's* time have been on the twenty fifth of that month. The reason of this is well known to astronomers, and it would not in this place be proper to trouble the reader with astronomical accounts or calculations. 'Tis true the *Julian* *Kalendar* was not settled till a few years after *Caesar's* expeditions into *Britain*; but as near as I can judge from all the circumstances of the history, *Caesar's* reckoning is much the same as it would have been, if the settlement of his *Kalendar* had been made before his *British* expeditions.

^b Proxima die *aequinoctii*. Lib. iv. cap. 32.

^c Certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse noctes, quam in continente, videbamus. Lib. v. cap. 10.

^d Venio nunc ad literas, quas pluribus epistolis accepi dum sum in Arpinati. Nam mihi uno die tres sunt redditae, equidem ut videbatur, eodem abs te datae tempore—Quarta epistola mihi red-dita est Id. Septembr. quam ad IIII Id. Sextil. ex Britannia dederas. Epist. 1. Lib. III. ad Quintum fratrem.

^e Ex Britannia *Caesar* ad me Cal. Septembr. dedit literas quas ego accepi ad IIII Calend. Octobr. satis commodas de Britannicis rebus; quibus ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad eas ego literas nihil rescripsi, &c. Ibid. sub fin.

of *September*, for it is not probable that after he came to the shore, it would be very long before he embarked, tho' it be certain from his own account, that some days did pass before all was got ready for sailing. And yet as the *aequinox* did not probably then happen till about the twenty fifth of *September*, if he even continued in *Britain* till about the middle of the month, he would still leave it before the *aequinox*. 'Tis very evident that this letter of *Cicero* relates to *Caesar's* second expedition. For in the first he did not come over so soon in the year, nor spend so much time in the island. Besides another circumstance mentioned in the same letter plainly confirms it. For *Cicero* acquaints his brother, that *Gabinus* returned to *Rome* from his province in *Syria*, the same day he received *Caesar's* letter^a, that is the twenty eighth of *September*. But *Gabinus* returned in the consulate of *L. Domitius* and *Ap. Claudius*^b; and in the same consulate *Caesar* made his second descent upon *Britain*, as he himself has fixed it^c. So that *Caesar* the second year continued in *Britain* till near the *aequinox*, and then took his last farewell of the island.

IV. AS it is certain from *Caesar's* express words, that *portus Itius* in the country of the *Morini*, was the haven from whence he set sail, when he came into *Britain*; so I see no reason to question but that *Calais* was the place. For this place only answers the description of *Caesar*, that the passage from it into *Britain* was the shortest and easiest,^d being about thirty miles. For as every body knows that the shortest passage is from *Calais*, so Dr. *Halley* informs us, that by an accurate survey the distance between land and land appears to be twenty six *English* miles, or twenty eight and an half *Roman* ones; which shews how near *Caesar* came to the truth. The Doctor also observes, that *Ptolemy* calls the promontory of *Calais* cliffs by the name of *Ἰχθυόεντος ἄκρον*; and that tho' *Pliny* and *Dion Cassius*^e make the passage into *Britain* (which the latter calls the shortest) to be fifty miles or more; yet this is to be understood in these authors, as well as in *Antonine's Itinerary*, not of the shortest absolutely, but of the shortest usual passage, which was from *Gessoriacum* to *Ritupae*. *Ptolemy* (as Dr. *Halley* informs us) places *Γισσώριακον ἑμπόριον* in the same latitude with *Ἰχθυόεντος ἄκρον*, but half a degree more to the east. And from hence the Doctor concludes, that *Gessoriacum* was not at *Boulogne*, but either at *Gravelin*, or *Dunkirk*, and rather at the latter. But whether the Doctor's opinion as to *Gessoriacum*^f be received or not, I am much inclined to think that the port at which the eighteen ships lay wind-bound, that should have transported the horse in *Caesar's* first expedition, was either at *Gravelin* or near it. For it was only eight miles from *portus Itius*, and the wind that carried the ships from hence to *Britain* prevented the other ships coming from that haven to *portus Itius*. Now a southwest wind would do both, which was the wind with which *Caesar* tells us expressly he sailed in his second expedition. And by *Caesar's* ordering the horse to march to the other port, and follow him, one would be inclined to think, that the same wind, which carried *Caesar* from the haven where he was to *Britain*, would also serve at the other haven for the same purpose, which is manifestly true of *Gravelin* and *Calais*. For tho' the southwest wind would not bring the ships from *Gravelin* to *Calais*, yet it would carry them from *Gravelin*, as well as from *Calais*, to *Britain*. And *Caesar*, when relating the story of the ships, that carried the horse and sailed

a *Caesar* does not say the passage from *Itius* was the shortest, only the most usual. *vid. sup. p. 7. 1.* *1000* is not the same as *1000* from *Caesar's* account. *Morini* was the name of the country, but does not shew any particular. *vid. sup. p. 3. 11.* The *Pontus* of *Strabo* is the same as *Itius*.

^a *Gabinus* ad 1111 Cal. Octobr. noctu in urbem introivit. Ibid.

^b *Afcon. Pedian.* in arg. Orat. Cic. contra L. Plonem.

^c *B. G. Lib. v.* in princ.

^d *Pliny's* words are, *Britannia abest a Gessoriaco Morinorum gentis litore proximo trajectu quinquaginta m.* *Nat. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. 16.* *Dion* makes it at least 450 stadia, or above 56 miles: *καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνατολίαν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν Ἀνατολίαν.* *Lib. xxxix. p. 114.* In *Antonine's Itinerary* the distance between

Gessoriacum and *Ritupae* is 350 stadia, or nearly 44 Roman miles.

^e He who would enquire farther into this matter, may consult *Battely* antiquit. *Rutup.* p. 48, 49. who is of opinion that *Portus Itius* and *Gessoriacum* are one and the same, and that *Boulogne* is the place. The castellum *Morinorum* was probably not far distant from hence, both being in the country of the *Morini*. *Cluverius* makes *Boulogne* or *Portet* near it to be *portus Itius*; tho' he calls *Calais* cliffs, promontorium *Itium*.

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failed from the haven, calls it expressly *portus superior*^a, and *portus ulterior*^b; and when speaking of the two ships that miscarried in their return from *Britain*, he says, “they were carried farther down^c.” Now the upper haven is the farther to the north, or northeast, as *Gravelin* is with respect to *Calais* higher up on the coast^d. When *Dion Cassius* says, that in the expedition under *Claudius* a light ran cross from east to west the way they were sailing^e, it is very manifest that this course suits better the passage from *Gravelin* to *Richborough*, than from *Calais*, and much more than from *Boulogne* to the said port in *Britain*. So that *Dion*’s words favour the conjecture that *Gessoriacum* was situated somewhere about *Gravelin*. Tho’ the story of the light that went before them may be a fiction; yet it shews plainly, that in the opinion of the historian, they sailed from east to west. And this course directly pursued, if they sailed from *Gravelin*, would carry them to the south of *Richborough*, where perhaps some of them might land. But no doubt the general course, or that they sailed in the main from east to west, is all that was intended by the historian.

LET us next enquire, what place in *Britain* *Caesar* came to first. In the general it is evident, that it must be some part of the *British* coast which is nearest to *Calais*. For he chose the shortest passage, and no long time was spent in it. And the shortness of it seems to be the reason, why *Caesar* generally set sail in the night, that he might make the land in the day. If to this consideration be added the description of the place, where he first arrived and anchored, there can scarce remain the least doubt. “The sea was so inclosed between the cliffs, that a dart might be thrown from the top of the hills upon the beach^f.” This agrees so exactly to the cliffs of *Dover* towards the south foreland, that it is no wonder to find Dr. *Halley* and all men of judgment agreeing upon this to be the place. And it seems no less certain, that the eight miles farther were to the northward; and that consequently the first descent was made to the north of these cliffs. For *Caesar* expressly says that he sailed with the wind and tide^g, and that he waited till the ninth hour, or with us three in the afternoon, before he gave the signal for sailing; and it has been taken notice of before, that this was four days before the full moon. Now it is known, that on that coast it was low water that afternoon before two, and consequently that after three the tide of flood must have been pretty well made up, which setting to the north, *Caesar* who sailed with it must go to the north of the cliffs; and the plain open shore about eight miles from the place of his first anchoring, must have been in the *Downs*, or the mouth of the river that goes up to *Richborough*. The headland, which according to *Dion Cassius*^h he doubled, was most probably the south foreland; there being no other beyond *Dover* cliffs within that compass. This is farther confirmed by the account *Caesar* gives of his next expedition. For he tells us that he set sail from *portus Itius*ⁱ with a gentle southwest gale, designing for the same place, where he had landed the year before. Now Dr. *Halley* justly observes, that this wind might bring him from *Calais* to the *Downs*, but would by no means (especially with their navigation) fetch the lowland towards *Denginess*. And *Caesar* says, that having set sail at sun-set (which was sooner than he did before or after when he crossed this

^a Lib. iv. cap. 26.

^b Lib. iv. cap. 21.

therefore is most probably *Caesar*’s *portus Itius*.

^c *Infra delatae sunt.* Lib. iv. cap. 22.

^d Lib. lx. p. 678.

^e I would remark farther, that if *Boulogne* be the port from whence *Caesar* sailed, *Calais* was probably the other haven to which the horse marched. The same remarks and reasonings may be applied to this case, that have been used in the other. Only the distance between *Boulogne* and *Calais*, which is computed to be twenty miles, is too great; for *Caesar* says it was only eight. But if *Calais* was then used as a port, it is highly improbable that *Caesar* would say of any other place, when compared with it, that the passage from thence to *Britain* was the most convenient and shortest. *Calais*

^f Adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset. Lib. iv. cap. 21.

^g Et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum. Ibid.

^h Ἀπὸν πρὸς χύσαν περιπλευσας. Lib. xxxix. p. 114. The learned Doctor Batteley seems to think that the promontory they sailed round was one at the mouth of the river or near it. *Antiquit. Rutup.* p. 46. Where the reader may find the particular spot of ground more nicely enquired into.

ⁱ Leni Africo proventus. Lib. v. cap. 7.

this sea) they found when it was day-light, that they had left *Britain* on the left hand; and therefore when the tide turned, they fell to their oars, and so reached the place where they intended to land, which was the same where *Caesar* had landed the year before. Upon the whole then it appears probable, that *Caesar* anchor'd at first over-against the cliffs of *Dover*; and I cannot but think it was rather to the north of that place. For since he came to an anchor about nine in the morning, and it was low water about two in the afternoon; 'tis plain he must have sailed with the flood, which sets to the north, and therefore was more likely to go to the north of *Dover*. And when he had sailed eight miles farther, or somewhat more, he would come to such a shore, as *Caesar* describes "plain, soft, and open^a." For such Dr. *Battely* informs us is the shore at the mouth of the river, that goes up to *Richborough*^b.

THE particular place at which *Caesar* landed, I cannot but think must have been the same with that the *Romans* usually sailed to from *Gaul*, and which was afterwards called *portus Britanniarum*^c in the *Itinerary*. For *Julius Caesar* landed twice at the same place, and he is said to have shewn the way to those who came after him^d. Probably his encampment there might many years after become a *Roman* station; and as the *Romans* have been observed frequently to make use of their former encampments and stations in their after-expeditions, *Caesar's* landing was probably near to what afterwards became the *Ritupian* station, and seems to have given the first rise to it. *Richborough* is commonly supposed to be the *portus Ritupensis*. Perhaps the true name has been *Ritburgh* or *Ritsburgh*^e, consisting of the first syllable of the antient name and *burgh* or *burgus*, which sort of derivation is common. And I see not but this place must answer exactly to the course and distance sail'd by *Julius Caesar*, as it has been already described. *Caesar* then in both his expeditions sail'd, as I suppose, from *Calais* and landed near *Richborough*, tho' the particular spot, on which he landed and encamped, may now be washed away by the sea.

HAVING thus determined as well as we can the voyages of *Caesar*, when he came into *Britain*, let us next endeavour to follow his motions whilst he was in it. And in order to this, it will be necessary to recollect some parts of the foregoing history.

CAESAR in his first descent kept close to the camp on the coast. And as he never advanced into the country, so there are no motions in this first expedition to be any farther traced out.

IN his second expedition as he had more time, and force, so he made a greater progress. The rout he took appears most likely to be the same, with that of the *Romans* under the emperor *Claudius*. For as these most probably landed the greatest part of their army at the same place, so they would as probably follow the same track which he had cleared, and where they might find

^a Apertum, planum, molle litus: Lib. iv. cap. 21. et Lib. v. cap. 8.

^b Erat ibidem litus, ut in ostiis fluviorum esse fere solet, paludosum atque limosum, in quod defiliens miles Caesarianus firmiter insistere non potuit. Erant in eodem promontorio Caesaris castra navalia, nisi Plotum nostrum conjectura fefellit. Antiq. Rutup. p. 46.

^c A Gessoriaco de Gallia, Ritupis in portu Britanniarum. Iter Britanniarum, init.

^d Posteris ostendisse. Tacit. vit. Agric. cap. 13.

^e In some old maps it is called Ratsborough, and the Latin name is oft writ Rhutupiae, Rutupae, or portus Rutupensis. Dr. Gale in his edition of An-

tonine's Itinerary calls it Ritupae, so which reading I have given the preference, as it seems to suit best with the modern name. The Notitia has Rutupae, and Ptolemy *Petémai*. So Lucan:

Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonii fallit turbata Britannos.
Lib. vi. v. 67, 68.

And Juvenal:

Rutupinove edita fundo
Sat. iv. v. 142.

Ostrea

Ammianus Marcellinus also writes Rutupae. Lib. xx. cap. 1. et lib. xxvii. cap. 8. These authorities argue strongly for reading it Rutupae.

find his encampments. This rout seems to have been near upon the military way from *Richborough* to *London*. For it is reasonable to suppose that they would have their first encampments, stations, and military ways nearly in the rout according to which they marched, and carried on their conquests in the country. And this remark may be of some service to us in discovering the marches of the *Romans* in their after-conquests. The rout I have pitched upon will, I believe, be found to be exactly agreeable to *Caesar's* account. The first motion was in the very night after their landing. In that *Caesar* marched about twelve miles in quest of the enemy, who retiring to a river ventured there to engage with the *Romans*, but were defeated. This river could by no means be the *Thames*, for that was too distant and great, and *Caesar* calls that by its name, when he speaks of it. Now *Durovernum* (which is agreed upon to be *Canterbury*) is placed in the second *iter* of *Antonine's Itinerary* at twelve miles distance from *portus Ritupensis*^a, and stands upon the river *Stour*. It therefore appears to me very probable, that the fight was upon the banks of this river, and to the north of the town, towards *Sturry* or *Fordwich*. For as they marched to the west, pressing farther up directly into the country, this rout would bring them full upon those turns and windings of the river, where the *British* army might be posted with advantage, and wait for the *Romans*, especially if there be any rising grounds upon the river, for from such the *Britons* engaged. The strong place, to which the *Britons* retreated after their defeat, must have been *Durovernum* or *Canterbury*, which was taken (and possibly kept till *Caesar's* return) by the seventh legion. This might afterwards be converted by the *Romans* into a station, as they treated several other towns of the *Britons*, as *Camulodunum*, *Verulamium*, *Isurium*, and others, the capital towns of several states.

CAESAR, after he had repaired and ordered the ships, advances to the same place again, from whence he had retired; that is, he marches again to *Durovernum*.

AFTER some skirmishes related in the history, which seem to have taken up a good space of time, *Caesar's* next march was directly to the turn of the river *Thames* above *London*. The *Romans* having the advantage in the former rencounters, and repulsing the *Britons*, might probably spread themselves a little wider in the country. But they appear not to have made any considerable progress towards the west, till *Caesar* entered upon his march to the *Thames*. I see no reason to doubt that *Caesar* continued to bend his course still the same way, moving to the west, and advancing farther into the country; and that the rout he then pursued was near the same, with that of the *Romans* in the next expedition under *Claudius*; and both according to the course of the stations from *Richborough* to *London*. *Caesar* cleared the way, and the *Romans* in their after-expeditions (according to their known custom) most probably pursued the same track, used the same encampments, and converted the most considerable of them into lasting stations. Now this course would bring the *Romans* directly upon the turn of the river, where it lies north and south, as it runs from *Kingston* to *London*; and somewhere hereabouts I suppose they passed the river, when they entered the territories of the famous *Cassivellaun*. That *Caesar* did not turn to the north, and march directly to the *Thames* at the nearest place, is evident; because that march would not have been so considerable, and must have led to a part of the river that could not be forded, which is inconsistent with the sequel of the story. But the other part seems to suit very well with all the circumstances of the following account.

CAESAR

^a Sandwich is about ten computed miles from *Canterbury*, and *Richborough* is near *Sandwich*. Nine computed miles usually answer to twelve Roman miles. Besides *Caesar* reckoned from the very shore. It may therefore at least be reckoned twelve Roman miles from *Richborough* to

Canterbury, and *Caesar* might compute them to be twelve from the shore to the river where they engaged.

See several things relating to *Canterbury* by Mr. W. Somner. *Philosoph. Transact.* N^o 272.

CAESAR speaking of *Cassivellaun* adds, "whose borders are divided from the maritime states by the river *Thames* about eighty miles from the sea^a." I know not how far this may be looked upon as an intimation that the *oppidum Cassivellauni*, or that part of the river near it, was about eighty miles from *Ritupae* or the neighbouring maritime places of *Kent*, it being very probable that *Caesar* begun his computation from the place where he landed. That by *civitates maritimae* are meant the people of *Kent* is very clear, because speaking of *Kent* he expressly says, "The country lies all toward the sea^b." And just before speaking of the inhabitants, he says, "They are of all by far the most civilized^c;" which he thought, as I suppose, was owing to their trade and correspondence with other neighbouring nations^d. Now *Cassivellaun*'s town is said to be not far from the place where the *Romans* forded the *Thames*; and I find that in *Antonine's Itinerary* the distance from *Ritupae* to *London*, according to the course of the longer military way, is made to be seventy seven miles, but in the more direct way it may not be seventy. So that *Caesar*'s eighty miles reckoned after this manner must bring us near upon *Kingston*^e. At the place where the *Romans* past the *Thames*, the river was fordable for the foot, tho' deep; for they waded up to the neck; and the bank on the opposite side is said to have been fenced with palisadoes, and the enemy posted upon it. *Caesar* also tells us, that it was only at this place, that the river could be passed thereabout. Indeed several such places may now be found in that part of the river, to which all this may be justly applied. I am well informed that the water is fordable at several places near *Kingston*, being not above five foot deep; so that it may be waded by a man of an ordinary size. But as the opinion of *Caesar*'s passing at *Coway-stakes* has generally obtained, I shall not at present oppose or contest it.

THERE is yet another motion of *Caesar*, that needs to be traced out; and that is, his march from the place where he passed the river *Thames* to the city of *Cassivellaun*. For as the story informs us, *Caesar* having intelligence that this city was not far off, marches directly to it, attacks, and takes it, tho' well fortified with woods and fens, by nature, and also by art. Now to determine where this town was, is to determine this motion of *Caesar*. *Verulamium* the present *St. Albans* occurred as the most likely, which afterwards became a well-known station. To this opinion *Cambden* and others incline, and observe that there was formerly a large mere, or standing water, beside it^f, which might be part of the fens with which *Caesar* says it was fortified. As for the woods, they probably were cut down by the *Romans*, or however may well be supposed to have been destroyed time immemorial, as those are, which were about *London*^g. And the *British* coin mentioned by ^h *Cambden* with a horse and *TASCIA*, or *tax*, on the one side, and *VER.* on the reverse, is not improbably referred to this place, and confirms the conjecture, by shewing it at least to be a place of note and antiquity. 'Tis probable

that

^a Cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter milia passuum octoginta. Lib. v. cap. 9.

^b Regio est maritima omnis. Lib. v. cap. 10.

^c Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt. Ibid.

^d Thus Diodorus Siculus tells us, "that those Britons who dwell near the promontory Belerium (Ptolemy calls it Helerium, and places it near the Land's-end) "were very much civilized;" and gives this as the reason, "that dealing in tin, they had a correspondence with foreign merchants." His words are: Τῆς γὰρ Βρετανικῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀκροήθειαν τὴν καλῶμενον Βελήριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλοξένοι τε διαφείοντες εἰσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξύλων ἐμπορίαν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγοράς. Οὗτοι τὰς κασελίαν κατασκευάζουσιν. Lib. v. cap. 8. p. 209.

^e *Cambden*, *Milton*, and most others suppose that *Caesar* passed the *Thames* at a place called *Coway-stakes*, near *Oatlands* in *Surrey*, about seven or eight miles above *Kingston*. And *Bede* is quoted affirming that the stakes were visible in his time. This and the name *Coway-stakes*, I believe, is all that *Cambden*, and others influenced by him, ground the conjecture upon. See *Cambd. Britan.* p. 155. and *Milton. Hist. of England*, p. 55. Dr. Gale takes notice of the antiquity of *Kingston*, and of the Roman coins found not far from it, and says that the *Romans* first passed the river *Thames* here by a bridge. *Antonin. Itin. Britan.* p. 71, 72.

^f Pag. 296.

^g Gale's *Anton. Itin.* p. 69.

^h Pag. 297.

that in *Caesar's* time *London* was not so considerable as *Verulamium*, tho' they are both spoken of as remarkable places under the reign of *Nero*. For 'tis undoubtedly to these two places that *Suetonius* refers, when he speaks of the "great slaughter in *Britain*, in which two principal towns were destroyed". This is evident from *Tacitus*, who giving an account of the revolt of the *Britens* headed by *Boadicea*, which happened under the reign of this *Emperor*, tells us, that upon this occasion no fewer than seventy thousand were slain at *London* and *Verulam*. *Verulam* is called a *municipium*. And of *London* he says, "That it was famous for trade and navigation, tho' not honoured with the name of a colony". But even by the hint in *Tacitus*, as well as by the former history, *Verulam* appears to have been more antient, and in *Caesar's* time very probably the more flourishing place. For the riches of *London* under *Nero* seem to be growing, and its trade and people increasing. But probably it was not very considerable before the reign of *Claudius*, who by conquering this part of the country opened a way for navigation and trade. Upon the whole I take *Verulamium* to have been the city of *Cassivellaun*, to which *Caesar* marched after his passing the *Thames*, and the distance of *Verulam*, as well as the situation, and other circumstances, better suit the expressions of *Caesar*, than those of *London*.

CAESAR's march then from the north side of the *Thames* to *Verulamium* might not be very distant from the road, where afterwards the military way was laid, that passes from *London* to *Verulam*; which military way no doubt was carried through *London* for the convenience of that place.

CAESAR upon the submission of *Cassivellaun* draws his army back to the sea, marching probably the same way that he came; and so leaves *Britain* altogether.

V. IN the preceding account *Caesar* gives several hints, which may perhaps afford some light with respect to the antient geography. That *Kent* was the antient *Cantium*, as to the main of it, needs no proof. *Caesar* tells us, that about eighty miles from the sea, the river *Thames* separated the territories of *Cassivellaun* from the maritime places, and that *Cantium* was all of it maritime, and the place where the ships from *Gaul* usually arrived^c. And consequently *Cantium* lay on the south side of the *Thames*, and joined to it.

AGAIN from the same passage in *Caesar* 'tis plain, that *Cassivellaun's* territories must lie on the north side of the *Thames*, but adjacent to it: they also seem to have reached from the sea above eighty *Roman* miles. When *Caesar* passed the river *Thames* he entered his territories, and wasted his country; which moved him, together with the desertion of his allies, to treat about a surrender. If then the *Trinobantes* were the only people over whom he reigned, the situation and extent of their country may in a good measure be gathered from hence; and must at least reach to the west beyond *Verulamium*, somewhat farther than is usually supposed.

BUT I am much of opinion, that the other five or six people^d, namely the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassii*, were also subject at this

^a Clades Britannica, qua duo praecipua oppida magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt. Vir. Neron. cap. 39.

^b Ad septuaginta millia civium & sociorum his locis cecidisse constitit.

Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit.

Londinium quidem cognomento coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et comitum

maxime celebre. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 33.

^c Cantium quo fere ex Gallia naves appelluntur. Lib. v. cap. 10.

^d I have said five or six people; because I conjecture that *Cenimagni* are the names of two people confounded into one, the reasons of which I shall give presently.

this time to *Cassivellaun*. And this must certainly be true as to the *Cassii*; if *Cambden's* conjecture be right ^a that the *Cassii* inhabited *Caisho* Hundred; and that the latter name is derived from the former, and that *Verulamium* which is in this hundred was the antient town of *Cassivellaun*: *Cambden* goes farther, and supposes the former part of the name of *Cassivellaun* to be taken from the name of this people: If according to Dr. *Gale's* ^b conjecture (for which he gives very plausible reasons) the *Atrebates* in *Ptolemy* and *Antonine's Itinerary* were the same people with the *Ancalites* in *Caesar*; their situation may be ascertained from these two antient authors, who in this, as well as some other instances, do mutually confirm and illustrate each other. And the situation, which according to *Ptolemy* and the *Itinerary* must be given to the *Atrebates*, will not differ much from that, which *Cambden* has given to the *Ancalites* ^c. So that if we place the four last of these people, namely, the *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassii*, as *Cambden* has done, upon the reasons he has given, we cannot be far from the truth. I have said the four last, because I am much of the opinion, that for *Cenimagni* should either be read *Iceni*, *Cangi* (the situation of which two people I have occasion to speak to afterwards) or rather *Iceni Regni*; for the *Cangi* seem to have been too distant to have submitted to *Caesar* upon this occasion: whereas if we substitute the *Regni* in their room, then all the people that submitted lie together about the river *Thames*; and as the *Regni* (according to *Ptolemy*) joined to *Cantium* ^d, this is still the more probable. *Cambden* also takes notice, that *Ceni Agni* are too distinct words in one m^s. ^e, which also favours the conjecture. The *Iceni* indeed were a considerable people, and *Tacitus* calls them *gens valida*, which may not suit so well with what I have hinted before. But on the other hand the same historian reckons them among those, who came readily and willingly into an alliance with the *Romans* ^f. In *Ptolemy* the *Iceni* are called *Simeni*; and in the anonymous *Ravennas*, at the end of Dr. *Gale's* edition of the *Itinerary* ^g, we have *Venta Cenonum*, for *Venta Icenorum*; which may help us better to conceive, how *Iceni Cangi* (or *Regni*) might be changed into *Cenimagni*. If we choose this latter reading, the people who submitted to *Caesar* are extended as far south as the *Channel*. And I think it plain, that according to *Caesar* and *Tacitus's* accounts, the people of *Cantium*, the *Trinobantes*, the *Iceni*, and the *Brigantes*, possess the whole eastern coast of *England*; at least they mention no more, tho' the *Cateuchlani* and *Parasi* are inserted by *Ptolemy* between the *Iceni* and the *Brigantes*. I shall only farther take notice under this head, that the four princes in *Kent* seem by *Caesar's* expression to be subject to *Cassivellaun* ^h. But this might only be a subjection *pro tempore*, proceeding from their own choice upon this occasion.

I SHALL conclude this section with some general remarks upon the success of *Caesar's* descent. It plainly appears that *Caesar* made no great progress in *Britain*; and that he thought proper after all to quit it without leaving any *Roman* garrison, or making any settlement in it. He might have the promise of tribute and subjection from some of the princes; but there is no great reason to believe it was ever paid, or at least not for any considerable time. He might have the advantage in his rencounters with the *Britons*; but his victories seem not to have been equally glorious with those he elsewhere obtained. *Caesar's* exploits in *Britain* have (as is usual upon all such occasions) been too much magnified by some, and lessened or almost ridiculed by others. The two principal *Latin* historians *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* don't give the same turn

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^a Pag. 278, 296.

^b Antonin. Itiner. p. 105, 106.

^c Pag. 366.

^d Πάλιν τοῖς μὲν Ἀτρεβάντις καὶ τοῖς Καντοῖς ὑπόκεινται ΡΗΓΝΟΙ. Lib. II. cap. 3.

^e Pag. 434. Edit. 1722.

^f Annal. lib. XII. cap. 31.

^g Pag. 145.

^h Nuntios mittit atque his impetrat. Lib. V. cap. 18.

to this matter. By *Suetonius's* expression of *superatis Britannis*, one would at first view imagine they had been reduced; tho' this could not be his meaning^a. On the other hand one would imagine, that *Tacitus* had nothing in view but *Caesar's* first expedition, when all he says of the matter is, "Tho' by a successful engagement, he strook a terror into the inhabitants, and gained the shore; yet he seems rather to have discovered *Britain* to his successors, than to have delivered it to them^b." Tho' indeed this passage does in effect contain the success of the whole. For he rather discovered, than delivered this island to those that came after him; and rather shewed them the way to conquer it, than handed down the actual possession of it. Some of the poets, in order to pay an higher complement to other great men among the *Romans*, scarce do justice to *Caesar*. To pass by *Pompey's* words in *Lucan*^c,

Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis;

Horace in complement to *Augustus* speaks of the *Britons* as untouch'd^d,
Intaetus aut Britannus.

And *Tibullus*^e,

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

But by *intaetus* and *invictus* they could scarce mean unattempted, or never defeated in any battle; but only not subdued, or not yet reduced to a province. And *Cambden*^f quotes *Seneca* speaking in the reign of *Claudius* after much the same manner. *Tacitus* also introduces *Boadicea*, as intimating that^g the inhabitants of *Britain* had expelled the *Romans* under *Julius Caesar* out of the island; and *Caractacus* in his speech saying more expressly, that their ancestors "had driven out *Caesar* the Dictator^h." But in such speeches allowance must be made for a stretch of expression. *Dion Cassius* says of *Caesar's* expedition, that "he got nothing either to himself or the state by itⁱ." And *Strabo* also says, "that *Caesar* did nothing great, nor did he advance far into the island^k." 'Tis natural to suppose, that *Caesar* himself would give the most favourable account of his own success, and transactions in *Britain*. And in his letter to *Cicero* there is a plain intimation of this, according to *Cicero's* own representation of the matter in the letter to his brother, which I have mentioned before. For he tells his brother, that he finds by his letters to him, that "affairs in *Britain* afford neither matter of fear, nor joy^l." But speaking of *Caesar's* letter, he says, "it gave him an agreeable account enough of the *British* affairs^m." *Pollio Asinius* was certainly too severe, when he says that "*Caesar* wrote his *Commentaries* with little care, and no great regard to truthⁿ." But yet I think *Quintus's* words do upon the whole very truly express the issue of the *British* expeditions: if the pleasure ballanced the trouble, and the gain countervailed the loss; this is the utmost that can be reasonably pretended.

VI. IT

^a Diodorus Siculus and Eutropius express themselves after much the same manner as Suetonius, and seemingly attribute the honour of a conquest to Julius Caesar. Tho' I think all they could possibly mean was, that Caesar gained some advantages over the Britons, and constrained them to pay tribute. Diodorus's words are, Γαλός καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸς ἐχαιρώσατο τὴν νῆσον. καὶ τὰς Βρεττανίδας καταπολεμήσας ἠνάγκασεν πάλιν δεισμένους φόβῳ. Lib. v. cap. 8. Eutropius's words are much to the same purpose; Britannis mox bellum intulit, quibus ante eum nomen quidem Romanorum cognitum erat; et eos quoque victos, obsequiis acceptis, stipendiarios fecit. Lib. vi. cap. 14.

^b Quanquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac littore potitus lit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Vir. Agric. cap. 13.

^c Lib. ii. v. 572.

^d Lib. Epod. Od. 7.

^e Lib. iv. Panegyric. ad Messalam

Introduc. p. xlviil.

^f Recelluros, ut Divus Julius recellisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum aemularentur. Vir. Agric. cap. 15.

^g Vocabat nomina majorum, qui dictatorem Caesarem pepulissent. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 34.

^h Μηδὲν μίτη αὐτῷ, μίτη πάλιν προσκτεθῆναι. Lib. xxxix. p. 115.

ⁱ Οὐδὲν μὲν διαπραξάμενος, ἐδὲ περιλθὼν ἐπὶ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον. Lib. iv. p. 200.

^j De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis literis nihil esse nec quod metumamus, nec quod gaudeamus. Lib. iii. Epist. 1.

^k Ex Britannia Caesar ad me Cal. Septembr. dedit literas—satis commodas de Britannicis rebus. Ibid.

^l Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat. Suetonius in Jul. Caes. cap. 56.

VI. IT seems evident in the general, that during this whole time from *Augustus* • *Julius Caesar* to *Claudius* there was no *Roman* army in *Britain*, nor any *Roman* stations or settlements here. Whatever promises the *Britons* had made to *Caesar* in order to get rid of him, we find but little of their performances. And the civil wars that ensued among the *Romans* first occasioned their neglect of *Britain*, which continued for a long time after peace was restored. *Tacitus* expresses this in a few words, but in an elegant manner: “Next follow the civil wars, and the arms of the princes turned against the commonwealth; and hence *Britain* was long forgot, even in peace^a.” This neglect of *Britain* continued to the reign of *Claudius*, near the space of an whole century, as all the *Roman* historians acknowledge. *Suetonius* says expressly, that “the emperor *Claudius* being determined to undertake some enterprise, chose to do it against *Britain*, which had not been attempted by any from the time of *Julius Caesar*^b.” And *Eutropius*^c speaks much to the same purpose. However I shall briefly run over the reigns of the three emperors that intervened.

IN the time of *Augustus* the *Romans* had no footing in *Britain*, which therefore is not mentioned, when he divided the empire with *Mark Antony*. He, as *Tacitus* tells us, “thought it prudent to suffer *Britain* still to be forgot or neglected, which had afterwards with *Tiberius* the force of a command^d.” And yet it seems *Augustus* had once resolved upon an enterprise against *Britain*, and was upon a journey from *Rome* to invade it. *Horace* has paid him a complement on this occasion in one of his odes^e:

*Caelo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: praesens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio.*

And in another ode to *Augustus* he says^f:

*Te belluosus, qui remotis
Obstrepat oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventes funera Galliae,
Duraeque tellus audit Iberiae.*

And likewise in his ode to *Fortune*^g:

*Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.*

But I am of opinion that not only this poet, but some other writers after him make more of this intended expedition, than was really in it; since neither *Tacitus* nor *Suetonius*, the two most authentic *Roman* historians who write of those times, have given us (so far as I remember) any intimation of such a design.

TIBERIUS, who succeeded *Augustus*, was more determined not to meddle with *Britain*, as I have shewn before from *Tacitus*. Therefore nothing was attempted upon it during this reign. *TIBERIUS*.

CALIGULA, the successor of *Tiberius*, had indeed form'd a design against *Britain*, but never put it in execution; which *Tacitus* ascribes to his instability, and ill success in his vast enterprises against *Germany*^h. *Suetonius* also tells *CALIGULA*.

^a Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Vit. Agric. cap. 13.

^b Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque tentatam ulli post Divum Julium. In vita Claudii, cap. 17.

^c Britanniae intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post Julium Caesarem attigerat. Lib. vii. cap. 13.

^d Consilium id Divus Augustus vocabat, Tibe-

rius praeceptum. Vit. Agric. cap. 13.

^e Lib. iii. Od. 5.

^f Lib. iv. Od. 14.

^g Lib. i. Od. 35.

^h Agitasse C. Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis poenitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Vit. Agric. cap. 13.

ἡ Κνωβία δὲ π. π.
 coins in Claudius
 Cunobelline, in the
 1. D, some in the
 manner; others
 like, with owl,
 a silver coin than

tells us ^a, that he did no more than receive *Adminius* the son of *Cunobelline*, a King of the *Britons*, who surrendered himself to *Caligula* with the few men he had with him, having been expelled his own country by his father. The same historian and some others acquaint us with the mock fight and triumph upon the sea shore, with which this emperor pleased himself. I shall give the account of it in the words of *Dion Cassius*. “*Caligula* advancing
 “ towards the ocean, as if he designed to carry the war into *Britain*, put his
 “ army in order of battle upon the shore, embarked on board a galley, and
 “ after he had gone a little way out to sea returned on a sudden, and being
 “ mounted upon a throne gave the word of command to his soldiers, as if
 “ he had been ready to give battle, made the trumpets sound to the charge,
 “ and then commanded them to gather shells. When he was possessed of
 “ these spoils, which he wanted to adorn his triumph, he vaunted, as if he
 “ had gained a conquest; and having liberally rewarded his soldiers, he carried
 “ the shells to *Rome*, that he might shew his booty to the citizens ^b.”

SOME are of opinion the story of *Demetrius* must be referred to this emperor's reign. A late author in his text gives the preference to *Claudius*, but in his marginal note seems rather inclined to think that *Demetrius* was sent by *Caligula*. The story is cited from *Plutarch* in his treatise *Of the cessation of oracles*, and is thus: “ There are many islands (says he) which
 “ lie scattered about the isle of *Britain*, after the manner of our *Sporades*.
 “ They are generally unpeopled, and some of them are called *the islands of*
 “ *the heroes*. One *Demetrius* was sent by the emperor to discover those parts,
 “ and arrived at one of the islands, next adjoining to the isle of *Britain* before
 “ mentioned, which island was inhabited by some few *Britons*, but those
 “ held sacred and inviolable by all their countrymen. Immediately after his
 “ arrival the air grew black and troubled, and strange apparitions were seen,
 “ the winds rose to a tempest, and fiery spouts and whirlwinds appeared
 “ dancing towards the earth. When these prodigies were ceased, the islanders
 “ informed him, that some one of the aerial gods or *genii*, superior to our
 “ nature, then ceased to live. For as a taper while burning (says *Plutarch*)
 “ affords a pleasant harmless light, but is noisom and offensive when extin-
 “ guished; so those heroes shine benignly upon us, and do us good, but at
 “ their death they turn all things topsy-turvy, raise tempests, and infect the
 “ air with pestilential vapours ^c.” This author supposes *Anglesea* to be the island, where *Demetrius* arrived, but others more justly suppose the whole story to be fabulous.

^a Vit. Caligulae, cap. 44.

^b Lib. LIX. p. 659.

^c Rowland Mona antiqua restaurata, p. 73, 74.

CHAPTER II.

The second historical period, from the beginning of the reign of *Claudius* to that of *Vespasian*.

In which are contained, I. The invasion of Britain under Claudius, with the conquests of the Romans here during that reign. II. The Roman affairs here from the time of Veranius's government under Nero to the end of this period. III. The marches of the Romans, and the limits of their conquests. IV. The geography. V. The chronology.

I. **I**T has been shewn in the foregoing chapter, that tho' *Julius Caesar* penetrated as far into *Britain* as *Verulam*, yet his conquest was of no great compass; and that after he quitted the island, the *Romans* had no footing in *Britain* during the time of his reign, nor those of his three successors, *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*. *Claudius* the next successor was the first emperor, who (as we learn from *Tacitus*) made any considerable conquests in *Britain*, and held what he conquered. "It was *Claudius* who did the business^a." For, "having transported legions and auxiliaries, and admitted *Vespasian* to a share in these affairs, which was the rise of his after-fortune, nations were subdued, kings taken, and *Vespasian's* merit sufficiently displayed^b."

CLAUDIUS.

IN the year of our Lord 43, this emperor in his third consulate attempted in good earnest the reduction of *Britain*, as *Dion* informs us^c. *Suetonius* passes over this expedition in a slight manner, ^d hinting first at some tumults and disturbances in *Britain*, upon the account that some fugitives were not sent back^e; for *Adminius* and those who were with him fled from *Cunobellin*, and had been received by *Caligula*. He says little more, but that the "emperor failed from *Gessoriacum* to *Britain*; and that in a very few days (according to some only sixteen) without any battle or bloodshed^f part of the island

"surrendered

^a Divus Claudius auctor operis. Vit. Agric. cap. 13.

^b Transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit, domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus satis Vespasianus. Ibid.

^c Lib. i.x. p. 677. Dr. Battely in his *Antiquitates Rurupenses* has a passage, in which I think there must be an error. His words are: Bellum incidit in annum ab V. C. 796, a Christo nato 47. p. 43. However, as I have hinted already, I all along follow *Almeloveen*, and they who differ from him, may easily reduce the time to their own way of reckoning. See *Julii Vitalis epitaphium cum commentario Gul. Musgrave*, p. 70.

^d Vit. Claudii, cap. 17.

^e Tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas. Ibid.

^f When I was in *Cheshire*, I saw at Mr. Wright's of *Stretton*, among other curiosities, an inscription which confirms this account of *Suetonius* in a beautiful manner. This ingenious gentleman had taken the copy himself from the palace *Barberini* at *Rome*,

and has now published it in his travels, p. 293. It is as follows:

TI. CLAUDIO CÆS.
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX
COS V IMP. XVI P. P.
SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQ.
VILA. IACTVRA. DOMVERIT.
GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.
PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

Agricola uses these words in his speech before the engagement with *Galgacus*: *Inventa Britannia et subacta*. Tacit. vit. Agric. cap. 33. *Veni, vidi, vici*, is well known. But how far such expressions are parallel to that in this inscription, *indicio subegerit*, I shall not determine. But this gentleman in the *Addenda* to his work has obliged us with another inscription, referring to the same affair; the latter part of which being somewhat different from the other, I shall here transcribe the four last lines, which will stand connected with the five first of the former, that are in substance the same in both.

“ surrendered to him; and that he returned to *Rome* within six months after he “ had left it, and had a very splendid triumph^a.” The same author gives a summary account of *Vespasian's* exploits in *Britain* under this reign. “ *Vespasian* (says he) fought thirty times with the enemy, reduced two powerful “ nations, above twenty towns, and the *Isle of Wight*.^b” I shall only add from the same writer, “ that *Titus* served as a tribune in *Britain* at this time^c.”

EUTROPIUS tells us to the same purpose, that *Claudius* “ made war “ upon *Britain*, which no one of the *Romans* after *Julius Caesar* had made “ the least attempt upon; and having conquered it by *Cnaeus Sentius* and “ *Aulus Plautius*, illustrious persons, he had a splendid triumph upon this “ occasion. He added also to the *Roman* empire some islands lying in the “ ocean beyond *Britain*, which are called *Orcades*, and gave his son the name “ of *Britannicus*---He himself attended upon *Plautius* in his triumph, and “ walked on his left hand, as he went up to the capitol^d.” This author gives also much the same account of *Vespasian's* exploits in *Britain*, as *Suetonius* has done, from whom most probably he took it. Only *Eutropius* makes him to have fought two and thirty times with the enemy, instead of *Suetonius's* thirty. “ Going (says he) into *Britain*, he fought two and thirty times with “ the enemy, and added to the *Roman* empire two very powerful nations, “ twenty towns, and the *Isle of Wight* near *Britain*^e.”

TACITUS has given a large account of several particulars relating to this history, which, tho' scattered through his works, deserve to be collected with care. The three legates in the reign of *Claudius* were *Aulus Plautius*, *Ostorius Scapula*, and *Didius Gallus*^f. Under the two former the nearest parts of *Britain* were reduced into the form of a province, a colony of veterans was settled, and some places given to king *Cogidunus*^g, who continued faithful to the *Romans*. *Didius Gallus* kept what the other two had acquired, and erected a few castles and garrisons farther up in the country. The wife of *Aulus*

REGES. BRITANNIAE. PERDVES. SINE
VLLA. IACTURA. CELERITER. CEPERIT
GENTESQVE. EXTREMARVM. ORCHADVM
PRIMVS. INDICIO. FACTO. R. IMPERIO. ADIECERIT
This inscription it seems is likewise in the same palace, where it was copied by Alexander Donatus; but being broken and imperfect, was supplied by him in the manner it is here represented. The word factio added to indicio gives a different turn to the expression; and the nations thus subdued by Claudius are here said to be the inhabitants of the Orchades, which likewise Eutropius and some other later historians (as Orosius) have affirmed of him. But whether of these two inscriptions may be the more ancient and authentic, I must leave others to judge, since Mr. Wright himself has thought fit to leave it undetermined. 'Tis plain however, that neither of these inscriptions could be erected till some years after Claudius was in Britain; since his triumph on that occasion was in the year 44, soon after his third consulate, whereas his fifth consulate did not commence till the year 51; and there were coins struck upon the account of this conquest the same year with his triumph, as we find in Mediobarb. In Goltzius I see Tr. p. ix. and imp. xvi. (as in this inscription) answer to col. iv. perhaps then it has been also col. iv. in this inscription. Claudius had his fourth consulate in the year 47.

^a Quare a Massilia Gessoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmisit; ac sine ullo praelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, triumphavitque maximo apparatu. Vit. Claudii, cap. 17.

^b In Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque xx oppida, et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam, in ditionem redegit; partim Auli Plautii consularis, partim Claudii ipsius ductu. Vit. Vespasiani, cap. 4.

^c Tribunus militum—in Britannia meruit. Vit. Titi, cap. 4.

^d Britanniae intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post Julium Caesarem attigerat: eaque devicta per Cnaeum Sentium et Aulum Plautium, illustres et nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit. Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britanniam in oceano politas Romano imperio addidit, quae appellantur Orcades, filioque suo Britannici nomen imposuit—Plautium triumphantem ipse prosequeretur, et conscendenti capitolium laevis incederet. Lib. vii. cap. 8.

^e In Britanniam missus tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit; duas validissimas gentes, viginti oppida, insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam imperio Romano adjecerit. Lib. vii. cap. 19. Diodorus Siculus gives the name of Iêta to the Isle of Wight. Lib. v. cap. 8.

^f Eutropius in the passage just now quoted mentions one Cnaeus Sentius; but as I find nothing about him in any other Roman historian, this author or the transcribers have probably mistaken the name.

^g It is no where certainly appears over what people Cogidunus was king. Camden speaks of him as king of the Regni, Dr. Gale as king of the Segontiaci. It is plain in the general that he reigned somewhere in the most southern parts of Britain.

Aulus Plautius, from the account which *Tacitus*^a gives of her, is supposed to have been a *Christian*, and the first in *Britain*.

‘TIS pity we should want a particular account from *Tacitus* of the *Romans* landing in *Britain* upon this occasion, and of their first marches under the command of *Aulus Plautius*. *Dion Cassius* is largest on this part of the history, and therefore our account of this legate must be taken chiefly from him. This author tells us, that “ *Aulus Plautius*, an eminent senator, carried an army into *Britain*; one *Bericus*^b, who had been driven out of the island for sedition, having persuaded *Claudius* to send forces thither. *Plautius*, who was then *praetor*, had some difficulty to get his army out of *Gaul*, who were very unwilling to engage in a war as it were out of the world; and refused to go, till *Narcissus*, being sent by *Claudius*, ascended the tribunal of *Plautius*, and began to harangue them. At which the soldiers were more enraged, and would not hear him, but immediately chanting the usual ditty, *Io Saturnalia* (for slaves celebrate the feast of *Saturn* in the guise of masters) readily followed *Plautius*. And being divided into three parts, lest attempting to land at one place they should be prevented, tho’ they met with some difficulty in their passage by contrary winds, yet being encouraged by a light that ran cross from east to west, the way they were sailing, they landed in the island without opposition. For the *Britons*, from the accounts they had received, not expecting their arrival, had not got together. Therefore they did not engage them, but fled into the marshes and woods, in hopes that being tired with waiting to no purpose, like *Julius Caesar*, they would retire without effecting any thing^c. Whereupon *Plautius* had no small difficulty to find them out. But after he came up with them (now they were not a free state, but subject to several kings) he first defeated *Cataraëtacus* and after him *Togodumnus*, the sons of *Cunobellin*, whose father was then dead. After they were fled, part of the *Bodunni*, who were subject to the *Catuellani*, surrendered to him. Leaving a garrison here, he advanced forward. And when he came to a river, which the barbarians thought unpassable by the *Romans* for want of a bridge, and therefore lay careless and secure in their camp on the other side, he sent over the *Germans*, who were accustomed to swim thro’ the most rapid streams in their arms^d. These surprising the enemy, contrary to their expectation, attacked none of the men, but only wounded their chariot horses, which being thus disordered, endangered the riders. Then he dispatched *Flavius Vespasianus*, who was afterwards emperor, and his brother *Sabinus* a legate, who likewise having passed the river, surprised and slew many of the barbarians. However the rest did not flee upon this, but engaged afresh the day following, when the battle continued doubtful, till *C. Silius Geta*, who narrowly escaped being taken, gave them such a defeat, that triumphal honours were conferred upon him, tho’ he had not been a consul. After this the *Britons* retreated to the river *Thames*, where it empties itself into the sea, and that overflowing stagnates, which having safely passed, as being acquainted with those places which were firm at bottom, and fordable, the *Romans* ran a great hazard in following them^e. “ But

^a Pomponia Graecina insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannia retulit, nupta, ac superbissima externae rei, maiori iudicio permixta. Annal. Lib. xiii. cap. 32.

^b Perhaps this *Bericus* was the same with *Suetonius* Adminius the son of *Cunobellin*, who fled to *Caligula*. See the passage quoted before. Or he might be one of those fugitives, who accompanied *Adminius*; and upon whose account, as has been said before, the disturbances first arose in *Britain*.

^c This further shews what opinion *Dion* had of *Julius Caesar*’s success in his attempt upon *Britain*.

^d Thus *Tacitus* says, that the lightness of their arms and tallness of their bodies bore up the *Germans*, who were accustomed to swimming—*Germans fluminibus suctos*. Hist. Lib. v. c. 14.

^e Ἀναχαρηστάντων δ’ ἐντιϋθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταμέσαν ποταμὸν. καὶ ὁ ἔς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει. πλημμυρόντος τε αὐτῷ λιμένας, καὶ βαδίζας αὐτὸν διαβάντων, ἅτε καὶ τὰ εἶερα τὰ τε ὑπορὰ τῷ χυμῷ ἀκρεβῶς εἰδόντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπακολυθήσαντες σφῆσι ταύτῃ μὲν ἰσφάλησαν· διανηξαμένων δ’ αὖθις τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ τινῶν ἐτέρων διὰ χροῦρας ὀλίγον ἀναδελόντων, πολλὰ χροῖον τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς προσέμιξαν, καὶ πολλὰς

“ and then to *Marseilles*, and being carried ^a from thence partly by land, and
 “ partly by rivers, he arrived at the ocean, where passing over into *Britain*,
 “ he marched to his army, who were waiting for him at the *Thames*. Then
 “ taking upon him the command, he passed the river, engaged with the bar-
 “ barians^b, who were assembled at his coming, and having defeated them
 “ took *Camulodunum*, the capital of *Cunobellin*; and after this he brought
 “ many under subjection by force, and others by surrender. For these ex-
 “ ploits he was several times complemented with the title of *imperator*, con-
 “ trary to the custom of the *Romans*, who allowed it but once for the same
 “ war. *Claudius* likewise deprived the *Britons* of their arms, and leaving
 “ *Plautius* to govern them, with orders to subdue the rest of the country,
 “ returned himself to *Rome*. After this *Plautius* carried on the *British*
 “ war very prosperously, and was succeeded in his command by *P. Ostorius*
 “ *Scapula* ^c.”

TACITUS has given us several particulars relating to the transactions of *Ostorius*, whom he calls both *propraetor* and *legate*. The substance of what he says is as follows. *Ostorius* being made *propraetor* of *Britain*, found affairs there much in confusion; the enemy having made inroads into the territories of the *Roman* allies^d. *Ostorius* takes at once the readiest cohorts, kills those who resist, and pursues those who were dispersed, to prevent their gathering to a body again. He disarms the suspected, builds forts, and posts his forces upon the rivers *Antona* and *Sabrina* to keep in the enemy. The *Iceni* were the first who made opposition, a powerful people, who had not been wasted with war, by reason that they had come readily into an alliance with the *Romans*. By their instigation the neighbouring states rise, and chuse for the field of battle a place encompassed with a rude rampart, and only a narrow passage to it, in order to keep off the horse. The *Roman* general, tho’ wanting the strength of his legions, leads on the confederate forces, and makes preparations for an assault. Having posted his cohorts of foot, he also orders the horse to dismount, and do the duty of foot soldiers. The signal being given, the *Romans* force the enemies trenches, and put them into confusion. In this fight *M. Ostorius* the son of the legate had the honour of saving a citizen^e.

By this defeat of the *Iceni* some were quieted, who seemed before to be wavering between peace and war; and the army marched against the *Cangi*. And now they were advanced almost to the coast, that lies over-against *Ireland*, when a sedition among the *Brigantes* brought the general back again. Some of these being killed, and others pardoned, all
 was

cross the river, over which the Britons waded on foot; or that there was a bridge over it but a little higher. I might add to what has been said, that there must have been near two hundred years between this action of Plautius, and the time when Dion wrote this part of his history; during almost the whole of which the course of the Thames must have been known to the Romans. For it has been observed before from Tacitus, in the preceding chapter, that London, even in Nero’s time, was famous for trade and navigation. But how Tacitus should know this, and Dion an hundred years afterward be so far a stranger to it, as to imagine there could have been any bridge built by the Britons cross the Thames, near the mouth of it, seems altogether incredible. The Romans had long before Dion’s time been in possession of the country on both sides this river, and their constant place of landing was not a great way from the mouth of it. Upon the whole therefore I can no ways imagine this diligent and inquisitive historian, who had all op-

portunities of information, could be guilty of so great a mistake in an age, when the mouth of the Thames must have been almost as well known to the Romans, as the mouth of the Tiber.

^a Suetonius says only pedestri itinere, opposing it to his passage by sea as far as *Marseilles*. A Masilia Gessoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto. Vit. Claud. cap. 18.

^b Dion, I think, must be mistaken as to this matter. At least this contradicts Suetonius’s account, and the Roman inscriptions quoted before. But perhaps Dion might ascribe to the emperor what was done by his generals.

^c Lib. LX. p. 677.

^d Agrum sociorum.

^e Annal. Lib. XII. cap. 31. In another place Tacitus says of this *Ostorius*, “ that he had acquired much military glory and a civic crown in “ *Britain*.” *Ostorius multa militari fama, et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritus.* Annal. Lib. XVI. cap. 15.

was quiet in that part. But the *Silures* could not be wrought upon, either by clemency or severity, and therefore the legions encamped there to restrain them; and to further this the colony of *Camulodunum* with a strong body of veterans is planted in the new conquests, to awe the rebellious, and to train and instruct their allies in the *Roman* laws^a.

AFTER this they march against the *Silures*, who relied much upon their own valour and that of *Caractacus*. Having a weaker army than the *Romans*, he wisely transfers the war among the *Ordovices*; where being joined by some others, he posts himself most advantageously; and where the high mountains were accessible, he blocks up the passage with great stones. A river was before his camp of difficult passage, and guarded by his best troops. The commanders encourage the soldiers, and *Caractacus* makes a speech, in which among other things, he says "that their ancestors had driven *Caesar* the " *dictator* out of the island. On the other hand, *Ostorius's* soldiers being " keen for fighting, he leads them on in their fury, and passes the river " without much difficulty. The enemy are also beat from their barricade " and rampart, and then retire to the tops of the mountains. The *Roman* " soldiers pursue them there. If the *Britons* turned to the auxiliaries, they " fell under the swords and javelins of the legionaries; if they stood to the " legionaries, they were hewn down by the auxiliaries. This was a glorious " victory. *Caractacus's* wife and daughter were taken, and his brothers surrendered. *Caractacus* himself craving the protection of *Cartismandua* " queen of the *Brigantes*, is delivered up by her to the conquerors in the " ninth^b year after the war was begun in *Britain*. He is carried to *Rome*, " and there before *Caesar* makes a bold and excellent speech; upon which " *Claudius* grants him his pardon and liberty^c.

" HITHERTO success attended *Ostorius*, which afterwards became doubt- " ful, or rather seemed to decline. For the enemy surrounded the *prae-* " *fectus castrorum*, and the legionary cohorts that were left to build forts " among the *Silures*, who, unless timely assistance had come from the neigh- " bouring garrisons, must have been cut off; the praefect with eight centurions, " and the most advanced of the *manipuli* fell in the action. And not long " after the foragers, and those troops of horse that were sent to their assis- " tance, were routed by the enemy. Upon this *Ostorius* drew out some " cohorts, but those did not stop the flight till the legions engaged. They " first made the battle equal, and then turned it to the side of the *Romans*. " From this time there were several skirmishes, and two auxiliary cohorts, as " they were plundering, were surprized and cut off by the *Silures*. *Ostorius* " being wearied out, dies, and is succeeded by *Avitus Didius Gallus*^d."

He came speedily over, but found matters in no very good posture. The legion which was commanded by *Manlius Valens*, having been defeated by the enemy; the *Silures* made incursions, till *Didius* expelled them. *Venusius*, after the defeat of *Caractacus*, was best skilled in military affairs. He was of the *Tugantes* (perhaps the *Brigantes*) and had been long a friend to the *Romans*, while he lived with his queen *Cartismandua*; but when discord arose between them, and *Cartismandua* took *Vellocatus*, the king's armour-bearer, to be partner of her bed and throne; then *Venusius* became an enemy to the *Romans*, who afterwards sent some cohorts to assist *Cartismandua*. There was a sharp engagement, doubtful at first, but it issued well for the *Romans*, and the legion which *Caesius Nasicus* commanded, did in a particular manner signalize itself^e.
However

^a Cap. 32.

^b Milton affirms, that by a truer computation it was in the seventh year; but he has not shewn the ground he goes upon. Hist. of England, p. 69.

^c Cap. 33, et sequent.

^d Cap. 38, 39.

^e Cap. 40.

However *Venusius* got the kingdom, and the *Romans* the trouble and charge of the war ^a.

THE historian tells us in the end of this relation, that he had cast together all these transactions, tho' they were done under two *propraetors*, *Ostorius* and *Didius*, and took up several years. Tho' *Didius* survived the emperor *Claudius*, yet little being done by him, but what fell under that emperor's reign, I finish his *propraetorship* in *Britain* under this section. I would only before I close it observe; that although *Tacitus* in his history ^b relates the story of queen *Cartismandua*, as if it had happened after the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*; yet here he manifestly speaks of it as in the time of *Didius's propraetorship*, which is most likely to be right ^c. But these two accounts in *Tacitus* may be reconciled thus. In his history indeed he tells how the war issued between the *Romans*, who espoused the interest of *Cartismandua*, and her husband *Venusius*; namely, that tho' the *Romans* protected her, yet *Venusius* was left at last in possession of the kingdom: and acquaints us, that *Venusius* afterward took the advantage of the civil war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, to raise an insurrection; and brings in the story of the difference between his wife and him, not as happening then, but as the cause of his enmity to the *Romans*, which he had mentioned in his *Annals*, and that ever after continued.

II. *NERO* succeeded to the empire in the year 54, and under his reign *Veranius* succeeded *Didius* in the government of *Britain*, but died within a year ^d. *Suetonius* informs us that this emperor entertained some thoughts of removing his army out of *Britain* ^e, but was restrained from doing it by an unwillingness to detract from the honour of *Claudius*. When *Veranius* died, who is censured for his great ambition and flattery of *Nero*, even when he was dying, *Paulinus Suetonius* is appointed to be his successor. And during his command that great slaughter happened in *Britain*, which *Suetonius* the historian mentions ^f. To the same stroke *Tacitus* ^g also refers, as I think, in his *Annals*, where having told us, that *Avitus Didius* the *legate* only kept what had been acquired before; and that *Veranius* made some light incursions on the *Silures*, till death prevented the execution of his further designs; he enters immediately upon a particular account of the transactions under *Suetonius*. This *propraetor*, encouraged by some former successes, makes an attempt upon the island of *Mona* ^h; for which purpose he prepares flat-bottomed vessels. The foot are carried over in these, and the horse follow the foot thro' the ford, or swim where the waters were deep ⁱ. The enemy were posted

NERO.

^a Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 45.

^b Lib. iii. cap. 45.

^c Annal. Lib. xii. cap. 31.

^d Didium Veranius excepit atque intra annum extinctus est. Vit. Agric. cap. 14.

^e Etiam ex Britannia exercitum deducere cogitavit. Vit. Neron. cap. 18.

^f Clades Britannica qua duo praecipua oppida, magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt. Vit. Neron. cap. 39.

^g Tacitus says, Caesonio Pacto, Petronio Turpiliano consulibus gravis clades in Britannia accepta. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 29.

^h This is the first transaction under this *propraetor*, which the historian gives a particular account of; tho' he expressly says that *Suetonius* had gone on successfully for the two years before. *Suetonius Paulinus* biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis, quorum fiducia Moniam insulam aggressus. Vit. Agric. cap. 14, 15. But this I shall have occasion to take notice of afterwards.

ⁱ Tacitus makes honourable mention of this *legate*

in another part of his history, and says, "That he acquired great fame and glory in the British expedition; that no body of that time was more skilled in military affairs, for which he was justly celebrated." *Suetonius Paulinus*—militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruerat. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 37. Quo nemo illa tempestate rei militaris callidior habebatur. Ibid. cap. 31.

ⁱ *Diodorus Siculus* observes of the islands, which according to him lie between Britain and Europe, "that at full sea they are islands, but when the tide is out, they seem to be a part of the continent, the intervening space being dry." Lib. v. cap. 8. This is still the case with respect to Holy Island in the north; for when the sea is out, one may walk into it on foot. The Romans are supposed to have passed from Lhan Vair is Gaer in Caernarvonshire to Lhan Idan in Anglesea, which is still the shallowest part of the strait, and there are remarkable works yet visible near to Lhan Idan. See Camden, p. 675, 676.

posted upon the shore intermixed with women, and the *Druids* round them; but they are beat off by the *Romans*, who after the defeat of the *Britons* put garrisons into their towns.

WHILE *Suetonius* is thus employed, he receives advice of a sudden revolt: for *Boadicea*^a the widow of *Prasutagus* king of the *Icenî* (who dying left *Caesar* his heir) being ill-treated in many respects by the *Romans*, and the people enraged at the ill usage of the royal family and their own, resolve to shake off the *Roman* yoke; and they draw in the *Trinobantes*, and others, to join with them. They had a peculiar resentment against the veterans settled at *Camulodunum*, by whom they had been treated very roughly; and were highly offended at a temple erected to *Divus Claudius*^b. Nor did they think it a difficult matter to destroy a colony which had no fortifications, and where pleasure, more than strength and safety, had been consulted. The *Britons* also animate each other by representing their common grievances, that they were now reduced to an ill state, and that the longer they bore it, they were still like to be worse; that they had two kings imposed upon them, the *legate* and the *procurator*, the former preyed upon their lives, and the other upon their substance; that they were pressed for foreign service; but had now a good opportunity to redress themselves, when the general was absent, and the army in another island. Thus they awakened each other's resentments, and then under queen *Boadicea* fell upon the soldiers scattered through the smaller forts, took the garrisons, and attacked the colony itself^c. The colony sought help from *Catus Decianus* the *procurator*, who sent them only two hundred men not well armed, and they had but a small number before; so the place was soon taken and destroyed, and the temple, to which the soldiers fled, is also taken after two days siege. The victorious *Britons* meet *Petilius Cerialis* the *legate* of the ninth legion coming to the assistance of the colony, whom they rout, putting the foot to the sword, so that only himself got off with the horse. *Catus* the *procurator*, whose covetousness occasioned the war, upon this flies into *Gaul*.

SUETONIUS with admirable resolution marches to *London* through the midst of the enemy. Upon deliberation he resolves to abandon this city, nor could he be prevailed upon to continue by the cries and tears of those who begged his assistance. Those who were willing to follow him, he took with his army; but they who stayed behind were cut off by the enemy. And the *Municipium Verulamium* met with the same fate. For the barbarians passing by the forts and garrisons pillaged the richest towns, so that seventy thousand citizens and allies perished in these places^d. *Suetonius* had with him the fourteenth legion, the *vexillarii* of the twentieth, and some auxiliaries that were nearest, amounting in all to near ten thousand men, with whom he resolves immediately to engage. He chuses a place and puts his soldiers into a proper posture, the legionaries in the middle, and the horse in the

^a This name is wrote very variously not only in modern, but even in the antient authors. Xiphiline from Dion has it Bonduca, Boudvica. In Tacitus (Elzevir, 1665.) I find it in one place Voadica, (Vit. Agric. cap. 16.) and in another Boudicea, (Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 35.) In the index it is made Brodicia. In Camden and other good English writers it is Boodicea, Boodicia, and Boadicea. I have given the preference to this last, as being composed of the two names in Tacitus, or rather being the one name with a small correction from the other. And as it has also been stamped with the authority of some good English authors, I hope it may pass the more current.

^b Templum Divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis conspiciebatur. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 31.

^c Vit. Agric. cap. 15, 16.

^d —Ad septuaginta millia civium et sociorum. Verulamium was a municipium, and called so just before; so that civium may refer chiefly to this place, and sociorum to London. Tacitus has a passage which I think must refer to this time, and to which this history may serve for a comment: Non sane alias exercitator magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit, trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus, tum de salute mox de victoria certavere. Vit. Agric. cap. 5. 'Tis certain however that Eutropius must have had this in his eye, when he says, Nero Britanniam pene amisit, duo nobilissima oppida capta atque eversa sunt. Lib. vii. cap. 14.

the wings. The *Britons* covered the plain with their numbers. *Boadicea* rides about in her chariot, exciting and encouraging her soldiers. *Suetonius* does the same to the *Romans*, and then gives the signal for the battle. The legions, auxiliaries, and horse acted all their parts so well, that the enemy was soon defeated. Some reported them to be little less than eighty thousand. The *Romans* had near four hundred killed, and as many wounded. *Boadicea* poisoned herself, and *Poenius Postumus* the *praefectus castrorum* of the second legion stabbed himself upon the news, because he had disobeyed the orders of his general, and deprived his legion of a share in the glory^a.

THE emperor sends *Suetonius* a reinforcement out of *Germany*, consisting of two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse; at whose coming the ninth legion was recruited with legionary soldiers. The cohorts and *alae* were put into new winter quarters. The country of such as were enemies, or suspected, was wasted with fire and sword. After this defeat they take but slow steps towards peace^b. Indeed the historian says this was owing in a great measure to a misunderstanding between *Julius Classicianus* the successor of *Catus* the procurator, and *Suetonius* the general who was charged with cruelty and pride.

UPON this *Polycletus*, one of *Nero's* freed men, is sent over by him to enquire into this matter. *Suetonius* keeps his command for a while, but afterwards is obliged to resign to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had just ended his consulate. He neither molesting the enemy, nor being molested by them, gave the specious name of peace to his own inactivity. And thus, as the same author expresses it, "having composed former disturbances, without attempting any thing further, he delivered up the province to *Trebellius Maximus*."

TREBELLIVS was inactive and unexperienced. And the civil wars of the empire which now happened, furnished him with a fair excuse for his indolence. The army grew mutinous, but he and they without bloodshed compounded the matter between them; he for his safety, and they for their licentiousness. *Tacitus* tells us elsewhere^c, that this *Trebellius Maximus* through his avarice and baseness was despised and hated by the army; and *Roscius Caelius* the legate of the twentieth legion being disgusted before, now inflamed the difference. At last he was deserted and reproached by the auxiliaries, and the cohorts and wings joining themselves to *Caelius*, *Trebellius* fled to *Vitellius*. The province however remained quiet, tho' without a consular legate, the legates of the legions ruling with equal power, tho' *Caelius* was the most daring and forward.

THE *British* army are for *Vitellius*, and *Vettius Bolanus* is made legate by him, the civil wars still continuing. His conduct was much the same with that of his predecessor; but he was not so vicious, which made him loved by the army, tho' they stood in no awe of him. *Vitellius*, upon the first appearance of a civil war with *Vespasian*, sent to *Vettius Bolanus* for some supplies out of *Britain*; but *Bolanus* delayed and excused himself, pretending that the *Britons* were never quiet^d. At last the *Vexillarii* of the several legions which are called the strength of the *British* army^e, are sent over to *Vitellius*.

VITELLIUS.

The

^a I suppose *Boadicea* refers to this conduct of *Poenius Postumus*, when she tells her people, that "the legion which dared to fight was destroyed, and the rest kept close in their camp, or else were looking about which way to get off." *Cecidisse legionem, quae proelium ausa sit: caeteros castris occulari, aut fugam circumspicere. Postumus seems to have refused to draw his legion out of their station or camp.*

^b *Tardius ad pacem inclinant.*

^c *Compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Vit. Agric. cap. 16.*

^d *Hist. Lib. i. cap. 60.*

^e *Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 97.*

^f *Et advenisse mox cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robora. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 1.*

The same historian also informs us, that the army in *Britain* had a great respect for *Vespasian*, who had behaved himself very gallantly, when *Claudius* gave him the command of the second legion there^a. This legion therefore came over to *Vespasian's* side, tho' not without some opposition from the rest. For the most part of the officers of the other legions had been preferred by *Vitellius*, and so were unwilling to run the risque of a change.

III. ACCORDING to the method that was observed in the foregoing chapter, I shall here endeavour to trace the marches of the *Romans*, and to determine as well as I can, the bounds of their conquests at the end of this period; from whence we may know how much of *Britain* remained as yet untouched by them. I take it for granted that *Claudius* himself would endeavour to land about the same place where *Julius Caesar* made both his descents, and where *Caesar* himself tells us he found the landing best. *Claudius*, as *Suetonius* informs us, sailed from *Gessoriacum*^b, and no doubt came to *portus Ritupensis* in *Britain*, (this as appears from *Antonine's Itinerary* having been the usual passage) and from thence went directly to his army on the *Thames*. *Dion Cassius* indeed tells us, that *Aulus Plautius*, who came over before the emperor, divided his army into three bodies, that they might not all land at one place, and that they met with difficulties and contrary winds in their passage; however I see no reason to doubt, but that they landed all on the *Kentish* coast; part of them probably about *Richborough*, and the rest to the south of it. The woods and fens to which the enemy retired, and where the *Romans* first came up with them, seem to have been on the north side of the *Thames*. The reasons that have induced me to this opinion are these. *Dion's* expressions imply that he had advanced a good way before he encountered the enemy, and particularly that the army was north from the *Thames*. The two sons of *Cunobellin*, whose territories were north of that river, were the first he engaged and subdued. The *Bodunni*, subject to the *Catuellani* at that time, surrendered upon this defeat; and both these people are generally agreed to have been situated a good way north of the *Thames*. I therefore take the country about *Verulamium* to have been the seat of this war, and possibly *Verulamium* itself might be the place where a garrison was left by the general. So that the *Romans* upon this descent advanced as far without opposition, as *Julius Caesar* had carried on his conquest.

It is generally thought that the *Severn* was the unpassable river to which the *Romans* afterwards advanced, and through which the historian assures us, the *Germans* swam in their arms; *Vespasian* and his brother *Sabinus* marching over afterwards. The battle therefore that was fought the next day must upon this supposition have been on the west side of the river, upon the borders of the country of the *Silures*; and the resolution with which these *Britons* engaged suits perfectly well the character that is commonly given to this martial people by *Tacitus* and other historians.

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The same historian also informs us, that the army in *Britain* had a great respect for *Vespasian*, who had behaved himself very gallantly, when *Claudius* gave him the command of the second legion there^a. This legion therefore came over to *Vespasian's* side, tho' not without some opposition from the rest. For the most part of the officers of the other legions had been preferred by *Vitellius*, and so were unwilling to run the risque of a change.

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and give them battle; but this was in their own country. And with this ends the account of *Ostorius's* marches.

HENCE it plainly appears that the *Romans* under him traversed and reduced almost all between *Humber* and *Thames*, except the greatest part of *Wales*, and *Anglesey*; which were yet unsubdued. The *Romans* had not yet penetrated to the north side of the *Humber*, at least not very far. However *Tacitus* might justly say, that “under these two *legates* the nearest parts of “*Britain* were reduced to the form of a province, and a colony of veterans “settled, besides some cities given to king *Cogidunus*.”

WE read of few forts or garrisons, but what were in the country of the *Silures*, or near its borders. *Didius* erected some farther up in the country; but we read of none of his motions, only his sending some assistance to *Cartimandua* queen of the *Brigantes*.

UNDER *Nero*, *Veranius* (who lived only a year after he was made *legate*) made no advances, except some slight incursions on the *Silures*. And in those parts, that is, near to *Wales*, the body of the *Roman* army seems to have been, when *Suetonius* was made *legate* by *Nero*. His first march (which we have any account of) was to the island of *Mona*, which by this account appears to be *Anglesey*; tho' *Caesar* calls the *Isle of Man* by that name. *Suetonius* possesses himself of part of the island, but is obliged to march back again very soon, upon the account of *Boadicea's* revolt. His march was from *Anglesey* to *London*, and still farther on; but whether to the south or east of *London* is not agreed. I rather incline to the former opinion, and that the places from whence *Suetonius* got auxiliaries, were south from *London*. I am of opinion that the battle was fought on the south side of the *Thames*, and (from the passage of *Suetonius* quoted before^a) that the country south from the *Thames* was then intirely possessed and fortified with garrisons by the *Romans*; and then the *Isle of Wight* must probably have been reduced,

THERE occurs little more worthy of notice, relating to the motions of the *Romans* in *Britain* during this period. So that upon the whole, the *Roman* Dominions seem not then to have reached beyond the *Humber*; and *Wales* was still in a great measure unsubdued. 'Tis therefore difficult to account for the opinion of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, and of *Bede* and others after them^b, who imagine that *Claudius* conquered as far as the *Orchades*, contrary to the whole history, and express testimony of *Tacitus*, who says, that “till “*Julius Agricola's* time these islands were unknown to the *Romans*.”

As for the military ways when ever made, near which we may suppose the several marches to have been; if the *Isle of Wight*, and the most southern countries of *Britain* were really reduced by *Vespasian*, under the reign of *Claudius*, as the expressions of *Suetonius* and some other circumstances would incline one to believe; then after they had marched upon the usual way to *London*, a detachment might be sent from thence; and we have a military way passing from *London* thro' *Winchester*, and one branch of it to the *Isle of Wight*.

THE

castle not far from *Stretton*, which I was told, when I was in that country, went by some such name as this. But these places are I think rather too far from the river, to have been near the field of battle. The part I have pitched on, answers exactly the description and characters of the *historian*.

^a Pag. 22.

^b Milt. Hist. of England, p. 92. *Euseb. Chron.* See the inscript. ante. p. 22.

^c Tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas *Orcadas* vocant, invenit domuitque. *Vit. Agric. cap. 10.*

THE body of the army, when they marched from the place of their landing to *Verulamium*, most probably followed the rout of *Julius Caesar*; and so marched near upon the military way from *Ritupae* to *London*, and from thence to *Verulamium*. After the battle here, and the surrender of the *Bodunni* or *Dobuni*; they seemed to have marched on the south side of their country, and so near upon the military way that goes to *Glocester*, tho' rather to the north of it; and to have returned much the same way, or rather more to the north.

WHEN *Claudius* came over himself, no doubt he landed at *Portus Ritupensis*, and went along the usual way from thence to his army on the *Thames*; he passed it with his army most probably near *London*, and after the defeat of the enemy, marched to *Camulodunum*. And we have a military way from *London* thither, passing thro' the middle of *Essex*.

OSTORIUS we find with his army upon the rivers *Severn* and *Avon*, and hereabouts the body of the army for the most part seems to have lain. His first battle was with the *Iceni*; and after the victory he marches through the country of the *Cangi*, and advances as far almost as the western coast. This march seems to have been nearest to the military way from *London* to *Chester*, as laid down in *Antonine's second iter*; or on that from *London* to *York*, as in a part of the *fifth*. And the other part of the military way, from *London* to *Chester* and to *York*, may well be supposed to be that, near which he marched back again to the country of the *Brigantes*. His march from hence to the country of the *Silures* was probably near upon the same military way from *York* to *Chester*, and from thence along or near the military way from *Chester* to *Caer Leon*.

SUETONIUS marched from the country of the *Silures* to the island of *Anglesey*, doubtless near upon the *Roman* way to *Chester*, and from thence toward *Anglesey*. And his marching back again from thence, through the midst of the enemy to *London*, seems plainly to point out the military way from *Chester* to *London*.

IF *Vespasian* was at any time sent with a detachment southward (as the passage from *Suetonius* gives reason to think) he might, as has been hinted, march near the military way from *London* to the *Isle of Wight*, and the two nations he reduced might be the *Regni* and *Belgae*. And thus the *proximae partes Britanniae* were intirely reduced to the form of a province under *Plautius* and *Ostorius*.

IV. AS for the situation of the several people mentioned in this period, I shall offer two or three remarks, that may help to determine it. The names of the people are these: Besides the two isles *Veſta* and *Mona*, there are mentioned the *Bodunni*, *Catuellani*, *Iceni*, *Cangi*, *Brigantes*, *Silures*, and *Ordovices*. Mention is also made of the rivers *Sabrina* and *Antona*, and of the towns *Camulodunum*, *Verulamium* and *Londinium*.

THE *Bodunni* or *Dobuni* (as they are also called) are placed by *Cambden* and others about *Glocestershire* and *Oxfordshire*; which suits very well both with *Ptolemy's* account, and with the history. For as they surrendered to *Aulus Plautius* upon the defeat of the *Britons* near *Verulamium*, it is probable that their country was not far off, and lay west from the *Trinobantes*.

AND as the *Bodunni* were at that time subject to the *Catuellani*^a, this makes it probable that these were neighbouring people, and that the *Catnet-lani* are rightly placed about *Northamptonshire*, and *Bedfordshire*; for the *Dobuni* or *Bodunni* probably bordered on the *Silures*. I am apt to think, that what *Tacitus* says of the incursions of the enemy into the territories of the *Roman* allies, at the beginning of *Ostorius's* propraetorship, may refer to some inroads of the *Silures* into the country of the *Bodunni*. For it immediately follows, that *Ostorius* having destroyed some and disarmed others, built forts and posted his forces upon the rivers *Antona* and *Sabrina*.

THE *Iceni* are placed by *Cambden* about *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*. And it is plain from the history, that they were situated north from the *Trinobantes*, and that they were a powerful people, having entered early into an alliance with the *Romans*. The famous *Boadicea* was queen of this people, as *Cunobellin* had ruled the *Trinobantes*. And *Camulodunum*, the place where the colony of veterans was settled, seems to have been near the country of the *Iceni*, tho' it belonged to the *Trinobantes*; for both these people were highly displeased with this colony, and looked upon themselves as ill treated by it. When *Ostorius* marched against these people from the rivers *Sabrina* and *Antona*, we don't read of his passing through any other country^b. Possibly the people between, might at that time be subject to the *Iceni*; for the prince of the *Iceni* at one time, and of the *Trinobantes* at another, seem to have had a larger command, than that of a particular people. Again, when *Suetonius* marched from *Mona*, it is said "he marched to *London* with "a wonderful resolution through the midst of the enemies^c." By which one would think that he marched through the country of the *Iceni*, or of those who were subject to, or confederates with them.

As for the *Cangi*, I cannot help being somewhat singular in my opinion about them. They seem to me to have been not far distant from the *Iceni*, and their country to have been to the northwest of this people. I know some have placed them near the mouth of the *Severn*. *Cambden*^d himself first intimates, that the *Cangi* might be where *Dr. Wells* has since placed them. Afterwards he seems inclinable to place them in *Cheshire*, and to make them the same with the *Ceangi* or the *Conganii*. I see no necessity for removing this people so near to the western coast. As for the pieces of lead, with the inscription upon them *DE CEANGIS*, I have shewn them in another place to be of doubtful authority. And as for the historical account, let *Tacitus's* passage be fairly considered, which is as follows. "Now they were quieted "by the slaughter of the *Iceni*, who were before wavering between peace and "war, and the army was led against the *Cangi*; the country was wasted and "rapine committed in many places, the enemy not daring to give battle; and "if at any time they attempted to surprise a party upon march, always suffering for it. They were now come pretty near the sea, which looks toward the island *Hibernia*, when some discords arisen among the *Brigantes* "drew back the commander^e." *Ostorius* might have passed thro' the country of the *Cangi*, which he had wasted, and after this come near the western coast. And the passage seems to imply, that they were not far from the *Iceni*, and

^a They are called distinctly *Catuvellauni* in an inscription in Cumberland, N^o xxvii. see the observations on it. And if we suppose them to be the same people, whom *Ptolemy* calls *Cateuchlani*, we must conclude, that the country belonging to this people was extended obliquely from *Glocestershire* or *Oxfordshire* to *Lincolnshire*. For in this last county *Ptolemy* places his *Cateuchlani*, making them to reach the sea-coast. And on the other hand *Dion's* account, as has been hinted, makes it probable that the *Catuellani* joined to the *Bodunni*. Lib. Lx. p. 678.

^b *Tacit. Annal. Lib. xii. cap. 31.*

^c *Ibid. Lib. xiv. cap. 33.*

^d See *Wells's maps*; and *Cambden*, p. 67, 76, 77, 564.

^e *Cacterum clade Icenorum compositi, qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant; et ductus in Cingos exercitus. Vastati agri, praedae passim actae; non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex occulto carpere agmen tentarent, punito dolo. Jamque ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam spectat, cum ortae apud Brigantes discordiae retraxere ducem. Annal. Lib. xii. cap. 32.*

and when he had passed thro' their country too, he came near the sea. If the *Iceni* could be extended farther west, than is usually supposed, as Dr. *Plott* would have them; the *Cangi* might reach to *Cheshire*, or the borders of *Wales*^a. But I cannot think the *Iceni* reached so far, nor do I think the reasoning in the additions to *Camden* will hold. The word *retraxere* implies no more, than that he was brought back from the western coast. Nor do I see that the passage of *Tacitus* implies, that he had not done with the conquest of the *Cangi* at this time. If then they be placed about *Derbyshire* and some of the neighbouring counties, every thing seems reconcileable to this situation. They might possibly be a part of *Ptolemy's Parisi*, or *Coritani*, or perhaps of his *Cornavii*, supposing these people to be seated, not according to *Ptolemy's* own conception, but restored to their true situation. Or if we look upon the *Cangi* as distinct from all these, and their country to be the same with *Genunia*^b; this will argue for their being near the *Brigantes*, and favour my conjecture. Dr. *Musgrave*^c places the *Cangi* between the river *Dee* on the east, the *Ordovices* on the south, and the ocean on the west; and observes that here the pieces of lead with the inscription DE CEANGIS were found, and that here is *Ptolemy's* Καλχανῶν ἄκρον. He also takes notice how easy, upon this supposition, the march was from the *Cangi* to the *Silures*, the *Ordovices*, and the *Brigantes*. But the doctor drops the march from the *Iceni* against the *Cangi*, which according to this hypothesis would not be so short. This difficulty might perhaps be removed, if we extend this country farther to the east than the doctor has done. But there is another objection, which cannot so well be got over; and that is, *Ptolemy* expressly affirms that the *Ordovices* joined to the *Parisi* and the *Brigantes*. For this, according to the doctor's opinion in another case, is the meaning of the word ὑπόκεινται^d; where the doctor thinks this expression a sufficient proof, that the *Belgae* joined immediately to the *Dobuni*. The same argument must also prove, that the *Ordovices* joined immediately to the *Parisi*, and the *Brigantes*; and consequently that the *Cangi* by no means interposed. As for the Καλχανῶν ἄκρον, it is evident, that according to the situation which *Ptolemy* has given it, it must belong to the *Ordovices*; or else little or no part of *North Wales* can have belonged to this people. The pieces of lead were not, I think, found within the compass the learned doctor has mentioned^e. But if they had been found here, and should be acknowledged to be genuine, I see no great force in the argument. For there is no necessity to suppose, that they were struck in the country; and if this should be supposed, they might easily be transferred on a thousand occasions. I see no necessity to ascribe the whole of either *Staffordshire*, *Warwickshire*, or *Worcestershire* to the *Cornavii*; nor any material reason why even these counties, or some part of them, may not be annexed to the *Cangi*. Thus the *Canganorum promontorium* would be over against them, though the *Ordovices* come between. Upon the whole then I am inclined to think, that the *Cangi* have had the *Coritani* on the east, the *Cornavii* or *Ordovices* on the west, and the *Brigantes* or *Parisi* on the north. This scheme will fill up a vacancy in *Ptolemy's* map rectified, and give a more regular disposition to the several countries. As for *Lipsius's* conjecture about reading *Iceni Cangi* in *Caesar*, instead of *Cenimagi*, it was what occurred to me, being led to it by some of *Camden's* reasonings upon this occasion. And if this holds good, it seems to be a strong argument that the *Cangi* must not be removed so far north as *Cheshire*; because it is scarce to be supposed, that any at that distance submitted to *Caesar*, who was never far from the *Thames*. But I have already in the preceding chapter given my opinion concerning this matter, and think we should rather read *Iceni Regni*. I have also spoke somewhat concerning the *Iceni* before. These people are said to have been the first in friendship with the *Romans*, and for this reason not wasted with war, when

Ostorius

^a See *Camden's additions to Suffolk*, p. 377, 378. and to *Somersetshire*, p. 76, 77.

^b See the account in the following part of the history. p. 52.

^c *Julii Vitalis epitaphium*, p. 76, 77.

^d *Ibid.* p. 111.

^e See observations on the *Cheshire inscriptions* in B. II. p. 316, 4

Ostorius fought them. And this conjecture makes it more probable, they had entered into friendship with the *Romans*, even from the time of *Caesar*. I now add, that it is plain the people, whom *Ptolemy* calls *Simeni*, are intended for the very same with the *Iceni*. For *Ptolemy* makes *Venta* to be their principal place, and it is the only one that he mentions; which no doubt must be the very same with *Venta Icenorum* in the *Itinerary*. *Ptolemy's* situation of the *Simeni* agrees well enough with that of the *Iceni*. How strangely then may names be corrupted?

THE *Brigantes* appear to have had a more northerly situation, chiefly about *Yorkshire*. *Isurium* or *Aldborough* was their capital, as is clear from the *Itinerary*. And though it was not unusual for them to have their capital near the borders of the country, as *Camulodunum*, *Venta Silurum*, and others; yet I am inclined to think this country reached considerably farther south than *Aldborough*, and perhaps farther than it is usually represented to do. *Ptolemy* seems to have extended it a good deal to the south of *Aldborough*, and is very express in asserting, that it reached from sea to sea. And as *Ptolemy* seems to have bounded most of the countries by rivers or friths, or lines drawn from frith to frith, so I am satisfied he intended to bound the *Brigantes* on the north by a line drawn from *Ostia Vedrae*, or the mouth of *Tine*, to the estuary of *Ituna*; and on the south by another line drawn from *Belisama aestuarium*, or the *Mersey*, to some part of the river *Abus* or *Humber*, and perhaps from thence to one of the bays north from the *Humber*.

As for the *Silures*, and *Ordovices*, they seem so plainly to have been seated about *South* and *North Wales*, that nothing more needs to be said, than what may be met with in *Camden*: unless it be to observe, that we have *Venta Silurum*, supposed to be *Caer Gwent*, in the *Itinerary*; and consequently the *Silures*, whose capital this probably was, must have been thereabout.

SABRINA doubtless is the *Severn*. This is clear both from the story, and the affinity of the names, to which *Ptolemy's* authority may also be added. And *Antona* must also be *Avon*. Some write the antient name *Aufona*, and the anonymous *Ravennas* writes it *Abona*^a.

As for the towns mentioned in this period, I think little more need be added. *Camulodunum* is the principal one that I should wish to have settled. It is in the *Itinerary*, which without dispute is the surest guide. *Ptolemy* places it near the coast. It would be hard to determine the situation from *Tacitus's* accounts, for they seem scarcely consistent. By what he says in one place^b, one would imagine it to be near the country of the *Silures*; but from another passage of him^c one would think this town was near upon the borders between the *Iceni* and the *Trinobantes*, and not far from the sea, or the estuary of the *Thames*: to which the words of *Xiphiline* are also agreeable. "There was (says he) the appearance of houses in the midst of the *Thames*, and the channel that separates this island from *Gaul* seemed of the colour of blood^d." *Dion* therefore, as well as *Tacitus*, seems to have imagined, that both the *Thames* and the *British* sea were within view from *Camulodunum*, which may be an argument for placing it not far from the coast. I incline most to *Malden*, as I have hinted before^e, and *Ptolemy's* situation of his *Camudolan um* is not very unsuitable to it.

V. AS to the chronology in this period, the chasm of ten years in *Tacitus's Annals*, under which the first six years of *Claudius* seem to fall, is an inexpressible

^a *Gals Anton. Itin.* p. 150.

^b *Silurum gens castris premenda. Id quo promptus veniret, colonia Camulodunum deducitur. Annal. Lib. xii. cap. 32.*

^c *Lib. xiv. c. 31, 32.*

^d *Lib. LXII. p. 700.*

^e *Pag. 31.*

pressible loss to us. But if this emperor, as is usually agreed, sent *Plautius* into *Britain*, when he was consul the third time, this fixes it to the year 43^a. The first campaign *Plautius* spent without the emperor. The second campaign in the year 44^b, the emperor came over in person. *Plautius* spent the five following years in the war against the *Britons*, and then was succeeded in the year 50, by *Ostorius*.

THAT *Ostorius* entered this year upon his *propraetorship* of *Britain* is plain from *Tacitus*^c. And whoever peruses the accounts given by this historian, will see work enough to employ *Ostorius* for his two first campaigns in the years 50 and 51. In the latter of these he probably had his engagement with *Caractacus*, who was afterwards delivered up by *Cartismandua*. That this was in the second campaign of *Ostorius* seems certain, from an expression of *Tacitus*, which I think worth remarking; for speaking of *Caractacus* he says^d, “He was delivered up the ninth year after the beginning of the war “ in *Britain*.” If the year 43 was the first of *Claudius*’s war, the campaign in 51 must be the ninth year of the war. It is not certain how long *Ostorius* continued in his office, and the fatigue killed him at last.

IF we allow a year or two more for the government of *Ostorius*, then he died, and *Didius* succeeded in the year 53, a year before the death of *Claudius*, which suits very well with the history. For *Claudius* died when *Marcus Asinius Marcellus* and *Marcus Acilius Aviola* were consuls^e, that is, in the year 54. *Didius* continued under *Nero* for some years, most probably about three or more.

VERANIUS, who succeeded *Didius*, may be supposed to have entered upon his government in the year 57. He, as *Tacitus* informs us, lived only a year, and was succeeded by the famous *Suetonius*.

THIS celebrated legate must have entered upon his command in the year 58, or more probably 59; and this campaign with the next following might be the two successful ones the historian speaks of^f, before *Boadicea*’s revolt. Now this happened when *Caesonius Paetus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* were consuls^g, that is in the year 61. So that here again we are certain and fixed.

THE next year *Suetonius* is ordered to resign to *Turpilianus*. Here we are also sure, because *Tacitus* says, that *Petronius Turpilianus* had just finished his consulate^h. *Turpilianus* must therefore have entered upon the government of *Britain* in the year 62, for according to the *Fasti consulares* he was consul in 61. His command seems not to have been long, and no material transaction happened under it. Three years I think is the most we can allow.

THE first campaign of *Trebellius Maximus*, his successor, was most probably in the year 65. He enjoyed the command some time before the civil war broke out, and continued in it till the reign of *Vitellius*, for he fled to him when deserted.

BUT

^a See Milton’s Hist. of England, p. 63.

^b According to Dion, *Claudius* seems to have made preparations for a journey to Britain during his own consulate in conjunction with *Vitellius*, in the year 43; but he returned from Britain to Rome when *Crispus* and *Statilius* were consuls in the year 44.

^c *Annal.* Lib. xii. cap. 25. compared with cap. 31. In the former place, *Tacitus* begins his account of what passed whilst *Antistius* and *Suilius* were consuls in the year 50, and among these transactions is ranked the beginning of *Ostorius*’s *propraetorship* in

Britain. At in Britannia P. Ostorium *propraetorem* res turbidae exceperere. Cap. 31.

^d Traditus est nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia coeptum. *Annal.* Lib. xii. cap. 36.

^e *Tacitus Annal.* Lib. xii. cap. 61, 66.

^f *Suetonius* biennio prosperas res habuit. *Vit. Agric.* cap. 14.

^g *Annal.* Lib. xiv. cap. 29.

^h *Suetonius* tradere exercitum *Petronio Turpiliano* qui jam consularu abierat jubetur. *Annal.* Lib. xiv. cap. 39.

BUT 'tis plain that *Vectius Bolanus*, who succeeded *Trebellius*, and was sent over by *Vitellius*, must have begun his government in the year 69, towards the end of which year *Vespasian* was settled in the throne^a; for upon the first appearance of a war with *Vespasian*, *Vitellius* sent to *Vectius Bolanus* for supplies. *Nero* died near the middle of the year 68. *Galba* who reigned not full seven months, died at the very beginning of 69. *Otho* reigned only three months and five days, and consequently *Vitellius* must have been made emperor without a competitor about the month of *April* in the same year. He reigned eight months and five days, tho' this is to be reckoned from the time of his first being set up by the *German* legions; and therefore *Vespasian* could not be solely fixed in the throne, without a competitor, till near the end of 69. In the year 70, this emperor was consul from the beginning of it, according to the *Fasti consulares*. These dates I have gathered by closely considering the history, and comparing it with the *Fasti*. From hence 'tis evident, that *Bolanus* must have had the direction of the campaign in the year 69, and that probably the campaign in 70 or 71, was the first of *Cerialis*, who succeeded him according to the emperor *Vespasian's* order. But this falls under the following period.

CHAPTER III.

The third historical period, from the beginning of the reign of *Vespasian* to the reign of *Hadrian*.

In which are contained, I. The Roman affairs in Britain during this period. II. The conquests of the Romans in this island. III. The geography. IV. The chronology.

VEASPASIAN. I. **T**HE most valuable part of this history must be taken from *Tacitus's* life of *Agricola*, which is justly esteemed a master-piece by the best judges. The strength and vivacity of expression, the beauty and variety of thought are almost inimitable. This excellent author passes over the transactions of the two first propractors under *Vespasian* slightly and generally, but is more full and particular in his relation of what passed during the command of *Agricola*. He first informs us, "When *Vespasian* had gained *Britain* together with the rest of the world, he had great generals, fine armies, and the enemies hopes were abated^b."

VEASPASIAN is supposed to have ascended the throne in the year 69. And the first legate appointed by him was the brave *Petilius Cerialis*, who must therefore have succeeded *Vectius Bolanus*. He attacked the *Brigantes*, who were a very numerous people, and reduced a great part of their country^c.

HE

^a Non idem Trebellio Maximo honos. Profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum: missus est in locum ejus Vectius Bolanus. Tacit. Hist. Lib. II. cap. 65. See also ibid. cap. 96, 97, to the end of the book.

^b Magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Vit. Agric. cap. 17.

^c Cerialis Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima totius provinciae perhibetur, aggressus; — magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria complexus aut bello. Ibid.

HE is succeeded by *Julius Frontinus* of equal bravery, who reduced the warlike *Silures* notwithstanding the difficulties arising from their situation.

IN this posture were the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*, when *Julius Agricola* was made legate, of whose life and transactions *Tacitus* gives us so distinct an account. He had served under *Suetonius* in *Britain* in a lower capacity, and having taken to *Vespasian's* side, *Mucianus* gave him the command of the twentieth legion in *Britain*, when *Vettius Bolanus* was legate; in which station he acted with great prudence and conduct. He behaved himself with equal fortitude under *Cerialis*, who allowed him a share in the glory, as well as in the dangers and difficulties. When *Agricola* returned from the command of this legion^a, he was advanced by *Vespasian*; and after some time made legate or *propraetor* in *Britain*. He came over with this commission in the middle of summer, when he found the *Roman* soldiers careless and secure, and the enemy waiting for an advantage^b. The *Ordovices* just before his arrival had almost intirely cut off a wing that lay in the frontiers of their country, and the whole province seemed to have the same disposition. *Agricola*, tho' the summer was almost spent, and his soldiers dispersed, yet resolved to enter upon some expedition. Wherefore having drawn together the *vexilla legionum*, and a small band of auxiliaries; he put himself at the head of them, and cut off almost the whole nation of the *Ordovices*. After this he turns his thoughts to the reduction of *Mona*; *Suetonius* having been obliged to quit that island by the revolt of the *Brigantes*: for which purpose he orders a choice body of the auxiliaries, who knew the fords, and were accustomed to swim, to pass over at once; which they accomplished in so effectual a manner, that the inhabitants being terrified begged peace and surrendered. *Agricola* was not elevated with this success, nor did he call it a victory, but only a keeping in order those, who had been conquered before. He next endeavoured to remove the occasions of war by redressing the grievances of the province; reforming first his own family, and then others. This in the first year of his government brought peace into credit, which before was as much dreaded as war.

WHEN summer was come (which must be the second campaign of *Agricola*) he drew his army together. He himself chose the place for encampment, and tried in person the friths and woods. He gave the enemy no rest, making sudden incursions upon them, and wasting their country. And when he had sufficiently terrified them, he forbore, and shewed them the allurements of peace. By this means many submitted that had stood out before, gave hostages, and suffered themselves to be encompassed with garrisons and forts, which were erected with the most exact judgment.

THE winter was spent in instructing and exhorting the *Britons* to build temples and fine houses; to accustom this rude people to pleasure and ease. The *Roman* language and dress now came into request with them; their princes sons were instructed in the liberal arts, and by degrees they passed over to the softness of vice, erecting porticoes and baths, and making fine entertainments. TITVS.

THE third year discovered new countries and people, which were now wasted even as far as the *Tay*; insomuch that the enemy were so discouraged by this progress of the *Romans*, that they durst not engage them, tho' harassed by bad weather; but gave them the opportunity of erecting such forts as they thought fit. The ablest judges have observed that no general chose his ground better than *Agricola*, or built forts to better advantage. *Tacitus* says, not
one

^a Legatione legionis.

^b Cap. 7, 8, 9, 18.

one of those he built was ever carried by storm, surrender'd, or abandoned^a. The *Romans* passed the winter in safety; and whereas the enemy was wont to get advantages in the winter equal to what the *Romans* had gained in the summer, they were now defeated in both seasons. As the erecting the garrisons cross the isthmus in *Scotland* was the work of the next year; the forts here mentioned might be such as were upon the borders, especially on the western side of the island, along which *Agricola* marched.

THE fourth summer was spent in securing what had been acquired. And the neck of land between *Glota* and *Bodotria* was fortified with garrisons; the enemy being as it were driven into another island, whilst the *Romans* were masters of all on this side.

DOMITIAN. IN the fifth year *Agricola* took shipping, and by several successful battles subdued nations, that till then were unknown, and garrisoned that part of *Britain* which lies over-against *Ireland*. Whether these unknown nations were only the southwest coast of *Scotland*, or *Cantyr*, and the highlands beyond *Clyde*, will be afterwards enquired into. However, I think, he must this summer have been on the north side of *Clyde*, and in the west sea. Whether he only crossed the frith of *Clyde*, or coasted along farther, is not so easy to determine. But as he was on the north of *Glota* or *Clyde* this year, so we find him beyond *Bodotria* the next.

IN the summer which began the sixth year of his command, he sent a fleet to discover the places and people situated beyond *Bodotria*. Upon this occasion the land forces and mariners often mixed company. The former would be telling what woods and high mountains they had passed, the other what difficulties they had met with from the waves and tempests. The inhabitants of *Caledonia* take up arms with great preparations and greater noise, and set upon some forts. Some timorous persons advised *Agricola* to retreat to the other side of *Bodotria*, rather than be forced to do it; but he rejecting this advice, for prudential reasons divided his army into three bodies. As soon as this was known to the enemy, they all in the night time fell upon the ninth legion, as being the weakest, and killed the centinels. The battle was in the very camp, when *Agricola* having learned the enemies motions, and closely pursuing them, came up to the timely relief of the *Romans*. The enemy being put to flight, saved themselves in the fens and woods, or else this victory might have put an end to the war. The *Roman* soldiers being lifted up with this success, talked among themselves that they should now penetrate into *Caledonia*, and discover the remotest parts of *Britain*. The *Britons* on the other hand were not yet daunted, but prepared for war; putting their wives and children into places of security, and the several states solemnly binding themselves to stand by each other. With such resolutions both armies drew off. In this same summer^b a cohort of the *Uspii* raised in *Germany*, and sent over to *Britain*, having slain the centurion, and soldiers that were mixed among them in order to discipline them; seized three small ships, and after a strange adventure sailing round *Britain*^c, they were taken first by the *Suevi*, then by the *Frisii*. And being bought and sold, some of them at last in traffick were brought to the coast, where the *Romans* were^d, who told the whole adventure.

IN

^a This passage is almost incredible, tho' we extend it no farther than to the time of Tacitus's writing his history. There is perhaps a good deal of complement in it to *Agricola* the historian's father-in-law, and favourite hero. It seems not to consist well with another passage, perdomita Britannia et

statim amissa. Hist. Lib. i. cap. 2.

^b Eadem aestate.

^c Britanniam circumvecti.

^d In nostram usque ripam adducti. The words nostra ripa may probably signify the Roman or south side of the river or estuary of Tay.

IN the beginning of the next summer^a *Agricola* was afflicted with the loss of his son. He resolves to divert his sorrow by war; having therefore sent his fleet before, which by making a descent on several places struck a terror into the enemy, he came himself with his army, joined with some approved *Britons*, to the *Grampian* mountains, where the enemy had posted themselves, determined to fight, and firmly united together in order to ward off the common danger. They were about thirty thousand strong, eager for battle, to whom *Galgacus* their commander made a speech upon this occasion. And our historian has put a long one into his mouth, which is very elegant, artful, and strong. On the other hand *Agricola* makes also a speech to his soldiers. Then both armies with great fury prepare for the battle. *Agricola* draws up his army in order, placing the auxiliary foot, which amounted to eight thousand, in the center, and three hundred horse in the wings. The legions stood as a reserve^b, to be ready in case there should be a necessity for their assistance; and if there was no occasion for them, that the victory might be more glorious, by being obtained without the effusion of *Roman* blood. These northern *Britons* used large swords, and small targets, as their posterity do to this day. They handled these with such dexterity, that they turned aside all the missile weapons of the *Romans*, and at the same time poured volleys of darts upon them. *Agricola* seeing this, orders three cohorts of the *Batavi*, and two of the *Tungri*, to fall on sword in hand. This had a good effect; the swords of the enemy being unwieldy and without points, so that the *Britons* began to give ground. Some who had been posted upon rising grounds, and had not engaged before, were repulsed by four wings of horse, which *Agricola* had kept as a reserve. The victory after a bloody battle fell to the *Romans*, and the night put an end to the pursuit. The enemy lost ten thousand men, the *Romans* three hundred and forty, among whom was *Aulus Atticus* commander of a cohort. The summer being now spent^c, *Agricola* leads his army into the country of the *Horesti*; and then orders the commander of his fleet to sail round *Britain*, whilst he by slow marches disposed his troops in their winter quarters. The fleet with good success and great honour reached *portus Trutulensis*, from whence it came, sailing along the nearest side of *Britain*.

THE next year *Agricola* resigns to his successor by *Domitian's* order^d. Some imagine to *Cn. Trebellius*, but it is more probable to *Lucullus*. For *Suetonius* mentioning those, whom *Domitian* had killed, names “ *Sallustius* “ *Lucullus* legate of *Britain*, who was put to death, because he permitted “ some lances of a new invention to be called *Lucullean*.” Whether he succeeded *Agricola* immediately or not, this is the only *propraetor* we have any account of, till we come to *Hadrian's* reign. For there seems to be a profound silence among historians about the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*, during the reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*. Some take notice of a hint in *Spartian*, concerning a revolt in *Britain* in the reign of *Trajan*, and of their being again reduced to obedience; but nothing appears that is material and certain. It is plain in the general, that the *Roman* power was at its greatest height in *Britain*, when *Agricola* resigned; and that under the two following reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* this island was almost wholly neglected. What *Tacitus* says can refer to no other time but *Agricola's*, and that which succeeded it: “ *Britain* was subdued and immediately lost.” For he is there by way of introduction giving an abstract of the following history, which begins with

Galba;

^a Initio aestatis.

^b Pro vallo stetero.

^c Exacta jam aestate.

^d Tradiderat interim *Agricola* successori provinciam quietam tutamque. cap. 40.

^e *Sallustium Lucillum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formas appellari Lucullaeas passus esset. Vit. Domitiani, cap. 10.*

^f Perdomita Britannia, et statim amissa. Hist. Lib. 1. cap. 2.

Galba; and therefore the conquest of *Britain* intended, cannot possibly be any other than that which *Agricola* finished.

II. *CERIALIS* the first legate under *Vespasian* marched first against the *Brigantes*, whose capital was *Isurium*, called by *Antonine* *Isu-Brigantum*. This without all dispute is *Aldborough* in *Yorkshire*, which appears to have been a very large station. *Cerialis* marches his army father into this country, and subdues a great part of it. This motion most probably was near upon the military way, which passes by *Aldborough* thro' the heart of this country; it is in the north called *Watlingstreet*. The western part of the *Brigantes*, I am apt to think, was not reduced till *Agricola* march'd thro' it into *Scotland*. For *Tacitus* says, that *Cerialis* only conquered a great part of it, not the whole. The army probably marched the same way back, pursuing the military way from *Aldborough* to the borders of the *Silures*.

JULIUS FRONTINUS the next legate employed the army in reducing the *Silures*.

WHEN *Agricola* came over, he seems to have gone directly to the borders of the *Silures*, where probably the main body of the army was quartered after the reduction of that people by *Frontinus*. His first action was against the *Ordovices*. As the principal seat of the war was for some time hereabout, the *Roman* soldiers seem to have quartered in those parts most frequently, and to have made the borders and the adjacent countries of the *Silures* their usual rendezvous^a. The first summer *Agricola* destroyed the *Ordovices*, and reduced *Mona*; in which expedition he probably marched near upon the military way from *Chester* to *Anglesey*.

IN his second campaign, according to a late author^b, he made a great progress, marching and conquering from *Mona* or *Anglesey* to *Edinburgh*. But in this I must beg leave to differ from him; and to suppose that reducing the western, and perhaps the northern part of the *Brigantes*, and erecting proper forts in that country, took up the summer; as building other places for pomp and pleasure took up the winter. So that I cannot think *Agricola* entered *Scotland* this summer, unless it might be just near the *Solway* frith. The forts erected were, I believe, chiefly in the counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and particularly the series of forts cross the island (or most of them) which were afterwards called *stationes per lineam valli*. The baths that were built the following winter, were probably in these same counties. For we have two fine inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*^c, which shew that somewhat of this nature had been early built there, and was repaired again, upon which occasion these inscriptions were erected.^d Another of the same nature we also meet with at *Bowes* in *Richmondshire* near that county^e. And something like this seems also to have been done at *Risingham* in *Northumberland*^f, where an imperfect inscription mentions somewhat *VETVSTATE CONLAPSUM*. In this second summer *Agricola* made some incursions; and then resting again by turns, he brought the *Brigantes*, who had stood out before, as I suppose (having no other accounts of the reduction of that part, which *Cerialis* did not conquer) to submit. Then several forts were erected among them. *Agricola's* march therefore this second summer I take to have been about the western military way, or between that and the sea coast, because of the friths which he may seem to have passed; and

^a Hitherto some others of the legates seem also to have repaired after their first landing. *Ostorius* when he came over posted his forces upon *Antonia* and *Sabrina*, and afterwards ordered the legions to encamp near the *Silures*, to awe and restrain them.

Tacit. Annal. Lib. xii. cap. 31, 32.

^b *Mr. Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 15, &c.*

^c *Numb. xi, xii.*

^d *Numb. i.*

^e *Numb. Lxxxix.*

and I am most inclined to think, that he marched as far as the borders of *Scotland*, and perhaps beyond *Solway* frith to *Middleby*, and no farther. It seems plain too, that his forces must have marched in parties through other parts of the northern counties, especially when they were erecting forts; and this they might do near upon those military ways, which lie cross that part of the island.

THE third year *Agricola* no doubt was in *Scotland*, and advanced as far as the *Tay*. And the greater part of *Northumberland* and all *Scotland* (excepting the borders upon *Solway* frith) seem to have been untouched till this summer. Mr. *Gordon* is certainly in the right, when he affirms *Taus* to be *Tay*, and not *Tweed*. The affinity of the name, its being called an æstuary^a, and all the circumstances of the story put this out of doubt. I also intirely agree with him, that the main rout of the *Romans* was most probably near upon the military way from *Middleby* by *Sterling* to *Ardoch*; and I believe *Middleby* and *Ardoch*, or *Strageth*, to have been the limits of their progress this summer. *Middleby* might be the most advanced station the summer before; as *Ardoch*, or *Strageth* was this and the next. *Tacitus* farther hints, that the *Romans* this summer built some forts. These might be south of the wall in *Scotland*, and perhaps some of those that are the most advanced in *Northumberland*.

THE fourth summer, *Tacitus* expressly says, was spent in erecting forts upon the *isthmus* between *Glota* and *Bodotria*.

THE fifth year *Agricola* took shipping, and conquered unknown nations, and garrisoned that part of the country which lies over-against *Ireland*. Dr. *Musgrave* asserts, that the people reduced this year were the *Cangi*, whom he places between *Cheshire* and *Wales*, or about the northern part of *Wales*^b. But this opinion requires no other confutation, than an impartial view of the history. He argues from the pieces of lead with an inscription upon them described in *Cambden*, because the date of that inscription answers to the fifth year of *Agricola*'s command. But I have in the proper place shewn that this inscription carries in it the manifest notes of a doubtful authority^c. And as *Agricola* could not but know the people about north *Wales*, *Tacitus*'s description by no means suits a people situated thereabout, *ignotas ad id tempus gentes*; which words the doctor has suffered to slip out of his quotation. It is then much more probable, that by the part which lies over-against *Ireland* is meant *Galloway*, or the maritime parts of *Cantyr*, and *Argyleshire*. And if *Roman* antiquities are found in *Galloway*, and not in the other two counties, as I am informed; this is a strong argument to prove, that *Agricola* coasted along the south side of the frith, rather than the north^d. Some medals have been found not only in *Burnswark* camp, but in the shire of *Aire*. Mr. *Gordon* mentions one of *Faustina* found in this county^e. A very learned friend at *Edinburgh* notwithstanding this, inclines rather to the opinion, that the *Romans* crossed over the frith to *Cantyr*: but as they passed cursorily through the country, leaving no soldiers for any time, nor making any settlements there, it is the less to be wondered at, if no remains or monuments are now to be seen. However it is certain that their ships were in *Clyde*; and I am apt to think, that they sailed through the *British* and *St. George's* channels, attending *Agricola*'s march along the western parts of the island. It also appears highly probable that they returned, and were laid up during the winter at *portus Ritupensis*; or else that there were other ships, which sailed from thence along the eastern coast of the island, and were ready to attend *Agricola*.

^a Vit. Agricol. cap. 22.

^b Julii Vitalis epitaphium.

^c See the observations on *Cheshire*.

^d It seems probable that the *Romans* upon this

occasion must discover the *Lewis*, or western, islands of *Scotland*, and could not mistake these for the *Orcades*, which were afterwards discovered.

^e Itiner. Septent. p. 184, 185.

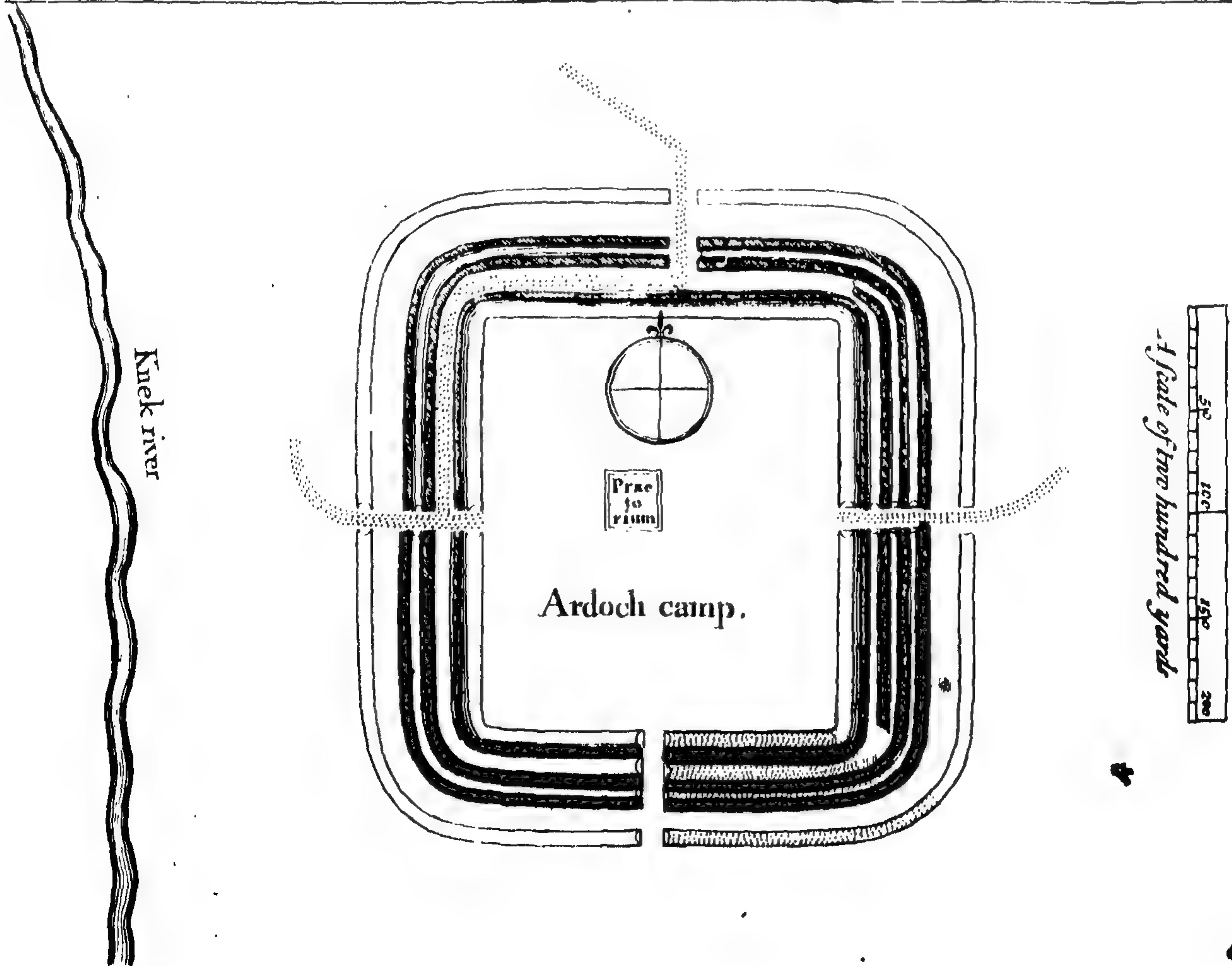
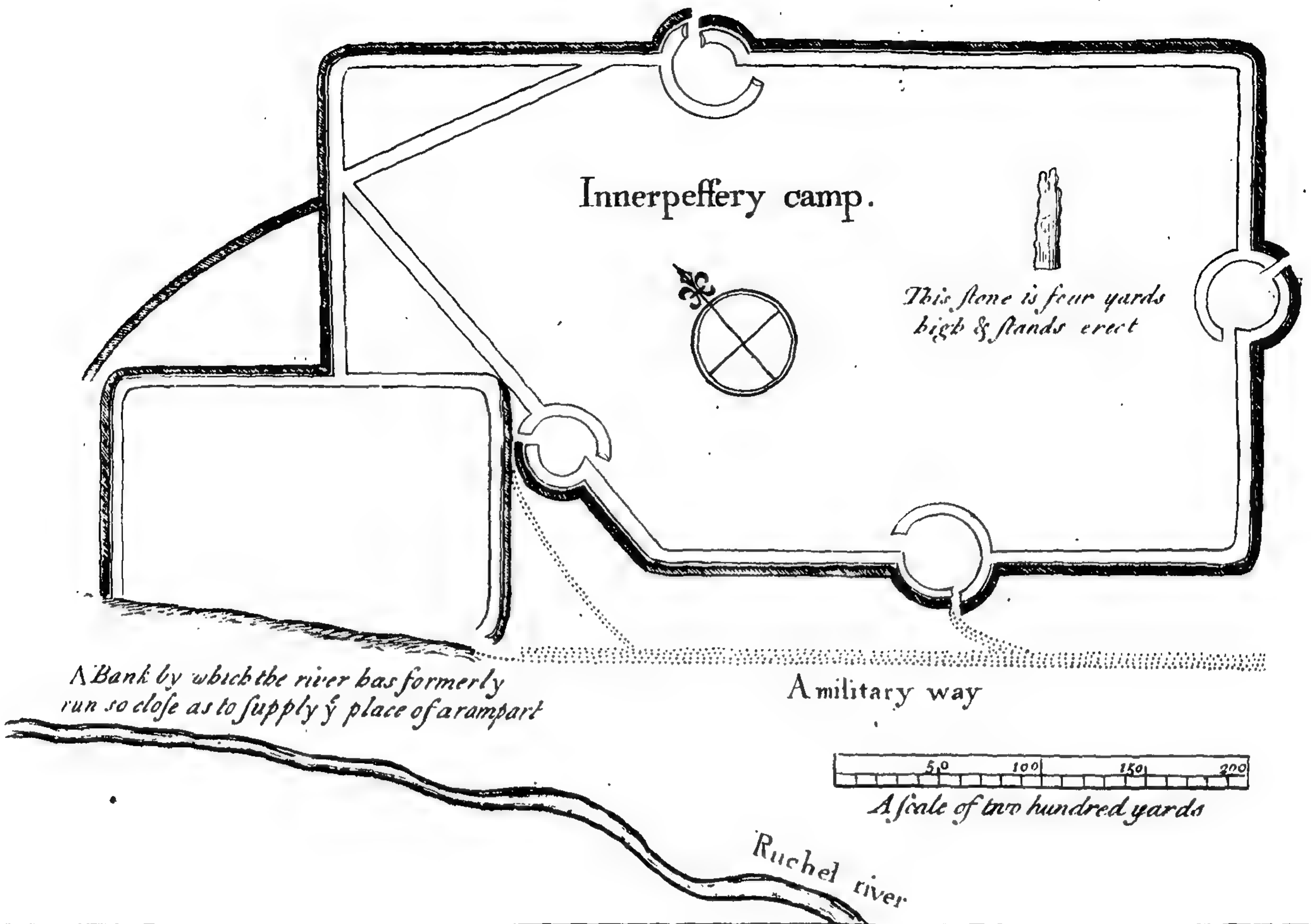
cola, when he crossed the frith of *Forth*, or marched over at *Sterling* into *Fife* and *Angus*.

IN the sixth year we find him beyond *Bodotria*, and a fleet attending him there; tho' they had not yet gone north about, or discovered the *Orcades*. So that this fleet must have come along the eastern coast from *portus Ritu-pensis*, as we shall see afterwards. 'Tis plain that *Agricola* marched this summer through *Pertshire* and *Fife*, and that the *Romans* had some forts hereabout, which the inhabitants of *Caledonia* are said to have attacked. The fleet probably coasted along *Fife*, *Angus*, and *Mernes*. The battle that was fought this summer, is supposed by Mr. *Gordon* to have been in the county of *Fife*; and the reasons that he offers, do much confirm the conjecture; namely, that there is a *Roman* camp in Sir *John Malcolm's* ground at *Lochore*, two miles from *Lochleven*; that there is a large morass, and has been a wood near it; and *Tacitus* tells us, that, "the woods and fens covered the flight of the enemy." Also near this place is a small village called *Blair*, which in the old language signifies a place of battle.

IN the seventh year *Agricola* marches to the *Grampian* mountains, and fights *Galgacus*. Mr. *Gordon* offers very plausible reasons to prove, that the place of this battle was in *Strathern*, half a mile south from the *Kirk* of *Comerie*. For this (as he informs us) is upon, or near, a part of the ridge of the *Grampian* mountains; and whereas no *Roman* camp has been discovered in *Athol*, or *Mernes* (which looks as if *Agricola* had never gone so far) there is a remarkable encampment here. The encampments at *Ardoch* and *Innerpeffery* are between the *Grampian* and *Ochel* mountains, and not large enough to contain the number of men, that were in *Galgacus's* army. *Tacitus* says the legionary soldiers were placed before the *vallum*^a, that is, as I suppose, the trench of their camp. The tract of ground there, and the encampment and rising ground about it, Mr. *Gordon* thinks agree surprisingly to *Tacitus's* description of it; and the moor, in which this camp stands, is (as he affirms) called to this day *Galgachan* or *Galdachan Ross moor*. But *Tacitus's* expressions seem to imply, that they were farther beyond the *Tay*, than the place assigned by Mr. *Gordon*. And a very ingenious gentleman informed me of a place, called *Fortingal* camp, near which he inclined rather to think the place of battle might have been. He told me also he had seen the camp Mr. *Gordon* mentions; but could not learn, that the moor, in which it is, was called *Galgachan Ross moor*. I am much of the opinion of a very curious gentleman, who lives upon the spot, and is well skill'd in the *Highland* tongue, that the true name is *Dalgin Ross*, that is, the *Dale under Ross* as he explained it. *Ross* is a village near to this vale, and near the *Roman* camp. The country people do sometimes pronounce the word *Dalgin* not unlike *Galgin*, which very probably has led Mr. *Gordon* into his opinion concerning this name. *Fortingal* camp is about sixteen miles from *Dunkell*. The middle syllable is, as I understand it, the sign of the genitive in the *Highland* tongue, and *gall* signifies a stranger; so that the word imports the *fort of strangers*. Or if *Gall* be supposed the first syllable of *Galgacus*, then 'tis *Galgacus's fort*. I only farther add, that Mr. *Gordon* in his account of his *Galgacan* camp takes no notice, I think, of a stone that is in the middle of it, a *tumulus* nigh it, and a military way that goes from it; and in computing its contents, omits the legions, and the four *alae*, that were kept as a reserve: for the auxiliaries alone were eight thousand, and the horse on the wings were three thousand. But the legions might possibly have been at *Ardoch*, or *Innerpeffery*, before they marched to the battle.

AFTER this battle *Agricola* leads back his army (if *deducit* must be so taken) into the country of the *Horrestis*, which is supposed to be *Angus*; and

^a Legiones pro vallo steterunt. Vit. Agric. cap. 35.



and this he might be justly said to do, if the battle was fought in the place above mentioned. Upon the coast of the *Horesti*, or in the river *Tay*, *Agricola's* fleet did probably lie at this time, which he ordered to sail round the island. They must therefore have sailed from the *Tay*, or some part of *Angus*, and gone north about. *Agricola* in the mean time leads his army by slow marches into their winter quarters, which seem to have been partly in *England*. The fleet observing *Agricola's* orders, came safe to *portus Trutulensis*, some read it *Rhamensis*, most probably it should be *Rhutupensis* for *Rutupensis* or *Ritupensis*; so that when they arrived here, having gone north about by the *Orcades*, 'tis plain that they had sailed quite round the island, because they had sailed before from *portus Ritupensis* to *Tay*^a. At this juncture the *Roman* conquests in *Britain* were very far advanced, there being little now except the remotest parts of *Cornwall*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, into which they had not penetrated. Indeed the greatest part of *Scotland*, which lies beyond the *Tay*, seems even then to have been untouched; but yet I believe the *Romans* after this never advanced much farther. *Agricola* in his speech before the battle with *Galgacus* tells his soldiers, "That they had reached the farthest limit of *Britain*, not only by fame and report, but "with their camps and armies^b;" which expressions are as strong as those of *Herodian*, that respect the conquests of *Severus*, which I afterwards quote^c.

It may not be amiss to remark here, that the remains of camps and forts in these parts of *Scotland* (which there is just reason to suppose were first erected in *Agricola's* time) make it the more probable, that those which continue in other places of *Britain* may, many of them at least, be of as ancient a standing.

III. AS for the ancient geography relating to this period, there is little to be added, to what has been intermixed with tracing the marches of the *Romans*. Few places or people have been mentioned in this period, but what had been taken notice of before, excepting in *Scotland*. What the capital of the *Ordovices* was, is not easy to determine. I am much inclined to think it might be *Caer Rhyn*, and that *Deva* did not belong to them. *Ptolemy* places *Devana* among the *Cornavii*, at a great distance from the place where *Deva* has been certainly situated; so that it would be a question with me, whether he intends the same place by *Devana* or not, had he not named the twentieth legion, since the name as well as situations differ. But 'tis plain that if *Deva* did not belong to the *Ordovices*, it must have belonged to the *Brigantes*, which is favoured by the altar DEAE NYMPHAE BRIGANTVM said to be found here^d. That *Taus*, *Glota*, and *Bodotria* are the friths of *Tay*, *Clyde* and *Forth*, needs no more proof, than the circumstances of the history, to which these places exactly correspond. The *Grampian* mountains bear the name to this day, and the *Horesti* were plainly situated to the sea coast, and on the north of *Tay*; and therefore could be no other but the inhabitants of the shire of *Angus*, and places adjacent.

IV. BEFORE I conclude this chapter, I would say something of the chronology of the period which it contains. Tho' this is not so easy to be adjusted,

^a This I take to be the meaning of Tacitus when he says, Trutulensem portum tenuit unde proximo latere Britanniae lecto omni, redierat. Vit. Agric. cap. 38.

^b Finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Vit. Agric. cap. 33.

^c I there also endeavour to account for these

expressions of the historians, by observing that, according to the situation Ptolemy gives to Scotland, and to the opinion the historians themselves no doubt had of it, the Romans had in fact penetrated to the most northern limit of the island.

^d See Gale Antonin. Itiner. p. 54.

adjusted, as at first I apprehended. The main difficulty arises from a passage or two in *Tacitus*, which I do not find to have been hitherto observed. But there are on the other hand several passages in that excellent historian's life of *Agricola*, which may furnish us with some light in this matter, and which seem also to have passed unregarded. *Vespasian* ascended the throne, or rather was saluted emperor in the east in *July* 69, and reigned nine years, eleven months, and some odd days; *Xiphiline* says ten years wanting six days^a. He must according to this reckoning have died at soonest near the end of *June* 79^b. During his reign he sent over three different legates, *Cerialis*, *Frontinus*, and *Agricola*; the last of which was not recalled, till the reign of *Domitian*. *Vettius Bolanus* had the command in *Britain*, when *Vespasian* first ascended the throne, but how long he continued under this emperor is not certain.

THE year 70 seems to be the soonest we can well suppose *Bolanus* to have resigned to *Cerialis*; but I think 71 will better answer the historian's account. It is plain that *Agricola* was sent over to command the twentieth legion in *Britain* towards the end of the year 69; for he immediately sided with *Vespasian*, when he heard that he pretended to the empire, and as soon as *Vespasian* prevailed, he was sent over to *Britain* by *Mucianus*, who was at the head of *Vespasian's* affairs, and had the command of this legion given him. In this capacity *Agricola* first served under *Bolanus*, which must be in the year 70. *Bolanus* continued not much longer, and therefore most probably resigned to *Cerialis* in 71; or at least the summer of this year is most likely to have been the first campaign of *Cerialis*^c.

How long *Cerialis* continued in the government is no where determined, but the time seems not to have been very short, tho' *Tacitus* gives us but a brief account of it. The expressions he uses with respect to *Agricola*, seem plainly to imply, that he served so long under this legate, as to have time enough for the full trial both of his courage and conduct, and for obtaining a considerable share of glory^d. So that I think we may allow about four years to the government of *Cerialis*, which will bring us to the year 75.

IF we allow not quite so much to *Julius Frontinus* his successor, but rather three years only; it will suit well both with *Tacitus's* short account of this legate, and with the history of *Agricola* too; and bring us to the year 78, a proper date for beginning his command in *Britain*, which is clearly confirmed by some other passages in the historian.

AGRICOLA left *Britain*, before *Cerialis* resigned to *Frontinus*. This, I think, is highly probable, because the historian so expressly mentions his serving under *Cerialis*, but says nothing of his being under *Frontinus*. And if we go on with the history of *Agricola*, we shall find every thing answering, as to the point of chronology, with an agreeable exactness. *Tacitus* acquaints us, that when *Agricola* returned from his command of the legion in *Britain*, he

^a Lib. I. XVI. p. 753.

^b Suetonius says he died on the 24th of June Extinctus est VIII kal. Julii. Vit. Vespas. cap. 24. If we suppose he was saluted emperor on the first of July, all these accounts are consistent enough, otherwise they must interfere a little. There is a passage in *Xiphiline's* abridgment of *Dion*, which deserves to be regarded. "There was, says he, a year and twenty two days between the death of Nero and the reign of *Vespasian*. I mention this to prevent the mistake of those, who from the day of an emperor's death compute the reign of his successor. For they pretended to be emperors as soon as they were proclaimed, tho' their predecessor was yet alive; and so the time of their reign ought not to be reckon'd from the day of the death

"of him that preceded them." Lib. I. XVI. p. 753. Nero is thought to have died on the tenth of June, to which if a year and twenty two days be added, it will bring the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign near the first of July. So that I think upon the whole we may reckon *Vespasian's* reign from the first of July.

^c Præerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus--- Temperavit Agricola vim suam, peritus obsequi--- Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Vit. Agric. cap. 8.

^d Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicavit: sæpe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit. Vit. Agric. cap. 8.

he had the government of the province of *Aquitania* given him^a; but he continued not three full years in that government^b. After this he was called home to be made consul, and immediately after his consulship he was sent over legate to *Britain*. So that here is plainly an interval of about four years, between the time of *Agricola's* first leaving *Britain*, and his return to it again, when appointed by the emperor *Vespasian* to be *propraetor* and legate; for what was wanting of three years in his government of *Aquitania*, and of one in the year of his consulship (for he did not enter upon it at the beginning) may be supposed to be balanced by the time spent between his leaving *Britain* and entering upon the government of *Aquitania*, and the time between the end of his consulship and his arrival at *Britain* again. The last interval will balance the deficiency in the year of his consulship; for as he was made consul on the first of *July*, so on the other hand it must have been much about the same time in the year following, or rather later, before he arrived in *Britain*, as the historian expressly assures us. If therefore *Agricola* left *Britain* at first in the year 74, the year before *Cerialis* quitted the government; he must according to *Tacitus's* account have come over again to *Britain* in the year 78, when the summer was far advanced. And this suits exactly well both with the *Fasti Consulares*, and *Tacitus's* account of *Agricola*. According to the former he was consul in the year 77, and according to the latter he was made legate of *Britain* immediately after his consulship. This testimony of the historian is so particular, that it can by no means be contested^c. From hence it follows, that the year of *Vespasian's* death (namely 79) must have been but the second year of *Agricola's* command in this island, and *Cambden* must be somewhat mistaken, when he supposed that *Titus* died in the fifth or sixth year of it^d. For *Titus* according to the express testimony of *Xiphiline* from *Dion*, and of *Suetonius* too, reigned just two years, two months, and twenty days. He began his reign, as was shewn before, the latter end of *June* 79, and died in the middle of *September* 81^e. Others make *Titus* to have reigned two years and eight months, with some odd days^f. But this must be a mistake, for *Xiphiline* is express that he died when *Pollio* was consul^g, that is in 81. And according to the *Fasti Consulares*, *Domitian* was consul and emperor from the beginning of the year 82, so that the death of *Titus* must have been in the year 81, and in the fourth of *Agricola's* command. What yet remains to be determined, is the year when *Agricola* was recalled. By what has been said before, it appears that the beginning of *Domitian's* reign fell in with the latter part of the fourth year of *Agricola's* command. And according to *Tacitus* this year the army had been employed in securing their conquests, and building forts cross the *isthmus* between *Glota* and *Bodotria*. *Tacitus* mentions each year of *Agricola's* command so distinctly, and relates so particularly the transactions of it; that one would think we could not possibly be at a loss about the chronology. But there is a difficulty in *Tacitus*, which I think has not been observed. That historian introduces *Agricola* making a speech to his soldiers before the battle with *Galgacus*, wherein he tells them at the beginning of it, that it was the eighth year^h, since they were jointly engaged in this war. And yet by the series of the years this seems only to be the seventh of *Agricola's*

^a Revertentem ab legatione legionis Divus Vespasianus—provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit. Vit. Agric. cap. 9.

^b Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus. Ibid.

^c Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus (that is in the government of Aquitania) ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est; comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari. Consul egregiae rum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit; ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est. Vit. Agric. cap. 9.

^d Introd. LVIII. I think too that Vespasian's own exploits in Britain, the victories of the legates

prior to Agricola, and the two first years of Agricola himself were all together ground enough (without much poetical liberty) for the high complements paid to this emperor. Valerius Flaccus, Lib. LV. 7, &c.

^e Excessit idibus Septembris. Suetonius in Vit. Tiri, cap. 11. Post biennium ac menses duos diesque viginti quam successerat patri. Ibid.

^f Morbo perit post biennium, menses octo, dies xx quam imperator factus est. Eutropius, Lib. VII. cap. 22.

^g Lib. LXVI. sub fin.

^h Octavus annus est commilitones ex quo Britanniam vicistis. Vit. Agric. cap. 33.

cola's command. And besides in this very same speech *Agricola* also tells his soldiers, that it was but the year before, the *Britons* had attempted to surprise a legion in the night, but were defeated^a; whereas the historian had expressly said before, that this transaction happened in the sixth year of *Agricola's* command^b: so that one would suspect an error in the copy, or some inadvertence in the historian, and for *octavus* read *septimus*. There is likewise another chronological difficulty in this speech. *Agricola* says, "Put an end to your expeditions, and let this be the great and finishing day of your fifty years war^c:" as if it had been fifty years from the beginning of the wars in *Britain* under *Claudius*, when in reality it was just about forty. Perhaps in the one case VIII has been set down for VII, and in the other L for XL. If therefore *Agricola* made only seven campaigns, the first of which was in the year 78; 'tis certain that his last, upon this supposition, must have been in the year 84, which was the third of *Domitian*. *Agricola* seems not to have left *Britain* at the end of this campaign, but to have continued some time longer in the island^d. 'Tis very likely to have been in the year 85 that he crossed the seas, in order to return to *Rome*, where he died, when *Priscus* and *Collega* were consuls, in the year 92. One would think at first view from a passage of *Xiphiline* in the life of *Titus*, that the *Romans* had sailed round *Britain* in the reign of that emperor, which would altogether disturb our chronology. But as 'tis certain from *Tacitus*, that this was not done till the reign of *Domitian*; so it is also evident, that *Xiphiline's* words run only in the general, and contain a summary account of all *Agricola's* success and exploits; tho' part of these transactions were not performed till the reign of *Domitian*. Mr. *Gordon*^e and some others suppose, that *Agricola* was recalled in the year 82. But this from what I have already said appears to be a mistake. And it would be no difficult matter to produce some other facts and circumstances, which would confirm the opinion, that *Agricola* did not leave *Britain* at the beginning of *Domitian's* reign. So for instance, *Tacitus* informs us^f, that *Domitian's* mock triumph for *Germany* was over before *Agricola* was recalled. But 'tis needless to insist any longer on this.

If *Lucullus* immediately succeeded *Agricola*, he might begin his command in the year 85. How long he continued before he was murdered, I think can scarce be determined; however as he was destroyed by *Domitian's* order, there must have been another legate here during the reign of this emperor; but who that was, whether *Trebellius* or some other, I know not. *Domitian* died in the fifteenth or rather sixteenth year of his reign in the month of *September*^g, and as *Xiphiline*^h relates, when *Valens* and *Antistius* were consuls, that is, in the year 96. *Xiphiline* also expressly tells us, "that he reigned fifteen years and five daysⁱ," which keeps all exactly right with respect to the chronology.

FROM hence till the reign of *Hadrian* we have nothing to say about *Britain*, there being a silence among all the *Roman* historians with respect to this island, for the space of above thirty years.

As for the limits of the *Roman* empire in *Britain* at the end of this period, the silence of historians for the two reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, renders it impossible to fix them. 'Tis evident that when *Agricola* was recalled, the *Roman* conquests were extended beyond the river *Tay*, and the *Grampian* mountains, as I have shewn already. It is certain that the *Caledonians* gained ground.

^a Proximo anno, cap. 34.

^b Cap. 25, 26.

^c Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem. Cap. 34.

^d This is plain from cap. 39. which ends with these words—Nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

^e Itiner. Septen. p. 46.

^f Vit. Agricol. cap. 39.

^g Suetonius in vit. Domitiani, cap. 17.

^h Lib. LXVII. p. 766.

ⁱ Ibid. in fin.

ground on the *Romans* between this time and the reign of *Hadrian*; and seem to have overrun a good part of the province. For when *Hadrian* built his *vallum*, he did not include within it the whole of what is now called *England*; and consequently no part of *Scotland*, in all probability, was in the hands of the *Romans* at the end of this period. And the northern parts of *England* seem to have been the principal seat of the war.

BEFORE I finish the chapter I might give some account of two particular persons among the *Britons*, who lived about this time and are generally taken notice of by those who write on this subject; namely *Arviragus*, one of the kings, and *Claudia Rufina*; the one famed for his valour and mentioned by *Juvenal*^a, the other celebrated by *Martial*^b for her learning, beauty, and wit: But as they have no relation to public affairs, I shall take no farther notice of them.

CHAPTER IV.

The fourth historical period, from the beginning of the reign of *Hadrian* to the death of *Severus*.

In which are contained the Roman affairs in Britain during this period, with the chronology and geography.

HADRIAN began to reign in the year 117, but we have nothing in any of the historians relating to *Britain* for the first four years of his government, except it be some hints in general of the unruliness or insurrections of the *Britons* in *Spartian*^c. The learned *Salmasius*, in his notes on that passage conjectures, that it might refer to the time, when *Julius Severus*, the legate under *Hadrian*, was called out of *Britain* to go against the *Jews*. *Xiphiline* from *Dion* giving an account of the commanders who were sent against the *Jews*, says that, "the most considerable was *Julius Severus*, who upon this occasion was recalled from *Britain*, where he commanded at that time^d." But the passage in *Spartian* seems to me to have a more general reference to the temper and conduct of the *Britons* during a great part of this emperor's reign^e. The silence of the *Roman* historians with relation to *Britain*, may justly be extended from the year 85, when *Agricola* was recalled by *Domitian*, to the year 120, when *Hadrian* is said to come over to *Britain*. This large chasm in the history is a great disadvantage; and the more so, because we cannot borrow any light or assistance as to this part of it from any *Roman* inscriptions in *Britain*; there being none now extant, which we can be certain are so antient as this. Historians observe, that *Hadrian* visited all the provinces of the *Roman* empire; took notice of, and made great alterations in

HADRIAN.

^a Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus— Sat. iv. 126, 127.
^b Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formae— Lib. xi. Epig. 54.
^c Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant. Vit. Hadriani, Script. Hist. Aug. p. 22.

^d Lib. Lxix. p. 793.
^e The same historian says of him, after he had been over in person in this island, that "having settled affairs in Britain, he went over to Gaul; compositis in Britannia rebus, transgressus in Galliam. Ibid. p. 54. These two passages may refer to and illustrate each other.

in the forts, ditches, and ramparts. *Eutropius* expresses this very concisely. "He went round the *Roman* world, and built many works^a." *Xiphiline* expresses it to this effect: "*Hadrian* visited the several provinces, countries, and cities; and altered the walls and citadels of some of them. He took cognisance of all that related to the army, arms, machines, ditches, ramparts, &c.^b" Among the rest he visited *Britain* in person, and built a *vallum* or wall cross the island. *Spartian* is express in his testimony, tho' very short in his account of this matter. "He visited *Britain*, where he corrected many things, and first drew a wall eighty miles in length, to divide the *barbarians* from the *Romans*." It is remarkable that the length of the wall is here expressly set down, and this emperor is said to be the first who built such a wall cross the island. If the passage in *Capitolinus* concerning *Antoninus Pius* be compared with this, they will confirm and illustrate each other. "He subdued the *Britons* by *Lollius Urbicus* his legate, and removed the *Barbarians* by another turf wall^c." This must refer to the wall of *Hadrian*, which was older than the other; and tho' both are called walls, *muri*, yet they were only of turf. *Capitolinus's* expression, *summotis barbaris*, seems to imply that *Antoninus Pius's* wall was more to the north, and more advanced into the enemy's country. This is the most natural and easy interpretation of this remarkable passage; and how exactly true all this is, I shall shew more fully in my discourses upon these walls. I know there is another passage of *Spartian* in the life of *Hadrian*, relating to the way of raising a boundary between the *Romans* and *barbarians*, that has been generally applied to this wall in particular, but without reason, and contrary to fact. The passage is thus; "In many places, both then and at other times, where the *barbarians* are not bounded by rivers, he separated them by great stakes drove into the ground, in manner of a mural fence, and connected together." The boundary here described is plainly a kind of palisado; but there is no such thing as stakes or timber in *Hadrian's vallum*, which is made wholly of earth or turf; as I shall shew in its proper place. Besides, this is not spoken of as one continued work; but what was done at different times, and in different places. We can know little more from the *Roman* historians concerning *Hadrian's* transactions in *Britain*; only we learn from *Spartian*, that after he had settled matters here, he was obliged to leave the island upon account of some disturbance at *Alexandria*^d. *Spartian* has also transmitted to us some verses that passed between this emperor, and one *Florus* a poet, whom *Salmasius* supposes to be the same with the *Roman* historian, which verses have a reference to the hardships *Hadrian* underwent, whilst he was in this island. *Florus* speaks thus:

*Ego nolo CAESAR esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.*

To which the emperor replies:

*Ego nolo FLORVS esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos^e.*

Some for *Scythicas* read *Scoticas*, confirming their criticism by a parallel passage in *Claudian*^f:

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis.

Adding also that *Hadrian* never was in *Scythia*^g. But I am afraid 'twill be hard

^a Orbem Romanum circumivit, et multa aedificavit. Lib. viii. cap. 7.

^b Lib. Lxix. p. 792.

^c Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret. Vit. Hadriani, Script. Hist. Aug. p. 51.

^d Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alto muro cespitio, submotis barbaris, ducto. Vit. Antonini Pii. Scriptor. Hist. Aug. p. 132.

^e Per ea tempora et alias frequenter, in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepiis funditus jactis atque connexis barbaros separavit. Vit. Had. Scrip. Hist. Aug. p. 57.

^f Compositis in Britannia rebus, transgressus in Galliam, Alexandrina seditione turbatus. Ibid. p. 54.

^g Vit. Hadr. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 73, 74.

^h Cap. 16.

ⁱ Gordon's Itiner. Septent. p. 48.

hard to prove this negative, since the historians expressly assert that he went round, and visited the whole empire. The criticism however is ingenious enough.

OUR modern antiquaries have found out two *propraetors* in *Britain* under this emperor; namely *Julius Severus*, whose name they take from *Xiphiline*^a, and *Priscus Licinius*, whom *Cambden*^b discovered from an antient inscription, and supposes to have succeeded the other. But their names is all we can know of them; only *Xiphiline* commends *Severus* as an excellent general; and in the inscription in *Cambden*, *Priscus Licinius*, who is called *propraetor provinciae Britanniae legatus Augustalis*, is said also to have been in the expedition against the *Jews* under *Hadrian*. He is therefore supposed to come from thence to *Britain*, when *Severus* was sent for from *Britain* thither^c.

As for the date of these transactions, it is not easy to fix them with certainty. It is evident from the series of the history, and this emperor's other transactions, that it must have been some years after he began to reign, before he came over to *Britain*. *Cambden* gathers from an antient medal, that it was in the year 124. The series of the history inclines me to believe it was sooner; and the learned *Dodwell* places it in the year 120^d.

As to the extent of the *Roman* power in *Britain* under this reign, it seems natural enough to conclude, that the *vallum* when raised was the boundary, unless we suppose there might be some advanced stations beyond it; and I shall in another place give some reasons for the probability of this supposition. The *legio sexta victrix* came over to *Britain* in this reign, possibly with the emperor himself. This information we have from an antient inscription, which I have transcribed in another place.

ANTONINUS PIUS was adopted by *Hadrian*, and succeeded him in the empire. We learn from *Julius Capitolinus* that he was born the nineteenth of *September*, when *Domitian* was consul the twelfth time, and in conjunction with *Dolabella*, that is in the year 86, and about the sixth of *Domitian's* reign^e. He was made emperor in the year 138, and according to *Eutropius's*^f concise character of him, "He was more studious to defend, than enlarge the empire." *Capitolinus's* account seems to differ from that of *Eutropius*, especially with relation to *Britain*. And the matter of fact is in some respect on the side of *Capitolinus*, because *Antonine's* wall is a good deal more advanced to the north, than *Hadrian's* was. Mr. *Gordon* mentions *Liburnius Fronto* as a lieutenant in *Britain* under this emperor, and derives his opinion from an inscription^g, that he was no more than a centurion. So that I know of no lieutenant, but one, under this emperor, namely *Lollius Urbicus*. And the general passage before quoted from *Capitolinus* is all I can find in him, relating to the transactions of that emperor in *Britain*; "He carried on (says he) many wars by his legates; for he both subdued the *Britons* by *Lollius Urbicus* his legate, and removed the *barbarians* farther off by another turf wall drawn cross the island; and also forced the *Moors* to beg peace^h." The very year in which the wall in *Scotland* was built, may perhaps

^a Lib. I. XIX. p. 793.

^b Introd. Lib. LXVII.

^c I conjectured that the name of this legate was in an inscription, Cumberland, N^o XLVI. Tho' there it seems rather to read *Licinius Priscus* than *Priscus Licinius*: but this is doubtful. See my observations upon that inscription.

^d *Julii Vitalis epitaphium*, p. 138.

^e *Antoninus Pius natus est tertio decimo Kal. Octobris sub Domitiano duodecimo et Cornelio*

Dolabella co. Vit. Anton. Pii. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 125, 126.

^f In re militari moderata gloria, defendere magis provincias, quam amplificare studens. Lib. VIII. c. 8.

^g Northumberland, N^o VII.

^h Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit: nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespitio submotis barbaris ducto: et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit. Vit. Ant. Pii. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 132.

perhaps be determined by the inscription in the library at *Edinburgh*^a. I look upon it to have been one of the stones erected at the building of that wall. And then as all those stones are inscribed to *Antoninus Pius*, no doubt this has been so too. The consequence of this is, that the wall must have been built when he was the third time consul, that is, in the year 140, and near the beginning of his reign. The inscriptions found in *Scotland*, which may be seen in the following collection, do agreeably confirm and illustrate the whole passage in *Capitolinus*; and since these have appeared, the opinion that *Carausius* built this *praetentura*^b, needs no more confutation. *Casaubon* in his notes upon the aforementioned passage of *Capitolinus*^c, observes from *Pausanias*, that the *Brigantes* suffered much under this emperor. The reason was their having invaded *Genunia*, a country in alliance with the *Romans*^d. This passage by the way seems to imply, that at the beginning of this reign the *Brigantes* had revolted, and that the *Roman* Power did not then reach so far as *Hadrian's vallum*, which had, not long before, been raised as a boundary. But under this reign the northern boundary was afterwards farther extended, even to the aëstuaries of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where as has been hinted 'tis now certain from a great number of inscriptions, that *Antoninus Pius* built his wall. One *Saturninus* had the charge of the *Roman* navy here in his reign, which is all that is said concerning him.

M. AVRELIVS. *M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS*, called the *philosopher*, succeeded in the beginning, as I think, of the year 161, and took *Lucius Verus* to be his associate in the empire. It is surprising that we should meet with no more in the *Roman* historians, concerning the transactions in *Britain* during the reign of these emperors. *Herodian* begins his history just with the death of *Aurelius Antoninus*. And the other historians furnish us with nothing, except a general passage or two in *Capitolinus*, in his life of this *Antoninus*. The chief passage is as follows: "The *Parthian* war was also at that time. There " was also danger of a war in *Britain*, and the *Catti* had made an inroad " into *Germany* and *Rhetia*. Against the *Britons* was sent *Calphurnius Agri-* " *cola*, to the *Parthians* his brother *Verus* by consent of the senate^e." The account is confirmed by some inscriptions in *Northumberland*^f. This legate's name has been mentioned in these inscriptions; but at what time exactly he was sent over to *Britain*, cannot be learned. By its place in the history, one may probably suppose it to have been about the middle of the joint reign of these emperors. But in order to fix it, we must consider another passage somewhat like the former, that afterwards occurs in the same historian, and that too among the transactions which happened after the death of *Lucius Verus*. He first tells us, that " these things were done by *Marcus Antoninus* after the death " of his brother^g." And then after he has mentioned a good many other transactions, he adds, " All the nations had conspired together from the " *Illyrican* boundary unto *Gaul*, as the *Marcomanni*, *Narisci*, *Hermunduri*^h," and a great many others which he there enumerates; and then immediately follows,

^a Scotland; N^o. xxv.

^b Burton's Antonin. Itin. p. 105.

^c Script. Hist. Aug. p. 132. Brigantes populum Britanniae magnis cladibus fuisse affectum testis Pausanias: in nummis tamen non Briganticus, sed Britannicus appellatur. Casaub. Ibid.

^d ἡ περὶ τὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βρετανίᾳ Βεργάντων τὴν πολλήν, ἐπὶ ἐπιστάτῳ καὶ οὗτοι σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἤρξαν τὴν Γενυνίαν μοῖραν, ὅπῃ καὶ Ῥωμαίων. Pausan. Arcad. Genunia is supposed in Camden to be what is called Gwynedh, in Latin Gwinethia, that is, North Wales, or a part of it. This seems plausible enough. However as I believe it is not to be met with in any ancient authors; so by this passage it seems to have been south from the Brigantes. Perhaps it has been the country of the Cangi, which I have already conjectured to lie in

the empty space left by Ptolemy on the south of the Brigantes.

^e Fuit eo tempore etiam Parthicum bellum. Imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, et Catti in Germaniam ac Rhetiam irruerant. Et adversus Britannos quidem Calphurnius Agricola missus est. —Ad Parthicum vero bellum, senatu consentiente, Verus frater ejus missus est. Vit. M. Anton. Philof. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 169.

^f N^o LIII, xcvi.

^g Sub Marco Antonino haec sunt gesta post fratrem. Primum corpus ejus Romam devectum est, &c. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 195.

^h Gentes omnes ab Illyrico limite usque Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, &c. id. p. 200.

follows, " *A Parthian* war was also breaking out, and a *British*. With " great labour and toil he overcame these fierce nations". As this passage refers to the transactions of *Marcus Antoninus* after the death of *Lucius Verus*; in order to reconcile it with the former, we must understand it of the renewal or continuance of these wars: because, as appears from the passage quoted before, *Lucius Verus* himself was sent against the *Parthians*, when the war with them broke out; and express mention is made of his return from this war, and his temper and conduct after it ^b.

THIS seems to be the whole of what we can know of the *Roman* transactions in *Britain* during the reign of *Marcus Antoninus*. Nor can I tell where to fix the limits of the *Roman* empire here at the end of this reign. It seems most probable to me, that the seat of the war was at that time chiefly between the two walls of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. It is not improbable that the *Caledonians* had broke thro' the wall of *Antoninus Pius* not long after it had been erected, which may be the reason we meet with no inscriptions found there, but what belong to that reign ; at least no other emperor is expressly mentioned but he, nor any certain date but what relates to his time.

WHETHER *Marcus Antoninus* might afterwards prevail so far as to drive the *Caledonians* back again, beyond the more northerly wall, is a question I am not able to solve.

As for *Avidius Cassius*, whose reign or usurpation was so short in the east, it is not to be expected that the history of him should acquaint us with anything relating to *Britain*.

COMMODUS succeeds his father *Marcus Antoninus*, and was made sole emperor in the year 180. He had the title of emperor before in conjunction with his father^c. Accordingly he is stiled *imperator* in the *Fasti consulares*, when he was the first and second time consul, in the years 177, and 179. It is certain there were considerable wars and disturbances in *Britain* under this emperor, tho' the accounts we have of them from the *Roman* historians are but very short and general. *Xiphiline* takes notice that " he had several wars with foreign nations; but none so dangerous, as that of *Britain*. " For the people of this island having passed the wall that divided them from " the *Romans*^d, attacked them, and cut them in pieces. *Commodus* fearing " the progress of their arms, sent *Marcellus Ulpus* against them." The same author gives a great and good character of this lieutenant, and says he obtained many notable advantages against the *Britons*^e. It is surprising that *Herodian*, who writes at large this emperor's life, should take no notice of the affairs in *Britain*. The odious character he had, upon account of his cruelty and lewdness, is generally known. It is also proper to remark, what has been so generally taken notice of by others, how fond he was of the name of *Hercules Romanus*, and of appearing in the habit of *Hercules*. *Xiphiline* informs us, that among the statues erected to him " 'there were some which " represent him in the habit of *Hercules*." And *Herodian* informs us, that " he

^a Imminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum. Magno igitur labore etiam suo gentes asperimas vicit, &c. Id. p. 201.

^b Et haec quidem post Parthicum bellum, ad quod eum misisse dicitur Marcus, &c. Capitolinus in Vit. Veri Imper. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 229. Reversus e Parthico bello minore circa fratrem cultu fuit Verus, &c. Ibid. p. 233.

^c Cum patre imperator est appellatus v̄ kal. Decemb. die, Pollione et Apro cons. [i. e. A. D. 176.] Lampridius in Vit. Commodi. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 265.

^d Ἡ περὶ ἐκκλύτων τὸ τῶχος τὸ διελθόν αὐτῆς.
Lib. LXXII. p. 820. *The more northern wall or that of Antoninus Pius was now perhaps pretty much neglected; so that the Caledonians might pass over it without much difficulty, and it may be without opposition. This looks as if M. Antoninus had driven the Caledonians beyond the most northerly wall, which was seldom held by the Romans for any considerable time.*

• Ibid. p. 821.

Lib. LXXII. p. 824.

“ he ordered himself to be called *Hercules* and the son of *Jupiter*; and “ that putting off the *Roman* and royal habit, he put on the lion’s skin, and “ took the club in his hands^a.” Most of the lieutenants this emperor sent to govern the provinces, were either partners themselves in his wickedness, or recommended by those who were so^b. But this character does not appear applicable either to *Marcellus* or *Pertinax*, two of those lieutenants, who were sent by him to govern the *Roman* province in *Britain*.

ULPIUS MARCELLUS seems to have been the first of his legates. *Lampridius* does not name him, and but just mentions the war in *Britain* when he is speaking of *Perennis’s* death^c, and afterwards relates in the general the success of it among others^d. But this lieutenant *Ulpus Marcellus* is particularly mentioned by *Xiphiline* in the passage cited before^e. I do not remember his name in any *Roman* inscriptions in *Britain*, so that all we know of him is from this historian. According to him, *Marcellus* was successful, but very ill requited by *Commodus*. I cannot find that *Dion* has taken any notice of *Hadrian’s vallum*, tho’ this may possibly be owing to the omission of *Xiphiline* in his abridgment, which is all we have to depend upon after the reign of *Claudius*.

PERENNIS who is said by some to have succeeded *Marcellus*, was sacrificed to the fury of the soldiers^f. The substance of *Xiphiline’s* account of this matter is as follows. “ *Perennis* having succeeded *Paternus* in the post of “ *praefectus praetorio*, was charged with the publick affairs, and with the “ army. The army in *Britain* having raised a mutiny (which was afterwards “ with much difficulty appeased by the great prudence of *Pertinax*) sent a “ deputation of fifteen hundred men to the emperor, who charged *Perennis* “ with a conspiracy against *Commodus*. *Perennis* being delivered into their “ hands, is first scourged, and then beheaded by them^g.”

PERTINAX succeeds in the government of *Britain*. *Capitolinus* in the life of *Pertinax*, who was afterwards emperor, has a hint or two concerning this matter^h. He tells us, “ That *Pertinax*, at the request of the emperor “ *Commodus*, came over to *Britain* after the death of *Perennis*; that he “ quelled a sedition among the soldiers, who were disposed to chuse any other “ emperor, and particularly *Pertinax* himself in opposition to *Commodus*; “ that he run the risque of his life in suppressing the mutiny, and was actually “ left among the slain. Upon this he desired to be recalled from his com- “ mand; accordingly a successor was appointed for this post, and he himself “ otherwise provided forⁱ.”

Who this successor was, we are no where expressly told. It seems to have been *Clodius Albinus*, for ’tis plain that he had the government of this island, and

^a Lib. i. cap. 46.

^b Misit homines ad provincias regendas, vel criminum socios, vel a criminosis commendatos. *Lampridius* in vita *Commodi*. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 267.

^c Ibid. p. 273.

^d Victi sunt sub eo tamen, quum ille sic viveret, per legatos, Mauri, victi Daci, Pannoniae quoque compositae: in Britannia, in Germania, et in Dacia, imperium ejus recusantibus provincialibus. Quae omnia ista per duces sedata sunt. Id. p. 286.

^e Lib. LXXII.

^f Hic tamen *Perennis* qui tantum potuit, subito quod bello Britannico militibus equestri loci viros praefecerat, amotis senatoribus, hostis appellatus, lacerandusque militibus est deditus. *Lampridius* in vita *Commodi*. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 273.

^g Lib. LXXII. p. 821.

^h Bello Parthico industria sua promeritus, in Britanniam translatus est ac retentus. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 298. *Casaubon* is of opinion that instead of Britanniam we should read Bithyniam. I therefore wave this passage, the next being more express and distinct.

ⁱ Occiso sane *Perenni*, *Commodus* *Pertinaci* satisfecit, eumque petiit per literas ut ad Britanniam proficisceretur: profectusque milites ab omni seditione deterruit, quum illi quemcumque imperatorem vellent habere, et ipsum specialiter *Pertinacem*—seditiones quidem contra ipse compescuit in Britannia: verum ingens periculum adiit, seditione legionis pene occisus, certe inter occisos relictus—Denique postea veniam legationis petiit—Accepto successore alimentorum cura ei mandata est, deinde proconsul Africae factus est. Ibid. p. 301.

and that he received it from *Commodus*^a. In *Capitolinus*'s life of *Albinus* he is expressly said "to have had the command of the *British* armies by the order of *Commodus*^b." He was in *Britain* after the death of *Commodus*, as will appear by the following history. Tho' *Capitolinus* also tells us, "that *Commodus* being displeased with *Albinus*, for a speech he had "made to the soldiers in *Britain*, sent one *Junius Severus* to succeed "him^c."

COMMODUS however assumes the name of *Britannicus*, and was the first emperor who had the conjoined titles of *pius* and *felix* attributed to him. *Lampridius* is satyrical in his account of this matter in the life of this emperor. "When he had appointed the adulterer of his mother a consul, he is "called *pius* ; when he had slain *Perennis*, he is called *felix*. He was also "flattered with the title of *Britannicus*, when the *Britons* were ready to chuse "another emperor against him^d."

PERTINAX succeeded *Commodus* in the year 192, or in the beginning of 193 ; for it appears by *Capitolinus*'s account, that *Falco* was consul, when *Pertinax* was emperor ; and as one may gather from the words of *Capitolinus*, even when *Commodus* was slain^e. But *Falco* was consul, according to the *Fasti consulares*, in the beginning of the year 193. *Xiphiline* also tells us, that the soldiers were for setting up the consul *Falco* for emperor, when they conspired against *Pertinax*^f. During his short reign of three months and three days, the *Roman* historians say nothing with relation to *Britain*. PERTINAX.

THEY are almost as silent during the shorter reign of two months and ten days of his successor *Didius Julianus*. We meet with a single passage of *Spartian* relating to *Britain* in the life of this emperor, but it has nothing material in it. "*Julian* had no apprehensions either from the *British* or " *Illyrian* armies^g." *Xiphiline* tells us, that in *Julian*'s time "*Albinus* com- "manded in *Britain*^h." D. JULIANVS.

IN the year 193, *Septimius Severus*, *Pescenninus Niger*, and *Clodius Albinus* are all three competitors for the empire. *Severus* prevails at last, and is fixed in the throne. The lives of all the three are wrote by some or other of the *Roman* historians. *Capitolinus* writes the life of *Albinus*, and from what I have quoted thence, it is plain that he had the command in *Britain* in the latter part of the reign of *Commodus*. For tho' *Commodus* appointed another to succeed him, yet 'tis most likely that *Albinus* maintained his power in *Britain*, and that *Commodus* died before the other could be fixed in his place. That *Albinus* held it in *Julian*'s time, I have just now shewn from *Xiphiline*. It is plain from *Herodian*, that when *Severus* set up for the empire, *Albinus* had the command in *Britain*, and of the forces there. And the army in this island under his command is spoken of as very numerous and braveⁱ. I pass by the artifices said to be made use of by *Severus* to delude *Albinus*, till he had done with *Pescenninus Niger* ; and only observe, that soon after *Severus*'s victory over *Niger*, there was an open rupture between him and *Albinus*, till the SEVERVS.

^a Albinus in Britannos, quam provinciam a Com- modo meruerat transmittere nitebatur. Aurelius Victor in Septimio.

^b Quum Britannicos exercitus rogeret jussu Com- modi. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 402.

^c Haec concio Romam delata est, quae Commodum in Albinum exasperavit, statimque successorem misit Junium Severum. Ibid. p. 403.

^d Quum adulterum matris consulem designasset, appellatus est *pius* ; quum occidisset Perennem, appellatus est *felix*—Appellatus est Commodus etiam *Britannicus* ab adulatoribus, quum Britanni

etiam imperatorem contra eum deligere voluerint. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 276.

^e Laeto praefecto praetorii, quo autore et Com- modus interceptus et ipse imperator est factus. Sed quum Laeto gratias egisset Pertinax, Falco con- sul dixit, &c. Vlt. Pertin. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 303.

^f Lib. LXXIII. p. 833.

^g Et Julianus quidem neque Britannicos exerci- tus, neque Illyricos timebat. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 325.

^h Lib. LXXIII. p. 837.

ⁱ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἐν Βρετανίᾳ δυνάμει πολλὴν τε ἔσται καὶ μάστιγι ἀνδρῶν τε μαχιστότων ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς πό- σης Ἀλβίνου. Herodian. lib. II. cap. 48.

the decisive battle of *Lions* in *Gaul* put an end to *Albinus's* life, and the competition about the empire, and left *Severus* in full and sole possession. It seems evident from the relation of the historian, that the greatest part of *Albinus's* army at this battle was made up of those he had transported from *Britain*. For he tells us, that “*Albinus* having passed from *Britain*, encamped “ in that part of *France*, which lies over-against it^a.” And when he gives us an account of the battle, which at first was in favour of *Albinus*, he has these words; “ The *Britons* pursuing and shouting^b,” as if *Albinus's* army had consisted mostly or only of *Britons*. But afterwards he relates, how by the approach of *Laetus* with a fresh body of forces, the victory turned to the side of *Severus*.

XIPHILINE tells us, that after *Severus* was emperor, he took a fancy to be called the son of *Marcus Aurelius*, and brother to *Commodus*; and that he bestowed divine honours upon *Commodus*, tho' he had formerly blackened his character^c. This I mention, because I think it may serve to illustrate some inscriptions. In this reign 'tis certain, that great matters were transacted in *Britain*; though 'tis to be regretted that the historians give us so short and general an account of them. *Spartian* near the beginning of the life of *Severus* has this passage: “ He sent *Heracitus* to secure *Britain*, and *Plautianus* to seize the children of *Niger*^d.” And in his life of *Pescenninus Niger*: “ *Severus* sent *Heracitus* to secure *Bithynia*, and *Fulvius* to seize “ the sons of *Niger*^e. *Salmasius* justly corrects the former passage by this latter, and shews that for *Britannias* there, we should read *Bithynias*. The tenor of the history, and the parallel accounts of other historians, confirm this correction. *Aurelius Victor* intimates that *Albinus* was defeated and killed at *Lions*, when he was endeavouring after the death of *Pertinax* to pass into *Britain*, and had assumed the purple in *Gaul*^f.

THERE was no doubt a considerable space between the death of *Julian*, *Severus's* predecessor, and of *Albinus*, the latter of his rivals. The former was in the year 193, and according to some the latter not till 199. After the death of *Albinus*, *Herodian* tells us, “ that *Severus* ordered the affairs of “ *Britain*, and divided the government of this nation into two provinces^g.

I MEET with nothing more relating to *Britain*, that can be relied on, till *Severus's* expedition, when he came over in person; except that *Virius Lupus* was *propraetor*, as we learn from an ancient inscription found at *Ilkley* in *Yorkshire*^h. In this inscription *Antoninus*, the son of *Severus*, is stiled *Caesar designatus*: so that I am apt to think *Virius Lupus* was settled here *propraetor*, as soon as *Severus* had any power in this island, or immediately after the death of *Albinus*; and that he continued in this post till *Severus* came over in person. It would be a great satisfaction to determine the time of this emperor's coming to *Britain*. 'Tis certain that it was after all his other expeditions were over; for he ended his reign, and life in this island. But how long he was in *Britain*, before he died, is the difficult question. *Xiphiline* says expressly, that “ he returned not from the *British* expedition, but “ died there, three years after he undertook itⁱ.” But this, I think, must be understood

^a Lib. iii. cap. 20.

^b Διωκόντων καὶ παραινίζοντων τῶν Βρετανῶν. Lib. iii. cap. 22. I have said nothing more of *Pescenninus Niger*, because the scene of his action was in the east, and the historians who write his life say nothing in it that relates to this island.

^c Lib. i. xxv. p. 853.

^d *Heracitum* ad obtinendas *Britannias*, *Plautianum* ad occupandos *Nigri* liberos misit. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 339.

^e *Sanæ Severus* *Heracitum* ad obtinendam *Bithyniam* misit; *Fulvium* autem ad occupandos adultos *Nigri* filios. Ibid. p. 372.

^f *Clodium Albinum* victum *Lugduni* coegit mori, qui *Pertinacis* auctor occidendi, cum eo metu in *Britannos*, quam provinciam a *Commodo* meruerat, transmittere nitebatur, in *Gallia* invaserat imperium. *Aurel. Victor* in *Septimio*.

^g Lib. iii. cap. 24.

^h The original is lost. The copy is inserted in my observations. He is also named in another inscription, *Yorkshire*, No 1. *Ulpian* calls him *praefidem Britanniae*. ff. Lib. xxvi. t. 6. §. 4.

ⁱ Οὐκ ἐπαυήκατο ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρ' ἔτι μετὰ τὴν μάχην. Lib. Lxxvi. p. 866.

understood with some latitude, so as to take in part of the fourth year. This, if we suppose *Severus* to have died at the end of the year 210, or the beginning of 211, will by reckoning backward bring us to 207; which is the very latest it could be. When *Spartian* is near finishing his account of *Severus's* expedition in the east, he adds, "When he passed thro' *Antiochia*, " having given the *toga virilis* to his eldest son, he appointed him consul " along with himself, and immediately they begun their consulate in *Syria*." From this passage it is plain, that *Severus* and his son *Caracalla* entered upon their joint consulate, when they were in *Syria*, in their return to *Rome*; for that they were now upon their return, is clear beyond dispute both from *Spartian* himself, and other historians. This consulate according to the *Fasti consulares* was in the year 202. At the beginning of this year, or before it, *Caracalla* had taken the *toga virilis*; and he with his father *Severus* travelled into *Aegypt*, before they came to *Rome*; but as this was only for curiosity, or devotion to the god *Serapis* (as the historians inform us) we have no reason to suppose, that they staid there any time, and therefore in all probability they arrived at *Rome* before the expiration of their consulate. This is farther confirmed by *Xiphiline's* account, who tells us, that *Severus* in the tenth year of his reign gave a congiary to the people, and as many pieces of gold to them and the guards, as he had reigned years. And that at the same time his son *Antoninus* married *Plautilla*, the daughter of *Plautianus*^b. That was in the year 202, or the former part of 203. Now four or five years may be a large allowance for what happened in *Italy*, between the time of *Severus's* return from the east, and his expedition against *Britain*. Nor has any thing except this passage in *Xiphiline* occurred to me, to induce me to think this expedition was so late as 207. I am much of opinion, that this year at farthest *Severus* and his two sons were in *Britain*, having probably made their preparations, if not also their voyage the year before; and that this was the first campaign in this island, under the command of *Severus* himself. For *Herodian* informs us, that " whilst *Severus* was under a " mighty concern about the conduct of his two sons, particularly with rela- " tion to one another, he receives letters from the governour of *Britain* " (perhaps *Virius Lupus*) informing him of the insurrections and inroads of " the barbarians, and the havock they made far and near, and begging either " a greater force, or that the emperor would come over himself. *Severus* " for several reasons was pleased with the news, and notwithstanding his age " and infirmity resolves to go over in person. And tho' by reason of the " gout upon him, he was forced to be carried in a litter, yet he entered " upon the journey with a juvenile briskness and courage, and performed it " with great expedition. He quickly crossed the sea, and as soon as he came " upon the island, having gathered a very great force together, he made ready " for war^c. The *Britons* being alarmed and terrified, would fain have ex- " cused themselves, and treated about peace. But *Severus* unwilling to lose " his labour, or to miss the glory of being called *Britannicus*, dismisses their " ambassadors, and carries on his military preparations. Particularly he took " care to make bridges or causeys^d through the marshes, that the soldiers might " travel and fight upon firm ground." The historian next gives a short description of the inhabitants, and says " that many parts of *Britain* were be- " come fenny by the frequent inundations of the sea. The natives swim " thro'

^a Deinde quum Antiochiam transisset, data virili toga filio majori, secum eum consulem designavit, et statim in Syria consulatum interunt. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 352. The same author says, that when the Parthian expedition was near over, Antoninus was in the thirteenth year of his age. Ibid. p. 351. And Herodian tells us that both the sons of Severus were approaching the age of puberty when their father returned from the east. Ἀγὼν καὶ τῶς

παῖδας, οἱ ἡλικίαν ἐφ' ἧσαν ἦδη πλῆντες. Lib. III. cap. 31. These several accounts are very consistent.

^b Lib. LXXXI. init.

^c Herodian, Lib. III. cap. 46.

^d I believe Herodian's expression is a general one, as that in Galgacus's speech. Corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis verbera inter ac contumellas conterunt. Tacit. in vit. Agricola, cap. 31.

“ thro’ these fens, or run thro’ them up to the waft in mud. For the greatest
 “ part of their bodies being naked they regard not the dirt. They wear iron
 “ about their bellies and necks, esteeming this as fine and rich an ornament,
 “ as others do gold. They make upon their bodies the figures of divers animals,
 “ and use no clothing, that those may be exposed to view. They are a very
 “ bloody and warlike people using a little shield or target and a spear. Their
 “ sword hangs on their naked bodies. They know not the use of a breast-
 “ plate and helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment to them in
 “ passing the fens. The air is always thick with the vapours that ascend from
 “ these marshes.” The same historian proceeds with his story, and adds, “ that
 “ *Severus* provided every thing that might be of service to his own people,
 “ and distress the enemy. And when all things were in sufficient readiness,
 “ he leaves *Geta* in that part of the island, which was subject to the *Romans*,
 “ to administer justice and manage civil affairs, appointing some elderly
 “ friends to be his assistants. His son *Antoninus* he takes with him, when
 “ he marches against the barbarians. The *Roman* army passing the rivers
 “ and trenches, that were the boundaries of the empire, skirmished often in
 “ a tumultuous manner with the barbarians, and as often put them to flight.
 “ But it was easy for them to escape, and to hide themselves in the woods and
 “ fens, being well acquainted with the country, whereas the *Romans* laboured
 “ under the opposite disadvantages. By this means the war was prolonged.
 “ *Severus* being old and infirm, and confined at home, would have committed
 “ the management of the war to his son *Antoninus*. But he neglecting the
 “ barbarians endeavoured to gain the *Roman* army, aspired after the empire,
 “ and reproached his brother. During his father’s lingering sickness he en-
 “ deavoured to prevail with the physicians and servants to dispatch him. At
 “ last *Severus* died worn out with sorrow more than the disease.”

XIPHILINE from *Dion* gives the following account of this expedition of
Severus. “ *Severus*, says he, observing that his two sons were abandoned
 “ to their pleasures, and that the soldiers neglected their exercises, undertook
 “ an expedition against *Britain*, tho’ he was persuaded from his horoscope,
 “ that he should never return from thence to *Italy*. He had it drawn upon
 “ the cieling of a hall in his palace, where he sat to hear causes. Every thing
 “ was marked there, except the moment of his birth. The augurs had fore-
 “ told him the same thing, when one of his statues, which was placed upon
 “ the gate, through which the army was to pass from the camp, was struck
 “ with lightning, and three letters of his name effaced. Nor did he ever
 “ return from this expedition, but died three years after he first set out from
 “ *Rome*. He got a prodigious mass of riches in *Britain*. The two most
 “ considerable bodies of the people of that island, and to which almost all
 “ the rest relate, are the *Caledonians*, and the *Maeatae*. The latter dwell near
 “ the great wall that separates the island in two parts; the others live be-
 “ yond them^b. Both of them inhabit upon barren, uncultivated moun-
 “ tains, or in desert marshy plains, where they have neither walls nor towns,
 “ nor manured lands, but feed upon the milk of their flocks, what they get
 “ by hunting, and some wild fruits. They never eat fish, tho’ they have great
 “ plenty of them. They have no houses but tents, where they live naked.
 “ The women are common among them, and they take an equal care of all
 “ the children they bring forth. Their government is popular, and the exer-
 “ cise to which they are most addicted, is that of robbing. They fight upon
 “ chariots, their horses are low but swift. They have great agility of body,
 “ and

^a Lib. LXXVI. p. 866, &c.

^b Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Μαιατῇ περὶ αὐτῶ τῷ δια-
 τρηματι, ὃ πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῆς. Καλὸν δὲ δὲ
 αὐτὸ ἵκεται. P. 866. This passage appears to me
 so imply that the Maeatae dwell between the Caledo-
 nians and the wall intended by the historian, and
 consequently that the Maeatae were situated next

to this wall, but on the north side of it. I also am
 of opinion that the wall in the north of England is
 that which Dion refers to, for this divides the
 island, more nearly than the other, into two equal
 parts, and was I believe so thought to do by some
 of the ancient writers.

“ and tread very surely. The arms they make use of are a buckler, a poniard,
 “ a short lance, at the lower end of which is a piece of brass in the form of
 “ an apple, with this their custom is to make a noise, in order to frighten
 “ their enemies. They are accustomed to fatigue, to bear hunger, cold, and
 “ all manner of hardships. They run into the morasses up to the neck, and
 “ live there several days without eating. When they are in the woods they
 “ feed upon roots and leaves. They make a certain food, that so admirably
 “ supports the spirits, that when they have taken the quantity of a bean,
 “ they feel no more hunger or thirst. This is the manner of living among
 “ the inhabitants of *Britain*. The country is about seven thousand one hun-
 “ dred and thirty two furlongs in length, its greatest breadth is about two
 “ thousand three hundred and ten, and its least about three hundred^a. We
 “ are masters of little less than half the island^b. *Severus* having undertaken
 “ to reduce the whole under his subjection, entered into *Caledonia*, where he
 “ had endless fatigues to sustain, forests to cut down, mountains to level, mo-
 “ rasses to dry up, and bridges to build. He had no battle to fight, and saw no
 “ enemies in a body. Instead of appearing, they exposed their flocks of sheep
 “ and oxen, with a design to surprise our soldiers, that should straggle from
 “ the army for the sake of plunder. The waters too extremely incommoded
 “ our troops, insomuch that some of the soldiers being able to march no far-
 “ ther, begged of their companions to kill them, that they might not fall
 “ alive into their enemies hands. In a word, *Severus* lost fifty thousand men
 “ there, and yet quitted not his enterprize. He went to the extremity of the
 “ island, where he observed very exactly the course of the sun in those parts,
 “ and the length of the days and nights both in winter and summer. He
 “ was carried all over the island in a close chair, by reason of his infirmities,
 “ and made a treaty with the inhabitants, by which he obliged them to relin-
 “ quish part of their country to him. In the mean time the debauched course
 “ of life, that his son *Antoninus* led, gave him very sharp disquietudes. He
 “ foresaw that he would not fail to rid himself of his brother *Geta*, when he
 “ had an opportunity; and he knew that he had laid snares for himself.
 “ This wicked son went out of his tent one day making loud complaints of
 “ *Castor*, the most deserving of any of his father's officers, to whom *Severus*
 “ intrusted his most secret thoughts, and the guard of his head-quarters. He
 “ had persuaded some soldiers to join with him in his clamours, and to make
 “ a disturbance. But they were hushed at the sight of *Severus*, who appeared
 “ in an instant, and ordered the most mutinous to be seized and punished.
 “ Another time as *Severus* and *Antoninus* went to meet the *Caledonians*, in
 “ order to receive their arms, and to confer with them about the conditions
 “ of peace, being both on horseback at the head of the army that followed
 “ them, the army of the enemy being near at hand likewise, *Antoninus*
 “ stopped his horse, drew his sword, and was going to thrust it into the back
 “ of *Severus* his father. Those who were behind cried out, and by their
 “ shrieks stopped his hand. *Severus* turned back at the noise, saw the naked
 “ sword, and held his peace. Having some time after ascended his tribunal,
 “ and dispatched some affairs, he went to the *praetorium*, and sent for his son,
 “ *Papinian*, and *Castor*. Then putting a sword in the midst of them, he
 “ upbraided *Antoninus* with his insolent design of attempting his life, and of
 “ committing so horrid a crime in presence of the allies and enemies of the
 “ *Roman* people. It is easy for you, added he, to kill me, if you have such
 “ a desire. I am old, and almost without motion. But if your own hand
 “ abhors the action, employ that of *Papinian* the *praefectus praetorio*, who
 “ will not fail to execute what you command him, since you are in possession of
 “ the

^a This makes only thirty seven Roman miles and a half, and therefore I think must be understood of the isthmus between the rivers Clyde and Forth in Scotland.

^b Οὐ πολλὰ πρὶς τῆς ἡμισίας ἑλπίδι π ἔχον.

This in my opinion makes it farther probable that Hadrian's vallum in the north of England was the boundary before *Severus's* expedition into *Caledonia*, and that is was the διατάγμα means by this historian.

“ the imperial dignity. *Severus* was satisfied with speaking to him after this
 “ manner, without using a greater severity, tho’ he would often blame *Marcus*
 “ *Aurelius*, for not putting *Commodus* to death. He would sometimes too
 “ threaten *Antoninus* hard. But then he was in anger, and he really had a
 “ greater tenderness for his children than for the republick. Yet one cannot
 “ excuse him for having been the cause of the death of the younger, and for
 “ having in some sort delivered him over to his brother, who was to put him
 “ to death.

“ THE inhabitants of *Britain* having taken up arms contrary to the faith
 “ of treaties, *Severus* commanded his soldiers to enter their country, and to
 “ put all they met to the sword, making use of two *Greek* verses, the sense
 “ of which was, *that they should not let the very children escape, that were*
 “ *hid in their mothers bellies*. That which disposed him to make so cruel a
 “ war upon these people was, that the *Caledonians* and the *Maeatae* had
 “ agreed together to join their force, in order to break the treaty, and shake
 “ off the yoke of obedience. But in the midst of his enterprize he was
 “ taken off by a distemper, to which it was said *Antoninus* had very much
 “ contributed.”

I HAVE set together the accounts of both these historians, that we may
 from hence form a better judgment of several things relating to this expedition
 of *Severus*; and shall now add the following remarks.

THE description *Herodian* and *Xiphiline* give of the inhabitants of this
 northern part of *Britain* seems very applicable to the present *Highlanders*,
 the posterity of the *Maeatae* and *Caledonii*. And the same may be said of
 the description which *Tacitus* gives of those people, and their arms, and way
 of fighting. According to him they were “ a strong warlike nation, using
 “ large swords without a point, and targets, wherewith they artfully defended
 “ themselves against the missive weapons of the *Romans*, at the same time
 “ pouring showers of darts upon them.”

WHAT is said of *Geta*’s being left in the provincial part of the island, may
 be confirmed and illustrated by the inscriptions we meet with mentioning the
 name of *Geta*; for these belong to *Yorkshire*, and one to *Monmouthshire*;
 in the former of which counties *Geta* might probably fix his seat. *Burton*
 says at *Tork*, but produces no authority for it.

CARACALLA accompanies his father farther into the north, and according
 to *Herodian* the army passes the rivers and trenches, or ramparts^b that were
 the boundary of the *Roman* empire. I think this passage in *Herodian* is much
 illustrated by a passage of *Spartian* in the life of *Hadrian*, which I quoted
 before^c, where he says, that the *Romans* were frequently separated from the
 barbarians by a mural fence, where rivers did not part them. So *Herodian*
 seems to speak here of the rivers and ramparts that were the boundary, and
 parted the *Romans* from the barbarians, and to mean in the general that the
Romans entered the enemies country. If then *Hadrian*’s *vallum* was at this
 time the principal boundary, which seems the most probable, these must be
 the ramparts which the army passed over. The *Romans*, as I have hinted in
 another place, might probably have some advanced stations beyond the *vallum*,
 and by the help of these they might be enabled to make ways and bridges
 through the marshy grounds north of this *vallum*. *Julius Agricola* ’tis probable
 had

^a *Vita Agricolae*, cap. 36. See also my observations on the inscription in Scotland, N^o III. This is beautifully represented by Mr. Phillips:

——— *Caledonians; huge-limb’d warriors,*
Who wield with sinewy arm a deadly sword,

And fight secure behind the sevenfold target.
Briton, Act 1. Sc. 2.

^b *πεύματα τε καὶ χαίματα.*

^c Pag. 50.

had long before made the necessary ways through the province; or if any were omitted by him, they must have been supplied before the reign of *Severus*. Besides, causeys and bridges in the province, or on the south side of the *vallum*, could have done the *Romans* no service in their marches and battles against the *Caledonians*, which were all performed after they had passed over this boundary. *Herodian* says expressly, that *Severus* made bridges through the fenny places, that the soldiers might pass them safely and easily, and be on firm ground when they fought. But how could this purpose be answered by bridges at a great distance from the place of battle and the people they were to engage? Whatever then was done, was most probably between the two walls, if not partly beyond both. Besides, the number of men the *Romans* lost in carrying on these works, shew they were near the enemy, especially if this loss was from their ambuscades. There are yet morasses enough near both the walls, but I think more near that in the north of *England*.

HERODIAN speaks of this war as if the whole had been carried on by skirmishes and tumultuary engagements, without any regular battle, in which tho' the *Romans* had always the advantage, yet they might probably lose more men this way in a number of battles, than by one pitched and decisive fight.

ACCORDING to *Xiphiline*^a, *Severus* lost fifty thousand men in this expedition; but I much suspect that the historian speaks at large; tho' one would think *Dion* must have known, who lived at the time. However as he attributes this loss very much to the works the soldiers were engaged in, cutting down woods, draining marshes and lakes, and building bridges, and at the same time infested by the ambuscades of the natives; I am of opinion that *Severus's* wall was built at this time, and is to be reckoned among these works, tho' by much the greatest of them.

IT is strange that neither *Herodian* nor *Xiphiline* should mention the building of a wall by *Severus*. *Xiphiline* says, "that the *Maeatae* dwell near "the wall which divides the island into two parts^b," but says nothing of its being built by *Severus*. However it is very evident from the express testimony of the *Latin* historians, that *Severus* did build a wall cross this island.

THIS wall is called both *murus* and *vallum* in the *Latin* historians, but it is no where said or implied, that it was only of earth, as it is of the other two; so that the stone wall, so much of which is yet remaining, has been undoubtedly the wall of *Severus*. But I shall give the passages of the historians themselves. *Spartian*, when he is summing up the exploits of this emperor, calls this performance the greatest glory of his reign. "He received "the *Arabians* into subjection, he compelled the *Adiabeni* to become tributary, and fortified *Britain*, which is the greatest glory of his reign, with a "wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea, whence also he took the name "of *Britannicus*." *Aurelius Victor*, who lived and wrote about the middle of the fourth century, says much the same thing. "For these so great exploits the senate complimented him with the surnames of *Arabicus*, *Adiabenicus*, and *Parthicus*. He still proceeding to greater things, having repelled the enemy in *Britain*, fortified the country, which was suited to that "purpose, with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea^c." *Entropius* says,

^a Lib. LXXVI. p. 866, 867.

^b Οἰκῶν δὲ μὲν Μαίαται πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ διαχωρίᾳ τῆς νήσου διχῇ τήν τε.

^c Arabas in deditionem accepit. Adiabenos in tributarios coëgit. Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceanī munivit: unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.

^d Ob hæc tanta, Arabicum, Adiabenicum, et Parthici cognomento patres dixere. His majora aggressus, Britanniam quæ ad ea utilis erat, pulsus hostibus muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem oceanī. And in his epitome he says the wall was thirty two miles in length. Vallum per xxxii passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit.

says, " His last war was in *Britain*; and to fortify the provinces with all " possible security he drew a wall for xxxii miles from sea to sea^a." *Orosius* the *Spanish* historian, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, before the *Romans* had abandoned this island, also affirms, " that *Severus* drew " a great ditch, and built a strong wall fortified with several turrets from sea " to sea cxxxii miles in length^b." *Cassiodorus* who lived in the sixth century, in his *Chronicon* having mentioned the consuls *Aper* and *Maximus*, adds, " Under this consulate *Severus* had his war in *Britain*, where to secure " the provinces from the incursions of the barbarians, he drew a wall for " cxxxii miles from sea to sea^c." From all these testimonies, it is evident that *Severus* did build a wall in this island reaching from sea to sea. The grand way in which some of the historians introduce and express this, was there no other argument, will scarce permit us to understand it only of repairing an old turf wall, that had been raised before by another hand. The difference of the numbers expressing the length of this wall in the several authors is owing to the error of the transcribers. The true reading has most probably been Lxxxii (or Lxxxv according to some copies) and this by omitting the L became xxxii or xxxv, or by changing it into a c, it was made cxxxii or cxxxv. *Hadrian's vallum* was supposed to be eighty miles long; and *Severus's* wall was longer than that, about three miles at one end, and two at the other. As for the place where this wall was built, I see not how it can well be questioned, but that it was from *Tine* to *Solway* frith, passing thro' *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, as I shall prove afterward in a distinct discourse upon these walls. There is yet one testimony remaining, which I have designedly reserved to the last. It is in *Spartian's* life of *Severus*, " After " the wall was finished in *Britain*, when he returned to the next station^d, " not only a conqueror, but the founder of an eternal peace^e." That *Severus* did make peace with these people, seems to be farther confirmed by a medal of this emperor found at *Cramond*, with this legend on the reverse, FVNDATOR PACIS, which as I remember, is now in Baron *Clerk's* collection. For the words *post murum aut vallum*, in this passage of *Spartian*, the old reading was *post murum apud vallum*; till *Salmasius*, not attending to the reason of the expression, and supposing it wrong, changed *apud* into *aut*. But I must think the former reading true, which gives us a plain intimation that *Severus's* wall was built near to *Hadrian's vallum*, nigh the same tract of ground, tho' not upon the same Foundation; which is certainly matter of fact, and worthy of the historian's remark. And this may possibly be one reason, why some have imagined, that *Severus* only repaired *Hadrian's vallum*; concluding from the nearness of the two works, that they must have been done by the same hand, and at the same time. What I would farther observe is, that this quotation plainly implies, that the wall was finished before *Severus* returned to *York*, and consequently soon after the peace was concluded. And there was perhaps scarce time for him to begin, and finish the wall, between the conclusion of the peace and his death, and much less between the conclusion of the peace, and his going to *York*.

FROM these considerations it is my opinion, that *Severus* came into *Britain* in the beginning of the year 207 at latest, and that having prepared all things

^a Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit: utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per xxxii millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit.

^b *Severus Victor* in Britanniam defectu pene omnium sociorum trahitur: ubi magnis gravibusque praeliis saepe gestis, receptam partem insulae a cæteris indomitis gentibus vallo distinguendam putavit; itaque magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum crebris insuper turribus communitum, per centum triginta et duo millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit. Lib. vii. cap. ii. Jerome in his edi-

tion of Eusebius's chronicle has much the same words.

^c His consulibus, *Severus* in Britannos bellum movit; ubi ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores vallum per cxxxii passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit.

^d This station appears from the history to have been *York*.

^e Post murum aut vallum missum in Britannia, quum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata, volvens animo quid omini sibi occurreret, &c. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 363.

things for the war, in this year, and 208, he marched to the north, beat the *Caledonians*, and built his wall. This I think is much confirmed by the inscription on the *Rock* at the *Gelt* in *Cumberland*^a; for from this we may gather, that the *Romans* were at least beginning to prepare stones for the wall before the end of the consulate of *Aper* and *Maximus*, who were consuls in 207, according to *Helvicus* and *Almeloveen*. I was agreeably surprised to find *Cassiodorus* in his *Chronicon* placing the same transactions under the consuls *Aper* and *Maximus*, which both confirms my conjecture about the time, and my explication of the inscription.

CARACALLA and *Geta* were consuls in 208. And in the year 209, that is, when *Pompeianus* and *Lollianus Avitus* were consuls, I believe both the wall and the war were ended; because the *legio secunda Augusta*, that had been employed in both, was then returned to their stated quarters at *Caer-leon*, as appears from another inscription^b.

IN the year 210 *Severus* was settled at *York*, as appears from his famous rescript yet extant, dated at *York* when *Faustinus* and *Rufus* (or *Rufianus*) were consuls^c. And this seems to have been the last year of his life; or if he survived this year, that was all. This suits very well with the length of his reign; which according to *Xiphiline* was seventeen years, eight months, and three days^d. For 'tis plain from the foregoing account, that he assumed the purple before the middle of the year 193, and consequently according to this account, must have died near the beginning of the year 211^e. *Severus* could not well be less by *Herodian's* account than a year or two at *York*, before he died: for he tells us, that "he continued ill a long time after his return from the war, and that the delay of his death was such, as put *Caracalla* out of all patience, so that he was contriving to hasten it by indirect means. At last he died, being rather worn out with sorrow, than by the distemper^f." But this historian takes no notice of the peace concluded by *Severus* with the *Britons*, and seems to intimate, as if the war was carried on all his time, and no peace made with them till after his death by *Caracalla*, contrary to the account given before from *Spartian*; with whom *Xiphiline* agrees, though he tells us that the *Caledonians* and *Maeatae* revolted again before the death of *Severus*, who was preparing a fresh war against them when he died^g. Nor is this altogether inconsistent with what *Spartian* relates, as some of his last words, that "he found disturbances every where in the empire when he entered upon it, but left it quiet even to the *Britons*^h." For by *Britons* here may be understood the inhabitants of the province, whom these northern people might not as yet have disturbed, tho' they were upon the revolt. *Herodian's* account of those transactions seems to be too loose and general.

I KNOW not well how to define the limits of the *Roman* dominions in this island at the conclusion of the peace. The boundary walls, which according to *Herodian*, the *Roman* army passed, were most probably those in the north of *England*, and therefore the seat of the war and the *Roman* conquests at this time must have been chiefly in the space between the two walls in *England* and *Scotland*; and perhaps this was the part yielded up again by

^a *Cumberland*, N^o XLIV. See also the inscriptions in *Yorkshire* to the honour of this emperor and his sons, for these were most likely to be erected after they came over in person.

^b The original is lost, but the copy of it is inserted in the observations on the inscriptions of *Monmouthshire*.

^c Cod. Lib. III. tit. 32. l. 1.

^d Lib. LXXVI. in fin.

^e *Xiphiline* from *Dion* says expressly that he died

about the beginning of February: τῇ πεντήκτῃ τῷ Θεβρουαρίου μηνί. Lib. LXXVI. p. 868.

^f Lib. III. cap. 49. I think the expression, ὁ δὲ παρὶς ἐν τοῦτο χρόνῳ, καὶ παρὶς τὴν θάνατον βραδύνων, strongly implies that he wasted a considerable time before he was quite worn out.

^g Lib. LXXVI. p. 868.

^h Turbatam rempublicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 364.

by the *Caledonians*, so that the northerly wall and friths again became the boundary. This is favoured by the medal before-mentioned, which was found at *Cramond*, about four miles west from *Edinburgh*. And medals much lower down in the empire have been found at the same place; which seems to argue that this station was possessed by the *Romans*, at some times at least, long after the reign of *Severus*. Mr. *Gordon*^a supposes “a large ditch with “two ramparts of stone and earth running between the *Solway* frith and “the frith of *Edinburgh*, two and twenty miles in length, to have been “the boundary made by the *Caledonians* to their respective territories “after the conclusion of the peace with *Severus*.” This is in some places called the *Cartrail*, and in others the *Picts work ditch*; and I think on *Minchmoor* it is called *Wallace’s dike*. The same gentleman observes, that upon the track of this ditch there are several round *tumuli*; but he thinks them not to be *Roman*. He farther tells us, that he traced this, “till it almost “joined a wall formerly made by the family of *Northumberland*, as a boundary between *England* and *Scotland*.” In another journey he observed “the track of it afterwards running towards *Canaby* on the river *Esk*^b.” All on the south side, that is, the whole country from the frith of *Edinburgh* to the river *Tine* he supposes to have been delivered up by the *Caledonians*, when they concluded the peace with *Severus*. I am rather inclined to think, that the whole space between the two walls was delivered up at this peace. The story of *Julia* the wife of the emperor being in *Caledonia*^c, if any stress can be laid upon it, rather argues the conquest of *Severus* to be farther advanced; and so also does the story of *Severus* and *Caracalla* going to receive the arms from the *Caledonians*, and to confer with them about the conditions of peace, when *Caracalla* made an attempt to assassinate his father. It appears from *Xiphiline’s* account, as if the *Romans* on this occasion penetrated beyond the more northerly wall, and even to the utmost parts of the island. For as he seems plainly to fix the *Caledonians* beyond the more northerly wall; so he tells us at first, that *Severus* entered into *Caledonia*, where he sustained endless fatigues, and went near to the utmost part of the island^d, where he exactly observed the course of the sun. This account, tho’ it may seem a little hyperbolical, is confirmed by what *Dion* himself says occasionally, when speaking of *Julius Caesar’s* descent on this island: “*Britain* was afterwards known for certain to be an island; first by *Agricola*, and then by “*Severus*.” I am apt to think it will give some light into these and several other historical passages^e, to consider what notions the *Romans* had of the position of the northern parts of our island. It is certain that *Scotland*, as to the length of it, runs almost north and south, and yet ’tis equally certain, that *Ptolemy* makes it to lie almost east and west; so that what is really the western coast of *Scotland*, is according to him the most northern part of the whole island; and other antient geographers seem to have had the same notions with *Ptolemy*. There is therefore no reason to doubt, but that the *Romans* generally had the same opinion concerning this matter. For this reason when they arrived at the western coast of *Scotland*, near the *Mule* either of *Kantyr* or *Galloway*, they might imagine themselves at the very northern limits of *Britain*; for so they certainly took it to be. And the historians in their accounts might well represent this affair after the same manner, having the same notions. But to return: Since *Xiphiline* expressly assures us, that the *Romans* were possessed of one half of the island^f before the war; that when the war

was

^a Itiner. Septentr. p. 102.

^b Ibid. p. 103.

^c Xiphiline, Lib. lxxvi.

^d Ibid. p. 867. His words are, ‘Ου μὲντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς ῥῆς πελοποννήσου. This expression admits of some latitude.

^e Lib. xxxix. p. 114.

^f Such for instance as that in Tacitus, where he introduces Galgacus expressing himself in his speech

as if the Romans were near the utmost bounds of the island, when it is certain that they were not much beyond the Tay. Nunc terminus Britanniae patet, &c. Vlt. Agric. cap. 30. So Agricola also in his speech; Finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Ibid. cap. 33.

^g I confess Xiphiline and Herodian seem not to have had distinct notions of the different Roman walls in Britain. But if I am not mistaken, the historians

was begun, they penetrated almost to the utmost limit; and that after this success and victory the peace was concluded, and a good part of the country yielded up: I say, whoever lays all this together, will probably see sufficient reason to conclude, that the boundary at the peace could not well be short of the more northerly wall. And 'tis scarce probable, had *Severus* repaired the more northerly wall at the conclusion of the peace, that the *Caledonians* would so soon again have attempted a revolt, as we are informed they did, by *Xiphiline*. The not doing of this might be their inducement, and adds very much to the probability, that the more southern wall was really that built by *Severus*. If the *Cartrail*, as Mr. *Gordon* thinks, was a boundary upon the conclusion of any peace; I rather think it must have been at *Caracalla's* peace, of which I shall speak in the following period.

I SHALL conclude the chapter with this observation: That the *Romans* seem to have been indifferent about keeping possession of any part of this island beyond the walls. I have shewn before, that *Julius Agricola* advanced his conquests beyond the walls, and perhaps as far as any who succeeded him; and yet his *praetentura* of garrisons or stations was no farther north, than the *isthmus* between *Forth* and *Clyde*. *Antoninus Pius's* wall was erected cross the same *isthmus*, tho' his lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus* very probably carried his conquests farther to the north. The same seems to be true also of *Severus*, from some circumstances and particular accounts. The wall near which *Severus* was engaged, seems by *Xiphiline's* account to have been that high which the *Maeatae* inhabited. For when he is speaking of *Severus's* actions, he describes this people thus: "The *Maeatae* dwell beside that wall, which divides the island into two parts^a." Yet when *Severus* concluded the peace with the *Caledonians*, the wall in *Scotland* was at most the northern boundary, as has been shewn. And agreeably to this, *Appian* of *Alexandria*, who lived in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, intimates that the *Romans* were not fond of possessing any thing beyond this wall: for he says they possessed more than half of *Britain*, and the best of it too, and had no occasion for the rest; nor was even that which they had of any great use to them^b. I confess, that when I view some part of the country in the north of *England*, where the *Romans* had their military ways and stations, that question naturally arises, which has been often proposed: What could move them to march so far to conquer such a country? It appears wild and desolate enough at present, but must have been more so at that time, from the accounts the *Roman* historians have given us of it. I shall leave the *Caledonian Galgacus*, or *Tacitus* for him, to return the answer. "If the enemy was rich, their covetousness moved them; if poor, their ambition. And when they added farther desolation to a desolate country, this was their peace^c." In fact 'tis plain, that the *Romans* had upon some occasions conquered farther to the north, than they thought proper to make any settlements. Tho' we have some *Roman* encampments and other antiquities beyond the *Tay*; yet I do not know that we have any certain evidence of a *Roman* town, or *castra stativa* beyond it. *Ardoch* is south from the *Tay*; tho' the military way is said to be continued by it, and beyond

historians generally thought the island pretty equally divided by the wall in the north of *England*, but that the wall in *Scotland* included more than the half of it. See the following quotations from *Xiphiline* and *Appian*. This remark if it hold true may be of some service.

^a Οἱ κῆποι δὲ οἱ Μαίδαται πρὸς αὐτῶν διαπύχισμα, ὃ τὴν νῆσον διχῆν τέμνει. Lib. LXXVI. p. 866. These *Macatae* cannot be the same with the *Mertae* in *Ptolemy*, who are placed by him at or near the utmost part of *Scotland*.

^b Τῆς Βρεταννίδος νῆσου τὸ κρείττον ἔχουσ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἔδην τῆς ἄλλης δίδωμι, ἢ γὰρ ἔσθροτος αὐτοῖς

ἔστιν, ἔδην ἢ ἔχουσ. In præem. This of *Appian* very much favours *Casaubon's* reading of those words of *Aurelius Victor*, which I have quoted before; *Britanniam*, quæ ad ea utilis erat, muro munivit. He reads, *Britanniam* quoad utilis erat—as far as it was of any use or service. See pag. 61.

^c Raptores orbis postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare scrutantur. Si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. *Tacit. Vir. Agric. cap. 30.*

beyond the *Tay*. The *Romans* might possibly at some times have an advanced station or two even beyond *Antoninus's* wall, but these I believe must have been the most northerly settlements. I think it also remarkable, that in the *Roman* stations and forts in *Scotland*, there does not appear such large remains of stone buildings, either without or within, as are frequent in *England*. This is especially remarkable with respect to the forts on the wall; and makes it more probable, that the *Romans* had seldom any fixed settlements there, so as to have occasion to raise any buildings or forts; and yet abundance of coins of the lower empire have been found in *Scotland*. This argues that the *Romans* were, at least upon some occasions, late possessed of these parts. 'Tis true a medal may be accidentally dropped by some other persons in places where the *Romans* never came; but when a number of medals are found in *Roman* stations or towns, there is no reason to think they came from any others, but the *Romans* themselves. Mr. *Gordon* informs us, "that in digging up a small *tumulus* called the *green cairn*, near the castle of *Glames* in *Strathmore*, an urn was lately discovered with great quantities of *Roman* medals in silver; many of which are in the possession of the Earl of *Strathmore*. And at a place called the *silver bourn*, near *Aberdeen*, a great quantity of *Roman* medals was also found. Besides, a great way farther north in the country of the *Boyn*, several *Roman* coins were dug up, four of them medals of *Antoninus Pius*; one of *Faustina*; one of *Otho* in silver, whose reverse had this legend, *VICTORIA OTHONIS*; the rest were of different emperors: and all these seem to evidence, that the *Romans*, particularly *Severus*, penetrated farther into *Caledonia*, than the river *Tay*. But as there are no vestiges of *Roman* encampments, nor altars with inscriptions to be seen there, their marches through that country were (as he thinks) only cursory, and they never had a settled station beyond the *Tay*. And what confirms this the more, is, that the medals and *Roman* coins to the northward of that river, have been all found in sepulchral monuments; which were probably erected there on the decease of some of their commanders, in their marches through that country."

CHAPTER V.

The fifth historical period, from the beginning of the reign of *Caracalla*, to the reign of *Valentinian* the third.

In which are contained the Roman affairs in Britain from the death of Severus, till they abandoned the island about the middle of the fifth century.

CARACALLA. **I**T has been hinted in the foregoing chapter, that according to *Xiphiline* the northern *Britons* soon revolted again, after they had concluded a peace with *Severus*; upon which *Severus*, as 'tis said, gave cruel orders to spare none of them, neither the young, nor even women with child, which orders were expressed in two or three *Greek* verses. One would think it must be this latter war, which *Herodian* refers to, when he informs us, that a peace was concluded with the *Britons* by *Caracalla*, immediately after the death of his father *Severus*. At this peace, which seems to have been dishonourable

^a *Itiner. Septent.* p. 186.

dishonourable and disadvantageous to the *Romans*, *Caracalla* 'tis likely delivered up a part of what *Severus* had recovered by war, and secured at his peace; so that the more southerly wall might again become the boundary, though I rather think that the *Romans* still retained some advanced stations beyond it. And some inscriptions, and medals^a, and also the *Itinerary* seem to confirm it. For in the *Itinerary Bremenium*, which without doubt is *Riechester* in *Northumberland*, is called the *limes a vallo*; that is, as I take it, the limit or boundary beyond the wall, tho' near it. I also take *Blatum Bulgium*, and *castra exploratorum* to have been on the north side of the wall. And therefore if the *Itinerary*, or this part of it, was wrote in *Caracalla's* time; this is a strong argument, that the wall in *England* was then the main boundary: tho' the *Romans* at the same time possessed some advanced stations beyond it, which were quitted or lost before the time of writing the *Notitia*; for that seems to mention no station north of the wall.

BUT whatever were the limits upon this peace made by *Caracalla*, we are informed he immediately left *Britain* after he had concluded it. For as *Herodian*^b informs us, "both the brothers sharing in the empire, sailed together from *Britain*, carrying their father's remains, an army, and the honour of victory with them." How *Geta* was afterwards declared an enemy, and murdered by *Caracalla*, is generally known; and as it relates not particularly to *Britain*, I pass it over.

AFTER this, from the year 211, follows a long and profound silence in the *Roman* historians, with respect to any transactions in *Britain*. They say nothing about it during the rest of *Caracalla's* reign, nor in the succeeding reigns of *Macrinus* with his son *Diadumenius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander Severus*, *Maximinus* with his son *Maximus* in whose time were the *African Gordians*, *Pupienus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordian* the third; that is, for the space of thirty three years, from 211 to 244, when *Philip* began to reign; and even after this the same silence is continued thro' some of the succeeding reigns, as will immediately appear. There is indeed a passage in *Lampridius's* life of *Alexander Severus*, which seems to intimate, that according to some he was slain in *Britain*. *In Britannia, ut alii volunt in Gallia, in vico cui Sicila nomen est, eum occiderunt*^c. The same historian gives several plain intimations, that this emperor, at least connived at *Christianity*, if he did not directly encourage it^d. When the victuallers claimed a public place, which the *Christians* used for their worship, the emperor answered: "It is better that God be worshipped there in any manner, than that it should be given to the victuallers^e." And this emperor's great regard is well known to that Christian sentence: "What you would not have done to you, do not you to another^f." Yet we have in *Britain* a remarkable^g inscription to this emperor, which at first view may seem to look not like *Christianity*; tho' indeed we find the like expressions afterwards applied to some Christian emperors.

BUT notwithstanding the silence of the *Roman* historians, we learn from inscriptions the names of three *propraetors* under *Gordian* the third; namely *Maecilius Fuscus*, *Cneius Lucilianus*, and *Nonnius Philippus*. The two former are mentioned in two inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*^h, and the last in one found at *Old Carlisle* in *Cumberland*ⁱ. I call *Nonnius*

^a Several coins were lately found at *Riechester*, but much effaced. I had one of them with the head of *Marcus Aurelius*: It is now in the possession of *Dr. Hunter* of *Durham*.

^b Lib. iii. cap. 51.

^c Script. Hist. Aug. p. 587.

^d Christianos esse passus est. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 530. Christum et hujuscemodi deos habebat. Ibid. p. 540. Christo templum facere voluit eum-

que inter deos recipere. Quod et *Hadrianus* cogitasse fertur. p. 568.

^e Melius esse ut quomodocunque illic *Deus* colatur, quam popinarius dedatur. Ibid. 575.

^f Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. p. 577.

^g *Cumberland*, N^o LI.

^h N^o XI, XII.

ⁱ N^o LV.

Nonnius Philippus the last, because the date of that inscription, *Attico et Praetextato coss.* (that is in the year 242) shews that *Nonnius Philippus* was legate when *Gordian* went upon his expedition into the east, from whence he never returned, being slain about a year or two after by *Philip*, who succeeded him. I may farther add, that (as the ingenious Mr. *Gale*^a has remarked) “*Gordian* the third was so beloved of the soldiery, that several legions complimented him by honouring themselves with his name, as the *legio tertia Italica*, the *legio decima gemina*, and *decima tertia gemina*.” ’Tis plain that some of the forces in this island have also paid him that compliment; for besides the *legio Gordiana*, mentioned in the two inscriptions above^b (and supposed by Mr. *Gale* to be the *legio sexta victrix*) I find that the *cohors Aelia Dacorum* is called *Gordiana* in an inscription in *Cumberland*^c, which is one of those that belong to *Burdoswald*.

PHILIP. *PHILIP* succeeded in the year 244, and made his son, tho’ but a child, partner with him in the empire. There are some inscriptions that belong to this emperor, which may be seen in their proper place. But I know of nothing material in the *Roman* history relating to *Britain* in his time, or the reigns of those who next succeeded, namely *Decius Gallus* with his son *Volusianus*^d, and *Aemilian*.

VALERIAN. *VALERIAN* was made emperor in the year 253, and his son *Gallienus* shared in the empire. After *Valerian* was taken prisoner by *Sopores* king of *Persia*, *Gallienus* began to reign alone, about the year 259; and in the time of this emperor rose up the thirty tyrants. *Trebellius Pollio*, speaking of the effeminate and dissolute life of *Gallienus*, says, “he suffered about thirty tyrants, the disgrace of the *Roman* empire; so that even women might have governed better.” He mentions likewise another *Valerian*, brother to *Gallienus*. But tho’ he has wrote the history both of these emperors, and the thirty tyrants, he says nothing about *Britain*; and yet the medals of some of these tyrants, particularly *Victorinus* and *Postumus*, are frequently found in this island. *Lollianus*, the *Tetrici*, and *Marius*, are supposed to have born a great sway in this island, where some of their medals are also found. But the rest of these tyrants acted their parts at a distance.

GALLIENUS.

THE next emperor is *Claudius*, who began to reign in the year 268. He was followed by *Quintillus*’s short reign of seventeen days. After him came *Aurelian*, who begun his government in the year 270. I meet with nothing relating to *Britain*, in their time or the following reign of *Tacitus*.

PROBUS. *PROBUS* succeeded to the empire about the year 276, who, as we are told, conquered *Proculus* and *Bonofus* (said to be a *Briton* by descent^f) when they set up for emperors, and claimed *Britain* with other provinces^g. We are also informed that *Probus* granted to the *Britons* (if the reading be true) the privilege of planting vineyards and making wine^h. And others relate, that having subdued the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great battle, he sent many of them over to *Britain*, who in the insurrections that happened afterwards were

^a Philof. Transact. N° 357.

^b Durham, N° XI, XII.

^c N° VIII.

^d There is an inscription to these emperors upon a millary pillar found near Greta-bridge. See York-shire, N° III.

^e Triginta prope tyrannos passus est, Romanum dehonestantes imperium, ita etiam ut mulieres comelius imperarent. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 735.

^f Origine Britannum. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 969.

^g Omnesque sibi Britannias vindicarent. Ibid. p. 942.

^h Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis hinc permisit ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent. Ibid. Eutropius has it, Vincas Gallos et Pannonios habere permisit. Lib. ix. cap. 17. And he also gives an account of his victory over *Proculus*, and *Bonofus*, and *Saturninus* too in the east. Quosdam imperium usurpare conatos, scilicet *Saturninum* in oriente, *Proculum*, *Bonofum*, *Agrippinac* multis certaminibus oppressit. Ibid.

were of great use to the *Romans*^a. Another historian^b speaks of a person (but does not mention his name) who had been recommended to *Probus* by *Victorinus Maurus* his counsellor; who being sent over to *Britain*, instead of serving the emperor, occasioned a revolt in the province: but *Victorinus* himself slew this tyrant in *Britain*, and so recovered the country.

CARUS (who made his two sons *Carinus* and *Numerian* partners in the empire with himself) succeeded *Probus* in the year 282. *Vopiscus*, who has wrote their lives, says nothing more of them with relation to *Britain*, than that “*Carus* gave this island with other provinces to his son *Carinus*.” *Carus* was killed by lightning, after he had reigned little more than a year; and *Numerian* his younger son was murdered in his litter by the contrivance of his father-in-law *Aper*; who expected himself to be made emperor, but was disappointed, *Dioclesian* being chosen, and saluted emperor by the general content of the soldiers. This was done in the east, *Carinus* still continuing in the government of the west; but in a little time he was conquered by *Dioclesian*, and then slain by a tribune of his own army.

DIOCLESIAN’s reign commences from the year 284. He afterwards admitted to a share in the empire *Maximianus*, who was surnamed *Herculius* from *Hercules*, as *Dioclesian* was also surnamed *Jovius* from *Jupiter*. Each of them appointed a *Caesar*; *Dioclesian* made choice of *Galerius Maximianus*, and *Maximian* chose *Constantius Chlorus*. *Constantius Chlorus* married the step-daughter of *Maximianus Herculus*, and *Galerius* married *Dioclesian*’s daughter *Valeria*^c. In the reign of these emperors, as *Aurelius Victor* informs us, “*Carausius* a skilful and experienced sea-officer was set over a fleet to be employed in guarding the seas against the *Germans*, who infested them. Being elated with this honour, and enriched with the spoils which he did not bring into the treasury, he seized the government of *Britain*, upon information that *Herculius* had ordered him to be slain.” *Eutropius* gives much the same account. “*Carausius* (says he) tho’ very meanly born, obtained a considerable post in the army, and acquired a great reputation, whilst he enjoyed it. He at *Bononia* received a commission to keep all quiet at sea upon the *Belgic* and *Armorican* coast, infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and having taken many of the barbarians, without either returning the whole booty to the provincials, or remitting the same to the emperors; when a suspicion arose, that he designedly suffered the barbarians to make inroads, that he might catch them as they were going off with their booty, and by this means enrich himself. Orders were given to *Maximian* to kill him; upon which he assumed the purple, and seized on *Britain*; and when force had been used in vain, they were glad at last to strike up a peace with him. Seven^d years after he was killed by *Allectus* his companion, who himself kept possession of *Britain* for three years after the death of *Carausius*, and then was suppressed by the management of *Asclepiodotus*, the captain of the guards.” And he concludes the account by telling us, that “after ten years *Britain* was again recovered.” This part of

^a See Milton. Hist. England, p. 102.

^b Zolimus, Lib. 1.

^c Decretis sibi Gallis atque Italia, Illyrico, Hispaniis ac Britannis et Africa. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 685.

^d Eutropius, Lib. ix. cap. 22.

^e *Carautius Menapiæ civis factis promptioribus enituit, eoque cum, simul quia gubernandi (quo officio adolescentiam mercede exercuerat) gnarus habebatur; parandæ classi ac propulsandis Germanis maria infestantibus, præfecere. Hoc elatior, cum parum multos opprimeret, neque prædæ omnia in aerarium referret; Herculi metu, a quo*

se caedi iustum compererat, Britanniam hausto imperio cepessivit.

^f *Victor says, six years*—*Carausio remissum insulæ imperium, postquam jussis ac munimento incolarum contra gentes bellicosas opportunior habitus: quem sexennio post Allectus nomine dolo circumvenit.*

^g *Post hæc tempora etiam Carausius, qui villissime natus, in strenuo militiæ ordine famam egregiam fuerat consecutus, cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant, multis barbaris sæpe captis, nec præda integra, aut pro-*

of the history, which relates to the agreement between the two emperors and *Carausius* is confirmed by some medals of *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, and *Carausius*, having on the reverse, PROVIDENTIA AVGGG, or PAX AVGGG, shewing there were three emperors conjoined at this time^a.

CONSTANTINUS. AFTER this *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* resign to *Galerius* and *Constantius*, and *Britain* falls to the share of *Constantius*. This seems to have been done about the year 304. This emperor came over into *Britain*, and resided at *York*, where he died, and was enrolled among the gods^b. In one of our inscriptions he is stiled *Divus Constantius*^c.

CONSTANTINE the great. CONSTANTINE the great, who was son to *Constantius* by his wife *Helenæ*, succeeds to the empire in the year 306. This emperor was for some time in *Britain*^d, and seems to have had wars with the *Scots* and *Picts*, wherein he had the advantage; tho' he was recalled from this island by his other wars, or by his competitors. In the year 323 he was sole emperor, and in 330 he removed the imperial seat to *Bizantium* or *Constantinople*, and died in 337. He is censured by *Zosimus*^e for withdrawing the forces from the frontiers into towns, where they were rather burdensome than necessary, and thereby exposing the outer parts of the empire to the inroads of the barbarians. There is an inscription to this emperor found upon the *Roman* wall in *Northumberland*^f, which seems to argue, that this wall was at that time possessed by the *Romans*; and may in some measure confirm the opinion, that the *Romans* and provincial *Britans* had wars with the northern nations in this reign.

I SHALL here abridge what *Cambden* has said^g of *Constantine*, and add some remarks upon it, which may serve to illustrate this part of the history. " *Constantine* conquered some, and drew others to his alliance by dint of " money. He fell upon the remoter parts of *Britain*, and the people of the " islands thereabouts, and prosecuted the wars against the *Caledonians* and " *Picts*. And having defeated the barbarians in *Germany*, and reconciled the " *Germans* and *Gauls* to him, he drew his soldiers out of *Britain*, *Gaul*, " and *Germany*, amounting to the number of ninety thousand foot and eighty " thousand horse, and marched against *Maxentius*. However that he returned " again to *Britain*, is hinted by *Eusebius*, who tells us that *Constantine* sailed " over to *Britain*, and overcame the inhabitants; and in another place, that " he invaded *Britain* surrounded with the sea, which terminates the sun-setting. " About this time (as is manifest from the *Theodosian* code) *Pacatianus* was " vice-

provincialibus redditæ, aut imperatoribus missæ, cum suspicio esse coepisset, consulto ab eo admitti barbaros, ut transeuntes cum præda exciperet, atque hac se occasione ditaret; a Maximiano jussus occidi, purpuram sumpsit, et Britannias occupavit. Ita cum per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatae essent, et Carausius in Britannia rebellaret: Achilles in Aegypto: Africam Quingegentiani infestarent, Narseus orienti bellum inferret; Diocletianus Maximianum Herculum ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Caesares, quorum Constantius per filiam nepos Claudii traditur; Maximianus Galerius in Dacia haud longe a Sardica natus. Atque ut eos etiam affinitate conjungeret, Constantius privignam Herculi Theodoram accepit, ex qua postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit: Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam: ambo uxores quas habuerant, repudare compulsi. Cum Carausio tamen, cum bella frustra tentata essent contra virum rei militaris peritissimum, ad postremum pax convenit. Eum post Septennium Allectus socius ejus occidit, atque ipse post cum Britannias triennio tenuit: qui ductu Asclepiodoti praefecti praetorio est oppressus. Ita

Britanniae decimo anno receptae. Lib. ix. cap. 21, &c.

^a Vid. Batteley. Antiquit. Rutup. p. 65.

^b Obiit in Britannia Eboraci, principatus anno tertio decimo, atque inter divos relatus est. Eutrop. Lib. x. cap. 1.

^c Cumberland, N^o Lx. According to Madam Dacier in her notes on the passage in Eutropius, it was fifteen years between the time of his being made Caesar and his death, but he was Augustus only two years and three months. He was made Caesar in the year 291, and Augustus in 304, and then died two years and three months after, that is, in the year 306.

^d Constantio mortuo Constantinus ex obscuriori matrimonio filius, in Britannia creatus est imperator. Eutrop. Lib. x. cap. 11. Ad patrem in Britanniam pervenit: et sorte eisdem diebus ibidem Constantium parentem sua ultima perurgebant. Quo mortuo imperium capit. Aurel. Victor. in Constantino.

^e Lib. 11.

^f N^o Lxxi.

^g Introduct. p. xciii, &c. Ed. 1722

“ vice-general in *Britain*, for then there was no such thing as a *propraetor* and *legate*, but in lieu thereof a *vicarius*.

“ AFTER *Constantine* had new modelled the empire, matters in *Britain* were administred by the *praefectus praetorio* of *Gaul*, who supplied that office by a deputy, stiled *Speſtabilis*. Under him were two consular deputies, and three *praesides*, each province having a consular deputy, and at this time there were two provinces in *Britain*.”

THERE are two things in what I have quoted from *Cambden*, which may deserve consideration. One is, *Constantine*'s return to *Britain* after he had left it; and the other is, a change in the manner of the government of *Britain*, which is said to have happened under the reign of this emperor. *Cambden* in order to prove that *Constantine* returned to *Britain* again, after he had left it, and drawn his forces out of it, refers to a passage in *Eusebius*. But he neither quotes the original words of *Eusebius*, nor refers to the place where they occur; nor can I find any thing in *Eusebius*, that seems in the least to countenance it. He tells us indeed, that “ he passed over to *Britain* situated upon the ocean, and having suppressed and quieted the people there, he turns his mind to some other parts of the world^b.” But I meet with no intimation in this writer of his return hither afterwards.

CAMBDEN seems to have taken his account chiefly from the *Notitia*, and *Pancirollus*'s annotations upon it. *Burton*^c says, *Pancirollus* has followed *Cambden*. But I know not how that could well be, considering that *Pancirollus* was the first writer, and is even quoted by *Cambden* himself. In the *Notitia imperii occidentalis*^d under the proconsul of *Africa* are placed six *vicarii*, one of which is the *vicarius Britanniarum*. *Socrates* uses the word Βικάριος and *Ammianus Marcellinus* *vicarius*^e (as I shall shew afterwards) for the principal officer in *Britain*. In the same chapter of the *Notitia* I find mention made of some other principal officers in *Britain*. Thus among the *comites*, we have *comes Britanniarum*, *comes littoris Saxonici per Britannias*. In another place we have *comes Britanniae*, which probably is the same with *comes Britanniarum*; for the singular and plural of this word, as well as of some other names of countries, were promiscuously used by the *Romans*. Among the *duces* we have *dux Britanniae*, and in another chapter *dux Britanniarum*. Among the *consulares* we have *per Britannias duo, maximae Caesariensis*, and *Valentiae*. Among the *praesides* we have *per Britannias tres, Britanniae primae, Britanniae secundae, Flaviae Caesariensis*. There is a passage in *Aurelius Victor*, which intimates that some alteration was made in the form of government by *Constantine*. His words are, “ The publick offices and those of the court and the army were put into that form by *Hadrian*, in which (a few things being changed by *Constantine*) they now continue^f.” The learned *Dodwell*^g observes, that according to *Lactantius*^h, a new disposition was introduced by *Dioclesian*, and such a one as plainly gave occasion to the four *praefecti praetorio*. For these answered in number to the two emperors and two *Caesars*, that were at this time, namely *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* emperors, *Constantius* and *Galerius Caesars*; and the number of four *praefecti praetorio* being once introduced, they continued afterwards and had the greatest power next to the princes.

I

^a Ibid. p. cxv, cxvi.

^b Τίς μὲν ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ καίσαρος, ὅστις ἐν τῇ κτίσει ἀναστὰς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπὸ τοῦ καίσαρος ἀποκαλεῖται. *De vita Constantini*, Lib. II. cap. 19.

^c Antonin. Itiner. p. 24.

^d Cap. 1.

^e Vid. *Ammian. Marcel. Lib. XIV. cap. 6. Where one Martinus is called Vicarius, and is just before*

said to rule these provinces. *Martinus regens illas provincias pro praefecto.* So *Alypius* is called *vicarius Britanniarum*. Lib. XXIX. cap. 2.

^f Officia publica et palatina nec non militum in eam formam statuisset Hadrianum, quae paucis per Constantinum immutatis, hodie perseverat.

^g *Julii Vitalis epitaphium*, Sect. 4. De mort. persecut.

I COULD not but think it curious to enquire how far inscriptions favour this account of a change in the manner of government, and particularly to observe from what reign the names of *propraetor* and *legatus Augustalis* cease to be mentioned in any inscriptions. The three *propraetors* under the emperor *Gordian* are I believe the last which we meet with in any inscriptions in *Britain*. And this brings us near the middle of the third century. It is very likely, that the same officer was still continued for some time after. But in the time of the thirty tyrants, and the usurpation of *Carausius*, and *Allectus*, there might be no *propraetor* or *imperial legate*; because some of them, *Carausius* and *Allectus* particularly, resided in person in this island: And then 'tis most probable, that the head person next to the emperor was the *praefectus praetorio*; not he in *Gaul*, but one who was present in *Britain*. I leave the reader to judge whether this is confirmed by the inscription lately found at *Cambeck*^a; as on the other hand whether or no this remark may serve to illustrate that inscription. It is certain however, that not very long after this a crowd of new officers was introduced, whose names have a barbarous sound. And we hear no more of an *imperial legate*, a *propraetor*, or *procurator*. But 'tis time to return to the history.

CONSTANTINE II. AFTER the death of *Constantine the great* the empire was divided amongst his three sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*. In this division *Britain* fell to the share of *Constantine* the eldest. But he not content with his part was for invading the territories of *Constans* the youngest, and lost his own life in the attempt, being slain near *Aquileia*, in the third year of his reign.

CONSTANS. Upon this *Constans* became sole emperor of the west, and *Britain* fell under his command. And in the year 341, or according to others 343, he came over to this island, to check the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had broke out into rebellion. But the particulars of this expedition are lost with the former part of *Ammianus Marcellinus's*^b history, in which they were recorded. *Constans* was afterwards slain by the contrivance of *Magnentius*, at a little village called *Helena*, at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, in the year 350. *Magnentius* (who assumed the purple in *Gaul* and was joined by *Britain*) was afterwards

CONSTANTIUS II. conquered by *Constantius*, the only surviving brother of the three, and forced to kill himself in the year 353. According to *Ammianus Marcellinus* one *Gratianus Fumarius*, the father of *Valentinian*, who was afterwards emperor, had the government in *Britain* from the death of *Magnentius*. The same author tells us of one *Paulus*, who being sent by *Constantius* to punish some, who had adhered to *Magnentius*, instead of doing this in a proper way, acted a very different part; upon which one *Martinus*, a very just person, and *vicarius* or governour of *Britain*, first attempted to stab him, but failing in the attempt, stabbed himself; however *Paulus* surnamed *Catena*, was afterwards burnt alive^c. *Ammianus Marcellinus*^d gives a farther account of the inroads made by the *Scots*, and mentions one *Lupicinus* well skilled in military affairs, but very proud, who was sent over to *Britain* on this occasion, and brought an army with him from *Gaul*, which landed at the usual place *portus Ritupensis*, and from thence marched up to *London* about the year 361^e.

JULIAN. JULIAN (commonly called the *Apostate*) who had been made *Caesar* before, and saluted emperor by a part of the army, now becomes so without opposition, after the death of *Constantius*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* names one *Alypius* who had been *vicarius Britanniarum*, but was afterwards banished^f.

JULIAN

^a Cumberland, N^o xxxiv.

^b See Lib. xx. cap. 1.

^c Lib. xiv. cap. 6. Lib. xxii. cap. 3.

^d Lib. xx. cap. 1, 9.

^e *Ammianus Marcellinus* begins the account of the inroads of the *Scots* and *Picts* with the date,

consulatu Constantii decies, terque Juliani, Lib. xx. cap. 1. But probably it might be the year after, before *Lupicinus* arrived in *Britain* and reached *London*, that is, in 361; for the tenth consulate of *Constantius* and the third of *Julian* was in the year 360.

^f Lib. xxix. cap. 1.

JULIAN dies in the year 363, and is succeeded by *Jovian*, who died in 364; when *Valentinian* was chosen, and ascended the throne, who joined his brother *Valens* with himself in the government. *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives a dismal account of the inroads and devastations, that were made at this time in several parts of the empire, and particularly in the province of *Britain* by the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacotti*, and the *Saxons* united^a. He mentions one *Nectaridus* count of the sea-shore, and *Bulchobandes* the general, that were killed at this time. Upon this occasion one *Severus* was sent over to defend and revenge the *Romans*; who being afterwards recalled, was succeeded by *Jovinus*. After the province had suffered very much, *Valentinian* sends *Theodosius* over, in the year 367^b. The same historian tells us, that when *Theodosius* (whom he much commends) came hither, he went to *London*, then called *Augusta*, and set upon the wandering plundering enemy; he relieved the *Britons*; and driving the enemy back to their own country again, recovered the plunder, and restored it mostly to its owners. Upon which he desired, that *Civilis* might be sent over hither as governour, and *Dulcitius* as general. *Theodosius* marches afterwards from *London*^c with a great army against these people, and having driven them before him, he recovered the provincial cities and forts, which had been very much damaged by the enemy. After this he repairs the cities and *praetenturae*, and erects some new forts, and calls the province *Valentia* in honour of *Valentinian*^d. The learned Dr. *Gale* thinks, that this passage refers to the garrisons and forts that were between *Glota* and *Bodotria*. But I cannot say the matter is so clear to me, and am more inclined to believe, that our wall in the north of *England*, and the forts upon it, were the *praetenturae* referred to. The *Notitia* however takes no notice of any forts on the north side of our wall in *England*, tho', as is well known, the stations along the line of it are particularly mentioned there. In all probability it was owing to this success of *Theodosius*, that the *Romans* were fully possessed of the wall, and all the stations upon it, at the time when the *Notitia* was written. I am very much of opinion, that *Severus's* wall was the most usual boundary of the *Roman* province; because in the stations upon it, and near to it, we find inscriptions belonging to several emperors, both higher and lower, which does not hold true with respect to the wall in *Scotland*. Sometimes the *Caledonians* even broke thro' this wall, and invaded the *Roman* province; at other times the *Romans* gained upon them, and had their stations farther advanced than the wall; and sometimes they even recovered the more northerly wall. This hypothesis suits best in my opinion with the several accounts of the historians, and with the inscriptions and medals that have been discovered.

VALENTINIAN.

VALENS.

AFTER these exploits *Theodosius* is sent for to court, and well received by *Valentinian*. That passage of the poet *Claudian* in his panegyric on *Theodosius* the emperor, son of this *Theodosius*, and stiled *Magnus*, is generally taken notice of;

*Ille, Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medio Libyae sub casside pertulit aestus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni.*

The same historian takes notice of one *Fraomarius*, who was sent into *Britain*

^a Picti, Saxones, Scoti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis. Lib. xxvi. cap. 4. Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio, et Scoti per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Lib. xxvii. cap. 8.

^b Ibid.

^c Ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium. Lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

^d In integrum restituit civitates, et castra multi-

plicibus damnis adflata. Instaurabat urbes et praesidiaria castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis, recuperatamque provinciam, quae in ditionem cesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut et rectorem legitimum haberet, et Valentia deinde vocaretur, arbitrio principis. Arcanos, genus hominum a veteribus institutum, paulatim prolapsos in vitia, a stationibus removit. Ibid.

tain with the authority of a tribune, after the departure of *Theodosius* out of this island.

GRATIAN. VALENTINIAN dies in the year 375 ; and *Gratian* his son, who had been declared *Augustus* in his father's life-time, has after his death his brother
 VALENTINIAN II. *Valentinian* joined to him in the empire ; *Valens* still continuing too, till he
 THEODOSIUS. was slain in the year 378. After his death *Theodosius*, the son of the former *Theodosius* who was general in *Britain*, is assumed by *Gratian* to be a colleague in the empire. Upon this *Maximus*, who had served in *Britain* with this *Theodosius*, and done great exploits there, being disgusted, that he should be preferred before him, usurps the purple, and *Gratian* is murdered by his order. But *Maximus* himself is at length taken, and beheaded, in the year 388. *Theo-*
 ARCADIUS. *dosius* had advanced his son *Arcadius* in the year 383 to the imperial dignity. In 392 *Valentinian* the second, or younger, is treacherously murdered at *Vienne* in *France*, by the order of *Arbogastes* ; who yet did not usurp the imperial authority himself, but chose to have *Eugenius* placed on the throne, and to rule by his permission : but he was not long after taken, and beheaded. I have seen a curious medal of his at *Newcastle*, tho' I could never learn where it was found. In the year 393 *Theodosius* declares his younger son
 HONORIUS. *Honorius* joint emperor. *Socrates* the historian mentions one *Chrysanthus*, the son of *Marcianus*, who was *vicarius* in *Britain* under this *Theodosius*, and afterwards bishop in the church of the *Novatians* at *Constantinople*, and gives him this character, " That in his government he acquitted himself with great " reputation." *Stilico* is likewise celebrated by *Claudian* for his great exploits in *Britain*. The original verses have often been quoted, particularly by *Cambden* and *Burton* :

*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
 Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hibernem
 Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
 Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
 Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, nec Saxona ventis.*

THEODOSIUS II. IN the beginning of the fifth century, about the year 402 ; *Theodosius* the second, when but two years old, was made emperor, and joined to *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. This *Theodosius* reigned half a century ; and it is very evident, that in his reign the *Romans* quite abandoned this island. *Sozomen*^b informs us, that *Arcadius* died when *Bassus* and *Philip* were consuls, that is, in the year 408, leaving *Honorius* and *Theodosius* to reign jointly. It must have been much about this time, that those usurpers started up in *Britain* which the same historian^c gives us an account of. The summary, which *Echard* has given us in his *Roman history*, is little more than a literal translation of *Sozomen* ; I shall therefore transcribe it from him. " The inhabitants and troops that
 " were quartered in *Britain*, fearing lest the *Vandals* should pass over the
 " sea, and subdue them with the rest, revolted from their obedience to *Ho-*
 " *norius*, and set up one *Mark*, whom they declared emperor. But they
 " soon deprive him of his life and dignity, and place *Gratian* in his room,
 " who was a countryman of their own. Within four months they murder him
 " too, and confer the sovereignty upon one *Constantine*, not so much in respect
 " to his courage or quality, for he was a very inconsiderable man in the army ;
 " but in regard of his name, which they looked upon as fortunate ; hoping
 " he would do as much as *Constantine the great* had done, who was of the
 " same name, and had been advanced to the imperial dignity in the same
 " island. This new prince immediately after his promotion passed over into
 " *Gaul*, and taking with him the very flower of the *British* youth, so utterly
 " exhausted the military force of the island, that it was wholly broken, and
 " the

^a Βικτωριος τῶν Πρεσβυτερῶν νόμον καταρτὶς ἔδωκε
 αὐτῷ τῆς διοικήσεως. Lib. vii. cap. 12.

^b Lib. ix. cap. 1.

^c Lib. ix. cap. 11.

^d Vol. iii. p. 272, 273.

“ the island left naked to new invaders.” The following part of the story of this *Constantine*, and of the usurper *Maximus*, set up by *Gerontius* (whom *Milton*^a supposes to have been a *Briton*) may be read in *Sozomen*^b; but as the scene of those transactions was at a distance from *Britain*, I shall not stay to relate them.

BRITAIN being thus drained and exhausted both of the *Roman* soldiers, and its own youth, was according to *Gildas*, and *Bede* after him, much harassed by the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and other invaders; upon which they applied to the *Romans* for help, who once and again sent a legion to their assistance. I know not but this state of the island may be expressed upon a fine seal which was found at *Flodden field* in *Northumberland*, and came to the possession of the late Countess *Cowper*. It represented *Britannia* half naked, sitting upon rocks, and leaning also upon them with her right hand; with her left she takes hold of the wing of an eagle, which has one foot upon the rocks, and the other on *Britannia*'s knee, where she is clothed. But the latest certain account of the *Romans* footing in *Britain*, I believe, is in the *Notitia*; if it hold true, that this part of it, which relates to *Britain*, was wrote before the middle of the fifth century, or under the reign of *Theodosius* the second, at which time the *Roman* force was much abated, tho' their soldiers were not yet finally withdrawn from *Britain*. For besides a considerable number of auxiliary forces, there were yet two legions at least remaining in this island; and the *Romans* seem still to have been in possession of that part of the island, which lies to the south of *Severus*'s wall, tho' of no part beyond it. The stations upon the wall were well garrisoned at that time; but excepting the *Kentish* coast, and the northern frontiers, the garrisons in other parts of *Britain* were very thin and widely dispersed, and the rest of *England* was entirely naked. On the other hand it is certain (to use *Echard*'s words^c) that under the reign of *Valentinian* the third, “ *Afric, Spain, Great Britain, and almost all Gaul, Germany, and Illyricum* were dismembered from the western empire.” Now *Valentinian* the third began to reign with *Theodosius* about the year 425, and died in 455. So that we may safely affirm, that about the beginning of the fifth century the *Roman* power was become low in *Britain*, and near the middle of this century the *Romans* had entirely quitted the island. And tho' I would not depend upon what *Gildas* has tacked to the *Roman* history, beyond *Sozomen* and the *Notitia*; yet this computation agrees well enough with what he asserts. For by the *Fasti consulares Flavius Aetius* was the third time consul in the year 446; at which time the *Britons*, according to *Gildas*, being reduced to the utmost distress, made their last application (tho' in vain) to the *Romans* for their assistance. This is also farther confirmed by observing, that *Arcadius*'s and *Honorius*'s coins have been found in *England*, but I believe none later than *Valentinian* the third. And as for inscriptions, I have shewn in my introduction to the collection, that the latest in *Britain* is not near so low as this.

^a Hist. England, p. 112.

^b Lib. ix. cap. 12, 14, 15.

^c Roman Hist. Vol. III. p. 349.

CHAPTER VI.

An account of the *Roman* legions and auxiliaries in *Britain*.

JULIUS CAESAR, when he made his first descent upon *Britain*, brought over only two legions with him, which were the seventh and tenth; this latter was his favourite legion, and both together made but an army of twelve thousand foot at the most. The horse belonging to these legions never reached this island, and the foot the same year were transported back again to *Gaul*.

THE next year, when *Caesar* made his second descent, he brought over five legions with him, and two thousand horse, which seem to be all the horse that belonged to these legions. There is nothing in the history, whereby it can be known what legions these were, except the seventh, which is mentioned by *Caesar*. These likewise returned back again to *Gaul* the same year in which they came over, as the two legions had done the year before.

DURING the three succeeding reigns of *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Caligula* 'tis plain that the *Romans* had no footing in *Britain*.

UNDER *Claudius* (who applied himself in good earnest to the reduction of *Britain*) a considerable army was sent to this island; the emperor himself afterwards coming over in person. This army consisted of *Roman* legions, and other auxiliaries; tho' the historians have not told us expressly what they were, either as to their number or names. But considering the small success of *Julius Caesar* before, and the much greater conquests this army made; I think it highly reasonable to suppose, it was superior in number to the greater of *Caesar's*, which as I have said, consisted of five legions of foot, and two thousand horse, making an army (if the legions were compleat) of above thirty thousand men. I therefore apprehend, that the army sent over by *Claudius* consisted of four legions, with their full and proper *auxilia*, and the usual number of horse belonging both to the one and the other; and this army so composed would amount to more than fifty thousand men. Any conjecture as to the number or names of the auxiliary cohorts, must be uncertain and doubtful; but both the number and names of the legions may be certainly collected from some incidental passages of *Tacitus*. They were the second called *Augusta*, the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth usually called *Valens victrix*; each of which, and these only, are mentioned in the sequel of the history, upon some occasion or other.

As we have no evidence from history, nor any other reason to believe, that any new legions were transported by *Nero*, but that the same continued which had been sent over at first by *Claudius*; so it is plain from the relation of the battle with queen *Boadicea*, that the four legions last mentioned were here under *Nero*, in whose reign this battle happened. For according to *Tacitus's* account of this matter, the ninth legion was surprized, and destroyed by this queen, the fourteenth, and the *vexillarii* of the twentieth were in the battle; and the second, tho' in *Britain*, was absent from the fight, thro' the fault of *Poenius*

Poenius Postumus their commander, who stabbed himself, when he heard the success of the others, and the honour they had acquired^a.

OF these four legions one continued very late, and another to the last. The *legio xx val. vict.* tho' it continued very long here, yet seems to have been recalled before the *Romans* had entirely abandoned the island; for it is not mentioned in the *Notitia*. The *legio secunda Augusta* is mentioned there^b, and so seems to have continued here to the last, and to have been the only one that was kept here during the whole time. For tho' the *legio sexta victrix* did also continue to the last; yet this came not over till the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*, as I shall shew afterwards. The ninth legion seems to have dwindled away intirely, or else the small remains of it were incorporated with the legion sent over by *Hadrian*. The fourteenth legion was first sent for out of *Britain* by *Nero*, then ordered back again by *Vitellius*, and lastly recalled in the reign of *Vespasian*. *Dion*^c giving a general account of the legions in his time, that is, in the reign of *Alexander Severus*, mentions three legions in *Britain*, the *legio secunda augusta*, *sexta victrix*, and *vice-sima Val. victrix*; but he mentions no ninth, and the fourteenth was then in *Pannonia*: which general account of *Dion* agrees exactly with what I have said.

I HAVE just before hinted, that all the legions which came into *Britain*, except the fourteenth, continued here without interruption for a long time; and yet according to the express testimony of *Tacitus* the *vexillarii* of the three *Britannic* legions, namely the second, ninth, and twentieth, were with *Vitellius* in *Italy* in his war with *Vespasian*^d. In one place we have *vexillarii trium Britannicarum legionum*; and in another *vexilla nonae, secundae, et vicesimae Britannicarum legionum*. But the bodics of the legions might, and I believe did continue in *Britain*, tho' the *vexillarii* were dispatched to *Vitellius*.

It is remarkable, that the legions which continued long in *Britain*, seem for the most part to have been jointly imployed in carrying on the most considerable works, or wars, that have been in this island. Thus they were jointly engaged in building the wall in *Scotland*; and most, or all of them, in erecting those in the north of *England*. And the legions, and legionary cohorts, seem to have been the only soldiers, who were imployed usually in erecting forts, or raising fences. Auxiliary cohorts appear by inscriptions to have been concerned in some other buildings, but forts and fences seem to have been the province of the legionaries; agreeable to that passage in *Tacitus*^e, "The *praefectus castrorum*, and legionary cohorts, who had been left among the *Silures* for erecting fortifications." Thus among all the inscriptions found upon the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*, there is but one at most that mentions any auxiliary cohort, as having a hand in the work; but always either a legion, or a vexillation of a legion. And I take it for granted, that all the centurial inscriptions upon the face of the wall in the north of *England*, and which probably were inserted there at the time of building it, respect only the legions, and legionary cohorts; and yet the stations upon the wall, as well as most of them elsewhere, were garrisoned by the auxiliaries. But I shall endeavour to give a more distinct and particular account of each of these legions in *Britain* during their stay here.

LEGIO

^a See Chap. 11. pag. 29.

^b Cap. 52.

^c Lib. Lv. p. 564.

^d Hist. Lib. 11. cap. 100. Lib. 111. cap. 3.

^e Praefectum castrorum et legionarias cohortes extruendis apud Siluras praefidiis relictas.

LEGIO SECUNDA AVGVSTA.

THIS legion came into *Britain* in the reign of *Claudius*, under the command of *Vespasian*^a; and continued in it as long as the *Romans* had the least footing here. In *Hadrian's* time this legion was in *Cumberland* at *Netherby* and *Beauncastle*, and in the western side of *Northumberland*, and so very probably had their share in the work of *Hadrian's vallum*; or when in the advanced stations of *Netherby* and *Beauncastle*, they might be posted there to secure those who were employed in that work. In the beginning of the reign of *Antoninus Pius* they were most probably upon the eastern part of the *Roman wall* in *Northumberland*^b. From hence in the same reign they marched into *Scotland*, and were employed there in building the wall, as appears from the express testimony of several inscriptions found there^c; and yet in the same reign they seem likewise to have been at *Caer-leon*, as appears from *Ptolemy's* testimony, tho' he confounds the two *Isca's*, and mistakes the one for the other. In *Severus's* time 'tis very probable they were employed upon the wall that goes by his name^d. From *Northumberland* or *Cumberland* they marched probably thro' *Westmoreland* to *Caer-leon*, and might leave in their march the inscription we find in *Westmoreland*, if it be genuine^e. If this legion had taken up its quarters at *Caer-leon* before the reign of *Severus*, and the building of his wall; yet it might march from thence for this service, and for the war carried on against the *Caledonians*, and then return to its quarters again, after both these were at an end. However they must have been at *Caer-leon* in *Severus's* life-time, or in the joint reigns of him and *Caracalla* in the year 210, as is plain from an inscription found there^f. And here they seem to have continued till late in the empire. *Antonine's Itinerary* places them here. It appears also from the passage of *Dion* quoted before, that they were in *Britain* in the reign of *Alexander Severus*, and most probably at *Caer-leon* their usual quarters. And an inscription or two favouring of the lower empire, for a *signifer* and a soldier of this legion, were also found at this place^g. Yet 'tis certain they removed from those quarters before they left *Britain*; for the *Notitia*^h places them at *Rutupae*, where they must have been just before they left *Britain* for altogether. It is a mistake in *Pancirollus*, to say this legion is not mentioned in the *Notitia*; for 'tis not this, but the twentieth legion, that no where occurs in that treatise: this legion is called *Britannica* in the *Notitia*ⁱ, where among the *legiones comitatenses* is reckoned the *legio secunda Britannica sive secundani*. The *secundani* are those of the second legion, as the *quintani*, *primani*, *quarta-decumani*, those of the fifth, first, fourteenth in *Tacitus*^k; and this can be meant of no other but the *legio secunda Augusta*, here called *Britannica*. Some suppose that this legion was fixed at *Caer-leon* by *Julius Frontinus* to awe the *Silures*^l; but the nature and order of the inscriptions plead rather for a later settlement there. *Ptolemy* however, as I have said, places this legion in his time at *Isca Dumnoniorum*, generally taken for *Exeter*; which might be an easy mistake for *Isca Silurum* or *Caer-leon*: and if so, it will argue this legion was fixed at that place in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, at which time *Ptolemy* liv'd.

LEGIO

^a Et Britanniam inclutus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adjunxit caeterarum. Tacit. Hist. Lib. III. cap. 44.

^b See inscriptions in Northumberland, N. VII.

^c See inscriptions in Scotland, N. II, III, VIII, IX, X, XI.

^d See Northumberland, N. IX. and the discourse on the wall, Chap. VIII.

^e N. IV.

^f The original is lost. See the copy of it among the observations on the Monmouthshire inscriptions.

^g Monmouthshire, N. I, III.

^h Cap. 52.

ⁱ Cap. 38.

^k Hist. Lib. III. cap. 13, et passim.

^l Phil. Trans. N. 359.

LEGIO SEXTA VICTRIX.

THIS legion is usually thus expressed, LEG. VI. V. to which is often added P. F. that is, *pia fidelis*; for that it is to be read so, rather than *pia felix*, I shall shew in my observations upon the foreign inscriptions. It is certain from a great number of inscriptions, and other testimonies, that this legion was a long time in *Britain*; and it is equally certain, that it came not over so soon as the others. *Tacitus* mentions it often, but always as being in some other place, particularly in *Germany* under *Mucianus*^a; and we are indebted to an antient inscription, for the account of its passing from *Germany* to *Britain* under the reign of *Hadrian*. Dr. *Gale* in his *Antonine's itinerary*^b has given us the inscription. It is to the honour of *Marcus Pontius*, and among many other titles there given him, these are also inserted: *imperatoris Divi Hadriani ab ætate, tribuno militum legionis sextae victricis, cum qua ex Germania in Britanniam transit*. The account of this legion whilst in *Britain* must be taken chiefly from such hints, as antient inscriptions afford us. I don't find it is mentioned in any inscription belonging to the southern parts of this island. It is probable that they made no stop in the south, but marched directly by the usual rout to the west end of the *vallum*, and had their share in raising that work. In this march, or some following one, the altar and inscription in *Lancashire* might be erected, *Fortunae conservatrici*, by a centurion of this legion, as also those at *Kendal* and *Appleby*^c. We have several inscriptions upon the wall, and near it, in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, wherein this legion is mentioned; as at *Stanwicks*, *Cambeck-fort*, *Burdoswald*, *Little chesters*, *House-steeds*, and other places; some of which, from the character and other circumstances, may be supposed as antient as *Hadrian's* reign; tho' most of them do certainly belong to the time of *Severus*. In the former part of the reign of *Antoninus Pius* they were in *Scotland*, and had their share in building the wall there. Probably they marched along our *Watling street* in the north, either to *Scotland*, or from it, or both; and in their march that sepulchral inscription might be erected, for a soldier of this legion, which was found near *Riechester* in *Northumberland*^d. Whether this legion had taken up its stated quarters at *York* before the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, and continued there between the time of building the *vallum*, and their march into *Scotland*, I cannot certainly determine. However, after their return from *Scotland*, and about the middle of *Antoninus Pius's* reign, they were settled at *York*; for *Ptolemy* places them here. And here I believe they staidly quartered till the very last, tho' they marched at a distance from this place upon some special occasions. Thus for instance this legion was certainly employed upon the stone wall of *Severus*, as appears from several of the centurial inscriptions found on that wall, which bear the name of this legion^e. In the reign of *Alexander Severus* (as we learn from *Dion*) this legion was in the lower part, that is, in the more easterly part of *Britain*, which was nearer to *Rome*, and so most probably at *York*, where they seem to have continued till the end of the *Roman* empire over this island; for the *Notitia* names this legion among the garrisons in that part of the country, tho' it does not expressly mention where it was. Perhaps several of its cohorts might be dispersed into some neighbouring stations, tho' *York* was still the place of its stated quarters. Thus, according to Mr. *Gale's* conjecture, by the *legio Gordiana* in the inscriptions at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*^f, we are to understand the *legio sexta victrix*. The first cohort of this legion must then in all probability have been detached at that time from the

^a Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, &c. Hist. Lib. III. cap. 46. Legiones victrices sextam et octavam. Ibid. Lib. IV. cap. 68.

^b Pag. 47.

^c See Westmoreland, N. VI, VIII.

^d See the copy of it in the observations on the inscriptions at Riechester, 127. 210.

^e See Chap. VIII.

^f N° XII. See the observations upon it.

the legion at *York*, to assist in building the works mentioned in these inscriptions. This was in the reign of *Gordian*, and so after this legion was settled at *York*.

LEGIO NONA.

THIS was another of the legions, which came over under the emperor *Claudius*. The foot of this legion had the misfortune to be quite cut in pieces by the forces of queen *Boadicea*. It was afterwards recruited with two thousand soldiers, and probably eight auxiliary cohorts^a, sent over from *Germany*; but attacked again afterwards by the *Caledonians* as being the weakest legion, when *Julius Agricola* was *propraetor* and legate here^b. After this we have no farther account of this legion from any historian; so that it remains uncertain what became of it. It might possibly be broke, or incorporated with the *legio sexta victrix*. I have been led to this latter conjecture by an inscription or two, which may be seen amongst those of *Yorkshire*, wherein this legion is mentioned; which inscriptions were found at *York*, the stated and lasting quarters of the *legio sexta victrix*. In one of these inscriptions^c this ninth legion is called *legio nona victrix*; tho' the title of *victrix* belonged not to the ninth, but to the sixth. Perhaps this honourable title was assumed by the soldiers of the ninth legion, when incorporated with the sixth, tho' still they retained the name of the ninth. This might possibly be the case till the first set that was incorporated was worn out, after which every one used only the name of the sixth legion, as it is in all other inscriptions in *Britain* where this legion is named, and also in the *Notitia*. The other inscription^d is for an ensign of the ninth legion, in which the figures *VIII* are very plain and distinct. This person then did belong to the ninth legion before, and so is stiled a *signifer* of it. And he might die whilst this continued a distinct and separate legion, or soon after it was joined to the other lying in *York*. The ninth legion may be supposed to have lain at *York*, before the sixth came over to *Britain*; but after this arrived under the emperor *Hadrian*, and took up its quarters at *York*, the other might be embodied with it, which being more numerous, and having the more honourable title of *victrix*, might in a little time drop the number of the other. That the *Romans* sometimes broke their legions, or incorporated one into another, we learn from *Dion* in the following passage relating to the reign of *Augustus*. "There were at that time twenty three, or as others say twenty five legions of citizens, of which now only nineteen remain." These he enumerates, and then adds: "The rest have been either quite broke, or incorporated into others, which is thought to be the reason why some of them are called *geminae* or *twins*." The ninth is not at all mentioned by *Dion* in this list, which makes it the more probable, that it was one of those which had been incorporated, or broken, tho' the author does not expressly say so. This shews us the reason, why they, who have wrote about the *Roman* legions, leave us quite in the dark about the ninth; as Mr. *Thoresby*^e observes from Mr. *Hearne*.

LEGIO DECIMA QVARTA.

THIS was also another of those legions, which came over to this island in the reign of *Claudius*; and, as *Tacitus* informs us, was the only legion, which was intirely ingaged in the battle with queen *Boadicea*'s army^a. This legion, as I have shewn before, was recalled by *Nero*, sent back by *Vitellius*, and under *Vespasian* ordered again out of *Britain*; after which they never seem to have returned hither any more. And as they left *Britain* before the opportunity or humour of erecting inscriptions obtained, it is not to be wondered

at,

^a Tacit. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 38.

^b Tacit. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 38. See Ch. III. pag. 40.

^c *Yorkshire*, No IX.

^d Ibid. No VIII.

^e Lib. LV. p. 564.

^f Philof. Transact. No 305.

^g See Chap. II. pag. 28.

at, that we don't find them mentioned in any. For we have no inscriptions now extant in *Britain* of any authority, that are undoubtedly older than *Hadrian*, and but few so antient; whereas this legion was finally recalled hence in the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign. However we have several things relating to this legion, and the time between their first entering and last leaving *Britain*, scattered up and down in *Tacitus*; which I have here put together, in the best manner I could. After this legion was ordered out of *Britain* by *Nero*, we find it at other places, in the civil wars that soon followed. Thus when *Tacitus* is taking notice that at the beginning of the war all things on *Otho's* side were very promising, the armies moving from *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* according to his order; he mentions the fourteenth legion as part of this army^a. Whether the *Vexillarii* of this legion were detained in *Italy*, or immediately sent for upon *Vespasian's* approach, I cannot determine. According to *Tacitus* however, they were, in *Italy* before the battle between the competitors, *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*. He acquaints us with a remarkable quarrel, that happened between this legion and the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which were its auxiliaries. "The unconquered spirit of the conquered legions gave *Vitellius* a great deal of concern, and uneasiness. For they being dispersed thro' *Italy*, and mixed with those who had been victorious, were throwing out angry and threatening words. Those of the fourteenth legion were peculiarly forward and hot, and would by no means allow that they had been conquered, because only the *vexillarii*, and not the body of the legion, had been at the fight at *Bedriacum*. It was therefore thought proper to send this legion back again to *Britain*, from whence they had been ordered by *Nero*; and that the *Batavian* cohorts should accompany them, who by reason of a former misunderstanding might be a check on the legion. Nor did their resentments suffer them to agree very long; for at *Turin*, whilst on the one side a *Batavian* falls upon a tradesman, under pretence of his being a cheat, and on the other side a legionary soldier defends the tradesman, who was his host, a considerable number on each side are quickly gathered together, who proceed from words to blows. And a warm engagement would have ensued, had not two praetorian cohorts interposed in behalf of the legion, which gave courage to it, and struck fear into the *Batavians*. *Vitellius* having found the *Batavians* faithful to him, takes them along with him, whilst the legion by his orders is removed into *Britain*." During its first stay in *Britain*, this legion had acquired a great deal of honour, and was in high repute for its valour, and so left the island with credit. They are called the "conquerors of *Britain*," and the great fame they had acquired by their success and victories in this island is particularly mentioned by the historian^c, "*Nero* therefore chose them as the best." And the *primani* and *quartadecimani* are spoken of as the principal strength of *Otho's* army^d. All which seems to be chiefly owing to their behaviour in the fight against *Boadicea*. The *Batavian* auxiliaries are also spoken of as men of distinguished bravery, and reckoned among the veteran forces^e. It was also looked upon as a matter of great moment what party they

^a Hist. Lib. 11. cap. 11.

^b Ibid. cap. 100.

^c E praesentibus angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus. Sparae per Italiam, et victoribus permixtae, hostilia loquebantur: praecipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant; quippe Bedriacensi acie, vexillariis tantum pulsis, vires legionis non affuisse. Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone acciti erant, placuit; atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere, ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam; nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit. Augustae Taurinorum, dum opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorem infectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commi-

litones aggregati, a conviciis ad caedem transiere, et praeclum atrox arisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes, causam quartadecimanorum secutae, his fiduciam, et metum Batavis fecissent, quos Vitellius agmini suo jungi, ut fides—jubes—legio in Britanniam transvecta. Hist. Lib. 11. cap. 66.

^d Domitores Britanniae. Hist. Lib. v. cap. 16.

^e —Magna fama— Ibid. Lib. 11. cap. 32. Praecipua fama quartadecimani rebellione Britanniae compressa. Ibid. cap. 11.

^f Nero elegit ut potissimos. Ibid.

^g Unicum Othoniani exercitus robur. Hist. Lib. 11. cap. 13.

^h Viri fortissimi—veteres et tot bellorum victores. Hist. Lib. 11. cap. 28.

they took ^a. This last passage too takes notice of the quarrel between this legion and its auxiliaries, and I think suggests to us the occasion of it, that in those civil discords they favoured different parties. For the *Batavians* were sure friends of *Vitellius*^b, whilst the legion adhered to *Nero*, and *Otho*^c. The *Batavians*^d boast of *Italy's* being taken from *Nero* by them; but the conduct of the legion, as related by this historian, shews how much they favoured *Nero* and *Otho*, and how long they stood true to their cause. I therefore conceive that these *Batavian* auxiliaries had been in *Britain* with the fourteenth legion, to which they belonged, that they left this island together in *Nero's* time; and that in the civil wars which ensued, the legion and they being disposed to favour opposite parties, they divided upon it. But it is not so easy to reconcile another passage in the same author relating to this matter, and that is where he tells us that "these *Batavian* cohorts having left the legion in *Nero's* war, when they were going to *Britain*," &c. What can here be meant by *cum Britanniam peterent*? Mr. *Ward* thinks the historian is not inconsistent with himself, that the case seems plainly thus: These cohorts went from *Britain* with the fourteenth legion in *Nero's* time; in that war they quarrelled, and the legion joined *Otho*; but the auxiliaries stood off, and don't appear to have been at the battle at *Bedriacum*, or joined either party, but would have returned back into *Britain*. In their march halting at *Langres* in *Gaul*, they heard of the motion of *Vitellius*, and fell in with that party. That they had not before joined either party, he thinks, is plain from the words of *Tacitus*; *an important body, as they should have inclined*^e: which shews they had not then done it. Wherefore the intended return here spoken of relates only to the *Batavi*, and preceded their being order'd back to *Britain* by *Vitellius* with the fourteenth legion, as a check upon it. At which time, as I have shewed, they parted again upon a second quarrel at *Turin*. To return therefore to the legion, which we left in its way the second time for our island, and parted from its auxiliaries; it is evident that it made no long stay upon this occasion in *Britain*, since it was recalled by *Mucianus* at the beginning of the reign of *Vespasian* and never returned afterwards. *Tacitus* mentioning several things that were ordered by *Mucianus*, takes notice of this among the rest, that the fourteenth legion was called out of *Britain*^f. Accordingly we find this legion afterwards in *Germany* and other places^g. Upon the whole then, this legion, and as I suppose, the auxiliary cohorts belonging to it, came over to *Britain* when *Claudius* first attempted to reduce this island. It continued in *Britain* till *Nero* ordered it over again to the continent with a design to march it into *Asia*. It was stopped in this march upon intelligence received of the designs of *Vindex* against *Nero*, which happened in the year 68, when *Galerius Trachalus* and *Silius Italicus* were consuls. So that this legion was in *Britain* twenty four or twenty five years, before it was ordered out of it the first time. It seems not to have have been a year out of *Britain* before it was sent back again by *Vitellius*; and in less than a year after this, it left *Britain* for good and all in the year 70. Before I quite dismiss this legion, it may not be amiss to observe, that *Vitellius* is said to have sent for supplies out of *Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*^h. But one would think that neither the fourteenth legion, nor its auxiliaries, could be included in this expression; for the legion had been sent by *Vitellius* to *Britain*,

^a Erant in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quattadecimae legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressae: prout inclinassent, grande momentum, sociarum adversarum. Hist. Lib. i. cap. 59.

^b See the passage quoted just before from Tacit. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 66.

^c Longa illis erga Neronem fides, et erecta in Othonem studia. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 11. where Tacitus is speaking of this legion.

^d Coercitos a se quattadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam jactantes. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 27.

^e Cohortes Batavorum bello Neronis a legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 27.

^f Prout inclinassent, grande momentum.

^g Decima quarta legio e Britannia—accita. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. 68.

^h Cerialis duplicatis copiis adventu secundae, sextae, et decimae quartae legionum, &c. Hist. Lib. v. cap. 14, et 16.

ⁱ Britannia, Gallia et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat. Tacit. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 15. et Lib. ii. cap. 97.

Britain not long before, and continued there till *Vespasian* ascended the throne; and as for its auxiliaries, they were not at this time in *Britain*. And yet 'tis expressly said that the *vexillarii* of this, and the other three *British* legions, were with *Caecina* in *Italy*, before the decisive battle between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*. Perhaps then the *vexillarii* of all the legions might be in *Italy*, whilst the bodies of the legions continued in *Britain*^a. The supplies therefore, which were sent for by *Vitellius*, seem rather to be *British* auxiliaries, or soldiers raised in *Britain*, as it is otherwise expressed by the same author^b. In such places it seems necessary to understand these expressions, of soldiers raised in *Britain* for the *Roman* service abroad. Which practice *Galgacus* in his famous speech complains of to his *Caledonians*^c. Tho' *Britannicus exercitus* is no doubt to be often taken otherwise, as in that passage of *Tacitus* already quoted: *In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sane aliae legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt.*

FROM what has been hitherto said concerning these legions, it appears that for twenty four or twenty five years there were four legions in *Britain*, from the time of the first invasion under the emperor *Claudius*, till the fourteenth legion was first recalled under *Nero*^d, and then again finally under *Vespasian*. From the first year of *Vespasian* to *Hadrian's* reign there were but three legions here, and one of them (the ninth) very much weakened. And from *Hadrian's* time (in whose reign a new legion came over) to the lowest empire, there still seems to have been but three, the ninth being either wholly broken, or the remains of it joined to that which *Hadrian* brought over.

LEGIO VICESIMA.

THE legion called *Valeria*, or *Valeriana* according to some, or *valens victrix* according to most, is another of these legions, which were at first sent over into *Britain* by *Claudius*. In the *Roman* inscriptions it is thus expressed, LEG. XX. V. V. But critics and antiquaries are not well agreed in reading the former v. Some will have it stand for *valens*, and others for *Valeria* or *Valeriana*. Dr. *Spon* inclines to the latter, and Dr. *Musgrave* argues strenuously for it. The following passage in *Dion* is what he chiefly insists on. "The emperor *Augustus* kept, as I think, the twentieth legion called *Valerian* and *victorious*, who are now in the upper part of *Britain*: as likewise those, who also bear the name of the twentieth legion, and have their winter quarters in upper *Germany*; tho' for the most part these were not called *Valerian*, nor do they now make use of that name^e." On the other hand we have upon another inscription, tho' not in *Britain*, PRAEF LEG. XX. VALEN. VICTR. as will appear in the second book^f; and this pleads strongly for the usual reading, *valens victrix*. As to this, the Doctor confesses, that there was one twentieth legion called *valens victrix*; but as there were more twentieth legions than one, so he insists upon it, that the twentieth legion called *valens victrix* was different from that in *Britain*, stiled *Valeria* or *Valeriana victrix*, from some person named *Valerius*. To which might be added, that there are *alae Valeriae*, mentioned in the *Notitia*, sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Thebaidos^g. Tho' *Pancirollus* in his notes seems to think, that

1) 150 151

^a Hist. Lib. II. cap. 100. et Lib. III. cap. 22.

^b Vitellius e Britannico delectu octo millia sibi adjunxit—adjuncto Britannico exercitu—Britannicus miles, &c. Hist. Lib. II. cap. 32.

^c Hi [liberi et propinqui] alibi servituri aufferuntur. Vit. Agric. cap. 31.

^d Josephus has recorded a speech made by king Agrippa to the Jews in Nero's reign, and before that emperor had recalled the fourteenth legion from Britain; in which he intimates that there were four legions in Britain at that time. Τέσσαρες τίσ-

ματα τὴν ποσὺν τὴν νῆσον διαφυλάττει. Bell. Jud. Lib. II. cap. 16. §. 4.

^e Οἱ ἑκοστὸι, οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίοι καὶ νικητρεῖς ὀνομασμένοι, καὶ ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες. ἔτινας αὐτὰς, ἡμεῖς δοκῶν, μετὰ τῶν τὴν τε τῆς ἑκοστῆς ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχοντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ [τῇ ἄνω] χαίμαζόντων, οἱ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα μὴθ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων Οὐαλερίοι ἐπικλήθησαν, μὴτε νῦν ἐπ' αὐτῶν περιουσιᾶ τούτῃ χρῶνται, παρὰ λαβὼν ἐτήρησι. Lib. LV. p. 564.

^f Cap. 20. See Gruter.

that these took their names from some place near to *Pannonia*. The Doctor also prefers the reading *Valeriana* before that of *Valeria*, because, he thinks, the *Romans* were fond of that termination, when the adjective was to be joined to the word *legio*, of which he produces several instances; tho' *ala Valeria* favours not this opinion. It must however be confessed, that what Dr. *Musgrave* has said on this head is learned and strong. Nor do I well see how it can be confuted; tho' I have so far yielded to authority and general custom, as to retain *valens victrix* in the readings of the inscriptions. This legion however was not, as some seem to hint, under the command of *Vespasian*; for it was the *legio secunda Augusta* which he commanded. The *vexillarii* of this legion, in the reign of *Nero*, were in the battle against queen *Boadicea*. *Roscius Caelius*, who had the command of it, being under some disgust, encouraged the soldiers in their mutinous temper against *Trebellius Maximus* the imperial legate, who at last was constrained to flee to *Vitellius*^a. *Cambden* therefore, and others who think the twentieth legion came over to *Britain* when the emperor *Galba* was the second time consul in conjunction with *Titus Vinnius*, that is, in the year 68, must certainly be in an error. For 'tis plain they were in this island, when *Paetus* and *Turpilianus* were consuls, in 61; at which time happened the battle with queen *Boadicea*. And there is no intimation that they left the island, and returned to it again, during this interval. I believe therefore this legion (at least the main body of them) continued in *Britain* during all these civil wars. And when *Vespasian* got the ascendant, *Julius Agricola* had the command of it given him by *Mucianus*. Dr. *Musgrave* says by *Domitian*^b; but I think the original passage refers it to *Mucianus*, and not to *Domitian*^c. The stated quarters of this legion were at *Deva*. *Ptolemy* and *Antonine's Itinerary* both place it there; and by several evidences, besides the affinity of the name with the river *Dee*, *Deva* appears to be west *Chester*. At this place *Roman* bricks and other monuments have been found, which mention this legion. Dr. *Musgrave* inclines to the opinion, that this legion was settled here in the second year of *Agricola's* being *propraetor* in *Britain*, that is, according to my chronology, in the year 79. But I see not well how this could be, since all the legions seem to have accompanied *Agricola* into *Caledonia*, and to have been in the battle with *Galgacus* near the *Grampian* mountains. If this legion was at all fixed by *Agricola* at this place, I believe it must have been towards the end of his government, or after the last campaign in the year 84. The motions and employment of this legion seem to have been much the same with the *legio secunda Augusta*. It is probable that they were jointly concerned in erecting *Hadrian's vallum*, tho' we have no inscriptions to prove it. That this legion was employed in building the *Roman wall* in *Scotland* under *Antoninus Pius*, is clear from several inscriptions found on that wall, mentioning this legion or their *vexillatio*, and the quantity of the wall which they built^d. If the altar found at *Benwell* fort^e was erected by a centurion of this legion, at the same time as the other was^f by a centurion of the *legio secunda Augusta*, this legion must probably have been thereabout in the former part of *Antoninus Pius's* reign, either doing somewhat upon *Hadrian's vallum*, or in their march against the *Caledonians*. I know not well what time to assign to the inscription at *Lanchester*^g, unless we suppose it to have been set up as they returned from *Scotland*; and that they marched both to *Scotland*, and from it, along what is called *Watling street* in the north. However it is evident that this legion was at *Chester* in the year 154, in the same emperor *Antoninus Pius's* reign. Tho' the altar^h there, was erected when *Commodus* and *Lateranus* were consuls. But the learned Dr. *Musgrave* is much mistaken, when he supposes

^a Tacit. Hist. Lib. i. cap. 60.

^b Julii Vitalis epitaph. p. 73.

^c Agricola statim in partes Vespasiani transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantam licentiam usurpante. Is Agrico-

lam—legioni vicesimae praeposuit. Vit. Agric. c. 7.

^d Scotland, N° 1, v, vi, xxvi.

^e Northumberland, N° viii.

^f Ibid. N° vii.

^g Durham, N° xvi.

^h Cheshire, N° iii.

Chap.6. and auxiliaries in Britain.

supposes this to be the emperor *Commodus*; and then says, he can find nothing about *Lateranus*^a. For this was *Aelius Verus Caesar* (but never *Augustus*) adopted by *Hadrian*, whose life is wrote by *Spartian*. The historian begins with these words: *Cejonius Commodus, qui et Aelius Verus appellatus est*. And according to the *Fasti consulares*, *L. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar* and *Sextilius Lateranus* were consuls together in the year 154. One would expect that this legion bore its part in building *Severus's* wall; but among all the centurial inscriptions upon the face of this wall, I remember not one of this legion, or of any cohort said to belong to it. This makes me suspect that this twentieth legion was no way concerned in that work; tho' I know not for what reason, or how they came to be excused; since it is certain, that they continued in *Britain* long after this. And it is with reason that some have observed, that it was most probably owing to their quartering so long there, that *Deva* was honoured with the name of a colony; as in one of *Geta's* coins with this legend: COLONIA DIVANA LEGIO XX VICTRIX. It is evident from *Dion's* testimony, in the passage I have quoted before, that this legion was in *Britain* under the reign of *Alexander Severus*. They continued at *Chester* under the reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, as appears by the altar and inscription erected by *Longus* and *Longinus*^b. When *Carausius* had usurped the empire, and *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* found themselves obliged to take him for an associate, it is very likely that this legion sided with him, as also with *Allectus* who succeeded him. This some have confirmed by medals; for in one we have the head of *Carausius*, with IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. about it, and on the reverse PAX AUG. On one side of the figure is B, on the other E, for *Britannicus exercitus*; and below the figure these letters, MIXX, which are read *militia vicesimana*, or according to others, who guess the second letter may be an L, *milites legionis vicesimae*. I should rather read *milites vicesimani*, nothing being more common in *Tacitus*, and others, than *primani*, *secundani*, *vicesimani*, for the soldiers of the first, second, or twentieth legion. In the coins Dr. *Battely*^c has given us of this sort, it is MIXXI. And Mr. *Ward* suspects that the second I here may have been mistaken for L, and so it should be read *milites vicesimae legionis*. This twentieth legion having sided with *Carausius* and *Allectus*, might be glad to ingratiate themselves again with *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, after the other two were removed. I am not certain whether it was after this, or not, that this legion was employed in some work at the station at *Whitley castle*, the antient *Alone* or *Alione* in the southwest corner of *Northumberland*^d. Tho' I am rather inclined to think it was later; and that upon this occasion the inscription might be cut upon the rock in *Westmoreland*^e, and perhaps too that at *Kendal*^f, tho' much better cut than the other. The inscriptions at the *Bath* seem to be the latest of any in *Britain*, wherein this legion is named. And if we suppose the legion to have been so late thereabout; it appears most probable to me, that this must have been after it had left *Chester* altogether. At what time *Britain* was entirely left by them, does no where appear. As it is not mentioned in the *Notitia*, 'tis probable it had quitted the island before the writing of that treatise. This seems to be more likely, than that it was resolved into *cohortes* and *equites*, as *Pancirollus* insinuates; or that it could be in *Britain*, and yet not mentioned in the *Notitia*; tho' indeed little or nothing is mentioned there concerning the west of *England*, which must either therefore have been entirely abandoned by the *Romans* at that time, or else unknown to the author, which is not so probable.

SOME have imagined that there were other legions in *Britain*, besides these already mentioned, as *legio secunda adjutrix*, *legio quinta Germanorum*,

^a Julii Vitalis epit. p. 81.

^b Cheshire, N. II.

^c Antiquit. Rutup.

^d See inscriptions in Northumberland, N. cxi.

^e N. IV.

^f N. VIII.

norum, and *legio decima*. I shall offer my thoughts upon each of these as briefly as I can.

LEGIO SECVNDA ADIVTRIX.

THIS legion is mentioned in a sepulchral inscription at the *Bath*, erected for a soldier belonging to it. But this does not appear to me a sufficient proof, that the legion was in *Britain*; because a particular soldier, who belonged to it, might happen to die at the *Bath*, when the legion itself was elsewhere.

LEGIO QVINTA GERMANORVM.

A LATE author^a imagined from an inscription or two, that he had discovered this legion in *Britain*. But LEG. V. in one of these inscriptions, which he reads *legio quinta*, is rather to be read *legio victrix*^b. The other inscription, which he reads *legio quinta Germanorum*, is undoubtedly *cohors Cugernorum*^c.

LEGIO DECIMA.

DR. GALE^a gives us an account of several bricks found at *Caer Rhyn* in *north Wales* with the impression of the name of this legion upon them, LEG. X. But I am apt to suspect it should be XX, one X being broken off; or that both the X's were expressed in a cypher, as usual; for the *legio vicesima* lay at *Chester*. And we are told in *Cambden* of a brick in *Flintshire* with LEG. XX. upon it; which still makes it more likely, that this was one of the same sort. I must therefore suspend my opinion as to these bricks, unless we are well assured they were entire, which is more than now we can be, the originals being lost. Tho' as Dr. Gale says there were many of these bricks, it must be owned, that it is hard to think they were all imperfect; or that the Doctor had been misinformed with respect to them all.

BEFORE I conclude this head, it may not be amiss to add, that when we only meet with the word COHORTS upon an inscription, or its number joined to it, without any farther description of it from its country or otherwise; all such cohorts seem most probably to have belonged to the legions, and not to the auxiliaries. And the like may be said of the word CENTURIA, or its characteristic mark; that all such centuries seem to relate to the legionary cohorts. And probably there are no other centuries mentioned, but such.

AVXILIARES COHORTES et ALAE.

THE auxiliary forces are so frequently and plainly distinguished from the legions, that it seems almost needless to produce any authorities to prove it. The auxiliaries served in the *Roman* camp, but were not citizens of *Rome*. One or two passages will be sufficient to shew this. When *Julius Agricola* formed his army, in order to an engagement with the *Caledonians*, under the command of the famous *Galgacus*, he posted the auxiliary foot in the centre, their horse in the wings, and the legions in the rear, before the trenches; giving this as the reason, that it would add much to the glory of the day,

^a Gordon. Itiner. Septentr. p. 56, 62.
^b Scotland, N. XVII.

^a Scotland, N. xxv. See my observations upon this inscription.

^a Dr. Gale's Antonin. Itin. p. 122.

day, if the victory could be obtained without the effusion of *Roman* blood^a. And *Cerealis* upon another occasion did much the same thing, and perhaps for the same reason. "He filled up the first line with horse and auxiliary cohorts, placing the legions in the second^b." As a legion consisted of a certain number of horse, besides the foot; so likewise the auxiliary forces are frequently distinguished by the words *cohortes* and *alae*, the former denoting the foot, and the latter the horse. Thus *auxiliares cohortes et alae* is a manner of expression very common in *Tacitus*, to express the body of auxiliary troops^c. So *ala Caninefas*, and *ala Britannica*^d; and in inscriptions, *ALA ASTORVM*, *ALA SARMATARVM*, and others signify the horse of the auxiliaries. There is a passage in *Tacitus*, which at first sight would incline one to think, that the legions did not always consist of *Roman* citizens. "Nero orders the youth, who were raised in the nearest provinces, to go and recruit the legions in the east^e." But these young men might be *Roman* citizens, taken from the colonies, or other free towns, of which there were many in those parts.

BUT to come more directly to what I have in view: as 'tis certain, that the legionary troops were different from the auxiliaries; so 'tis equally certain, that both legions and auxiliaries were sent into *Britain* by *Claudius*^f. The legions had their *auxilia* annexed, and modeled according to the form of the legionary forces^g. And when the ninth legion was filled up with fresh supplies, the eight auxiliary cohorts sent over then might be for that service^h. And to add no other authorities, the eight cohorts of *Batavians* are expressly called the auxiliaries of the fourteenth legionⁱ, in a remarkable story related before. These two last passages appeared at first sight to me, to carry in them an intimation, that eight auxiliary cohorts were the number annexed to a legion. From the other part of the story it appears, that these auxiliary cohorts were appointed by *Vitellius* as a check upon the legion, and would have ventured to engage with it, if the two praetorian cohorts had not interposed, and turned the scale. This looks as if the auxiliaries were nearly equal in number to the legion. If we suppose the number of men in the auxiliary cohorts to be much the same as those in the legions, it seems best to make the number of cohorts also equal. *Polybius* tells us that the number of the allies or auxiliaries, as to the foot, was equal to the *Roman* legions; and double, as to the horse^k. And so *Livy* tells us it was ordered in the time of the second *Punic* war, "that the allies should double the number of horse, and equal the number of foot^l." And *Tiberius*, as *Suetonius* informs us, "carried on a war with fifteen legions, and an equal number of auxiliaries^m." This then being the usual proportion, as we find in different ages, ten cohorts of auxiliaries was probably the ordinary number assigned to a legion; and consequently after the fourteenth legion with its auxiliaries were recalled from *Britain*, if the remaining three legions and their auxiliaries were all compleat, there should have been thirty cohorts of each. And tho' it can't be expected, that this whole number of auxiliary cohorts can now be discovered; yet from the assistance of inscriptions, and the *Notitia*, with a passage in *Tacitus*, it may be fully, or nearly made up; and the greater part of them such as appear to have been

^a Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 35. See before, pag. 41.

^b Equite et auxiliaris cohortibus frontem explet; in secunda acie legiones locatae. Tacit. Hist. Lib. v. cap. 16.

^c Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 11, 89. Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 38, &c.

^d Annal. Lib. iv. cap. 73. et Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 41.

^e Nero et juventutem per proximas provincias quaesitam supplendis orientis legionibus admove juberet. Annal. Lib. xiii. cap. 7.

^f Divus Claudius auctor operis transvectis legionibus auxiliisque. Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 13.

^g Legio decima tertia cum auxiliis. Tacit. Hist.

Lib. iv. cap. 62. Additae utrique legioni Germanorum auxilia. Ibid. Lib. i. cap. 61.

^h Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. 38.

ⁱ Octo Batavorum cohortes quartae-decimae legionis auxilia. Hist. Lib. i. cap. 59. Pag. 81.

^k Τὸ πλεονος γίνεται τὸ πᾶν τῶν συμμάχων, τὸ μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἀείκων τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατοῦσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἵππων, διπλασίον. Lib. vi. p. 472. Edit. Casaub. There is an error in the text, of τετρασίον for διπλασίον. It is dupla in the version.

^l Socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pedites aequarent. Lib. xxii. cap. 36.

^m Bellum per quindecim legiones, paremque auxiliorum copiam gessit. In Vita Tiberii, cap. 16.

been here at the same time, and many for a long continuance. This will be very evident by the following account^a.

THESE eight are mentioned both in inscriptions, and the *Notitia*:

Cohors prima Aelia Dacorum.
prima Batavorum.
prima Baetasiorum or *Vetasiorum.*
quarta Gallorum.
prima Hispanorum.
tertia Nerviorum.
sexta Nerviorum.
prima Tungrorum.

The following fourteen are found only in inscriptions:

Cohors quarta Brittonum.
prima Cartov...
Carvetiorum.
prima Cugernorum.
prima Delmatarum.
quarta Frisonum.
prima Frisior...
quinta Gallorum.
prima Hamiorum.
secunda Lingonum.
ex provincia Maur...
prima Thracum.
prima Vangionum.
prima Vardulorum.

The next nine are in the *Notitia* only:

Cohors prima Aelia classica.
prima Astorum.
Cornoviorum.
secunda Dalmatarum.
prima Frixagorum.
secunda Lergorum.
quarta Lergorum.
prima Morinorum.
secunda Thracum.

Here are in all thirty one cohorts. I shall now give some account of each of them in the order already mentioned, both from inscriptions and the *Notitia*.

COHORS PRIMA AELIA DACORVM. This cohort is mentioned in several inscriptions under different commanders and several emperors, at *Burdoswald* upon the wall, in the county of *Cumberland*^b. Some of these inscriptions are as late, or later, than *Gordianus* and *Maximianus*. In one of these it is stiled *GORDIANA*. In the *Notitia* it is placed at *Amboglanna*.

COHORS PRIMA BATAVORVM. This is supposed to be mentioned in an imperfect inscription at *Castlecary* upon the wall in *Scotland*, and plainly expressed in another upon an altar found at *Carrawburgh* on the wall in *Northumberland*^c. The *Notitia* places this cohort at *Procolitia*.

COHORS PRIMA BAETASIORVM. This cohort was at *Elenborough* in *Cumberland*^d; and seems to be the same with *VETASIORVM*, placed at *Regulbium* in the *Notitia*.

COHORS

^a *Gulgacus* in his speech mentions only Gauls, Germans, and some of the Britons themselves. Vit. Agric. cap. 32.

^b N. 1, to xvii.
^c N. xxxii.
^d N. xlv.

COHORS QVARTA GALLORVM. Mention is made of this cohort upon an inscription in *Cumberland*^a. The *Notitia* stations it at *Vindolana*. Inscriptions also furnish us with an equestrian cohort under that name, of which I shall speak presently.

COHORS PRIMA HISPANORVM. This is mentioned upon an inscription in *Scotland*^b, and another in *Cumberland*^c. The *Notitia* places it at *Axelodunum*. There is likewise an equestrian cohort of this name in the inscriptions, which I shall also speak to afterwards.

COHORS TERTIA and SEXTA NERVIORVM. The third is mentioned in a remarkable inscription found at *Whitley castle* in *Northumberland*^d, made in the reign of *Caracalla*; and the sixth in one at *Brugh* in *Richmondshire*^e in the reign of *Severus*. The former the *Notitia* places at *Alione*, and the other at *Virosidum*.

COHORS PRIMA TVNGRORVM. This cohort was at *Cramond* in *Scotland* near *Edinburgh*, where they built an altar to the *Matres Alatervae* and *campestres*^f. It seems to be after this, and probably under the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, that they were at *Castle-steeds* upon the wall in the county of *Cumberland*, where they erected an altar to *Jupiter* O. M. and another inscription, which are now both of them lost^g. Lastly this cohort settled at *Houfe-steeds* on the wall in the western part of *Northumberland*, where we have six or seven of their inscriptions^h, under four or five different commanders. Here they seem to have continued till the lowest time of the empire. The *Notitia* places this cohort at *Borcovicus*.

COHORS QVARTA BRITTONVM. Whether we suppose this cohort to have been raised out of the inhabitants of this island, or those of *Bretagne* in *France*, which was antiently called *Armorica*, it makes no difference in the consideration of them as auxiliaries. There is good reason to think such a cohort had its residence here, from an inscription now in the library at *Durham*ⁱ. And 'tis not improbable the name of the same cohort has been expressed in another inscription in *Scotland*^k.

COHORS PRIMA CARTOV... mentioned in an inscription upon an altar found at *Binchester* in the county of *Durham*, erected by the tribune of the cohort. The altar is now lost, or at least the inscription quite effaced; but if the word should be CORNOVIORVM, this cohort is placed at *Pons Aelii* in the *Notitia*.

COHORS CARVETIORVM, as some read it, is mentioned in an inscription at *Old Penreth*, but this is very doubtful, and the original is now lost.

COHORS PRIMA CVGERNORVM. This cohort is named upon a pillar now in the library at *Edinburgh*^l.

COHORS PRIMA DELMATARVM. This cohort was at *Elenborough* in *Cumberland*, under the reign of one of the *Antonines*^m. These *Delmatae*

are

^a N. xxx.
^b N. xxxi.
^c N. lxii. See also lxiii.
^d N. cxiii.
^e The original is lost. The copy is in the observations on the *Yorkshire* inscriptions.
^f Scotland, N. xxix.
^g Tho' the originals of these are lost, the copies are

in the observations on the inscriptions of *Cumberland*.
^h N. xxxvi—xliii.
ⁱ Northumberland, N. lxxvi.
^k N. xx.
^l Scotland, N. xxv.
^m Cumberland, N. lxiv.

are doubtless the same as the *Dalmatae*. We meet with the word once so written in *Ovid*; according to some copies :

Armeniusque fugax, et tandem Delmata supplex^a.

COHORS QUARTA FRISONVM, and PRIMA FRISIN... The former is mentioned in an inscription found at *Bowes* in *Richmondshire*, made in *Hadrian's* reign. And the latter in one at *Manchester* in *Lancashire*. Perhaps both should be read FRISIORVM, for neither of the words appear at length in the copies of the inscriptions, and the originals are lost.

COHORS QUINTA GALLORVM. This is mentioned in an inscription at *Cramond* in *Scotland*^b.

COHORS PRIMA HAMIORVM. This cohort is thought to be mentioned in an inscription found at *Miniabrugh* near *Stirling* in *Scotland*, and in another at *Little chesters* near the wall in *Northumberland*. Which latter, if it be indeed HAMIORVM (and not GALLORVM) shews them to have been there under *Marcus Aurelius*, when *Calphurnius Agricola* was *propraetor* in *Britain*. Both the originals are now lost.

COHORS SECUNDA LINGONVM. This cohort was at *Moresby* in *Cumberland*, where under *Saturnius* their commander they erected an altar to *Silvanus*, which is now lost. They were also at *Ilkley* in *Yorkshire*, where *Claudius Fronto* their commander erected an altar to *Verbeia*; and they seem to be also mentioned in another inscription at the same place under *Cecilius* their commander, which shews them to have been here in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*^c. They are also mentioned in an inscription at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*^d.

COHORSEX PROVINCIA MAVR... Mention is made of this at *Elenborough* in *Cumberland*, unless the province refer to the tribune^e. The *numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum*, is placed at *Aballaba* in the *Notitia*.

COHORS PRIMA THRACVM. This is mentioned in an inscription at *Bowes* in *Richmondshire*, erected probably about the time of *Constantine*, and in another, when *Virius Lupus* was *propraetor* here^f.

COHORS PRIMA VANGIONVM. This is mentioned on a sepulchral stone, erected by the tribune of the cohort at *Walwick grange* near *Walwick chesters* upon the wall in *Northumberland*, and upon two altars at *Risingham* in the same county^g.

COHORS PRIMA VARDVLORVM. This is mentioned in an inscription found at *Riechester* in the county of *Northumberland*^h.

COHORS PRIMA AELIA CLASSICA. By the title CLASSICA one would be led to take this for a cohort of marines, who might receive their other name AELIA from the emperor *Aelius Hadrianus*. That the Romans had marine soldiers distinct from their land forces is plain from their historians. So *Tacitus*: *Inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero conscripserat*ⁱ. And among the legions of *M. Anthony*, which we find expressed upon his coins, there is LEG. XVII. CLASSICAE^k. And that the sea service

^a Consolat. ad Liv. v. 389.

^b N. xxvii.

^c Yorkshire, N. xiii, xiv. See the observations.

^d N. xv.

^e N. LXVIII. See the observations.

^f Yorkshire, N. i, ii.

^g Northumberland, N. xxvi, LXXXI, LXXXII.

^h See the inscriptions.

ⁱ Hist. Lib. i. cap. 6.

^k Patin. Famil. Roman.

service with them was esteemed less honourable, we learn from *Polybius*^a; where speaking of the *Romans*, he says: “ Except such who were assessed “ under four hundred denaries; for all those they set aside for sea service.” So *Tacitus* referring to these marines, says, “ The rest were encouraged to “ hope for a more honourable warfare for the future^b;” that is, of being advanced from the sea to the land service. And ’tis not unlikely that this cohort might have been formed out of the marines by the emperor *Hadrian*, in honour of whom they assumed the name of *Aelia*, as a lasting expression of their gratitude. But as the *Notitia* places them at *Tunnocelum*, or *Boulness*, a sea port, and consequently a proper station for them upon the supposition of their being marines; I shall not determine, whether they should be reckoned among the land cohorts, or considered as a different body of forces.

COHORS PRIMA ASTORVM. This the *Notitia* places at *Aesica*.

COHORS CORNOVIORVM. The *Notitia* places this at *Pons Aelii*.

COHORS SECVNDA DALMATARVM. This is placed by the *Notitia* at *Magna*.

COHORS PRIMA FRIXAGORVM, at *Vindobala* in the *Notitia*.

COHORS SECVNDA and QVARTA LERGORVM. The first is placed at *Congavata* by the *Notitia*, and the other at *Segedunum*.

COHORS PRIMA MORINORVM. *Glannibanta* was the station of this cohort, as we find by the *Notitia*.

COHORS SECVNDA THRACVM is placed in the *Notitia* at *Gabrosentum*. And either this or the PRIMA is mentioned in an inscription found near *Moresby* in *Cumberland*^c.

I THINK no just doubt can arise about the first eight of these cohorts, which are mentioned both in inscriptions and the *Notitia*. And for the next fourteen, if we scruple to admit the *cohors prima Cartov*... the *cohors Carvetiorum*, *Hamiorum*, and *ex provincia Mauritaniae*; as likewise the *cohors Aelia classica* in the last nine (tho’ I know not whether there be just reason for this with respect to all of them) yet even without them there will be twenty six remaining that are unexceptionable. And if we add to these the *tres cohortes Batavorum ac Tungrorum duas*^d, mentioned by *Tacitus*, they give us three more at least; supposing one cohort of each of these people were the same, with those mentioned before among the first eight. So that upon the whole we have twenty nine cohorts out of thirty, the full number supposed, when the body of auxiliary foot was compleat, which might not often be the case, or at least not long together. Indeed it does not appear from the authorities here cited, that these several cohorts were all in *Britain* at the same time, because some of them relate to different ages. But yet that so many of them as seventeen should be collected from the few inscriptions, which have escaped the common ruin of such *Roman* monuments in barbarous ages, is more than perhaps could well be expected. And that we do not meet with a larger number of these cohorts in the *Notitia*, where we might justly expect the most perfect recital of them; may be owing partly to this reason, that some of these forces may be referred to under different names, as *vigiles*, *exploratores*, *defensores*, and some others, who might be appointed to such services by unequal numbers: and partly to its being written so late, when the

^a Πλὴν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τετρακοσίας δραχμῶν τιμωμένων: τὰς δὲ παλαιὰς πάντας εἰς τὴν ναυτικὴν χρεῖαν. Hist. Lib. vi. p. 466.

^b Facta et ceteris spes honoratoris in posterum

militiae. Hist. Lib. i. cap. 87.

^c N. LXXIV.

^d Vlt. Agric. cap. 36.

the *Romans* were upon leaving the island, and had probably withdrawn part of their troops, or not taken care to recruit them as they wore off; and therefore it mentions but two legions, the *legio secunda Augusta*, and *legio sexta*.

IT would be an agreeable entertainment to the curious, if upon examining the inscriptions, and observing the motions and quarters of the legions and cohorts, it could be discovered with any good degree of certainty, what auxiliary cohorts belonged to each legion. But tho' somewhat might be done this way with probability; yet in the main it would be so doubtful and precarious, that I am not willing to attempt it; and shall therefore proceed to give some account of the *alae*, or auxiliary horse.

THE word *ala* is sometimes used by the best *Roman* writers to express the whole body of auxiliary forces, both horse and foot^a; but most frequently it denotes only the auxiliary horse. And in this latter sense it is to be understood both in the *Notitia*, and our inscriptions. Tho' indeed *Livy* makes use of the words *cohortes alares*^b, and *Caesar* of *cohortes alariae*^c, when they speak of the auxiliary foot. We find the number of eight *alae*, who had their residence in *Britain*, which are these following.

THE three first occur both in inscriptions and the *Notitia*:

Ala prima Astorum.

Petriana.

Sabiniana.

The next three are found only in inscriptions:

Ala Augusta.

Sarmatarum.

Vettonum.

The two following are in the *Notitia* only:

Ala secunda Astorum.

prima Herculea.

I shall now proceed to give some account of each of these *alae*, as I did before of the cohorts.

ALA PRIMA ASTORVM. This *ala* is mentioned in an inscription on a curious stone found at *Benwel* hill, on the *Roman* wall, in *Northumberland*^a; as also upon an altar at *Ribchester* in *Lancashire*, erected by a decurion who belonged to this *ala*; which altar is now lost. In the *Notitia* it is placed at *Condercum*.

ALA PETRIANA. This occurs only in an inscription found at *Old Penrith*, the original of which is destroyed. It is placed at *Petriana* in the *Notitia*, which is one of the stations *per lineam valli*.

ALA SABINIANA. This is mentioned only in an inscription found near *Haltom chesters* on the wall in *Northumberland*^a. The inscription by the form of it seems to have been of the lower empire; and must at least have been later than the empress, from whom the *ala* took its name. In the *Notitia* it is writ *Saviniana*, and is placed at *Hunnum*.

ALA AVGVSTA. This *ala*, which for its valour was called *AVGVSTA*, appears in several inscriptions found at *Old Carlisle*^f. It was there when *Fuscianus* and *Silanus* were consuls, in the year 188; as also when *Apronianus* and *Bradua* were consuls, 191. It still continued at *Old Carlisle*, when *Atticus*

^a Dextra ala (in alas divisum socialem exercitum habebat) in prima acie locata est. Liv. Lib. xxxi. cap. 21. tertium in subsidiis locum alariae cohortes obtinebant. Caes. de bello civili, Lib. i. cap. 75.

^b Liv. Lib. x. cap. 40.

^c Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legionum v; et

^d N. ix. a.

^e N. xviii.

^f Cumberland, N. LV, LVI, LVII.

Atticus and *Praetextatus* were consuls, in 242, under the reign of *Gordian*. Another inscription, the original of which is now lost, was found at the same place, and in it this *ala* is mentioned. It seems by the manner of it to have been much about the same time with the former; tho' indeed there is nothing in it that certainly determines this; only *EQVIS* for *EQVES*, and *ALE AVGVSTE* with a single *E*, look not like the higher empire. As this name occurs in the inscriptions found at no other place, *Old Carlisle* seems to be the only station, at which it continued for any time; and here very probably they remained to the last.

THE dated inscriptions above are none of them so late as the emperor *Maximianus Herculus*, from whom I believe this *ala* afterwards derived the name of *HERCVLEA*. And the *Ala Herculea* according to the *Notitia* was fixed at *Olenacum*.

ALA SARMATARVM. This *ala* is mentioned in three or four inscriptions at *Ribchester* in *Lancashire* erected by some of its officers; but there is no certain date in any of them, and the originals are lost.

ALA VETTONVM. This is mentioned in an inscription found at *Bowes* in *Richmondshire*^a.

ALA SECVNDA ASTORVM. The *Notitia* places this *ala* at *Cilurnum*.

ALA PRIMA HERCVLEA. This seems to be the same with the *ala Augusta*, as I have shewn in my account of that *ala* just above.

Now to accommodate these *alae* to the thirty cohorts, supposed to be in the auxiliary foot, is what I can't pretend to do with certainty. However I shall offer a few conjectures upon it, and leave every one to judge of them as he pleases. Five of these *alae* are mentioned in the *Notitia*, and therefore of consequence must be different. But the *ala Augusta* and *Herculea*, as I have shewn, might probably have been the same. And if we may suppose the *ala secunda Astorum*, which is only found in the *Notitia*, to have succeeded in the room of one of the other two, mentioned only in the inscriptions; which might either have worn off, or been recalled; or if we suppose the *ala Sarmatarum*, or *Vettonum*, to have afterwards assumed the name of *Petriana*, upon their settling at the station so called, or any other of the names for some other reason; this, I say, will reduce the *alae* to six. Now as the *alae* had that name from guarding the foot on each side like wings; if we suppose two of them to each body of auxiliary foot that belonged to each of the three *Roman* legions, this will suit with six *alae* in the whole, and very well account for that number. An *ala*, as historians tell us^b, consisted of four or five hundred. And I have shewn before from *Polybius*, that the auxiliary horse was in a double proportion to the *Roman* or legionary horse, which were about four hundred to a legion. If we allow then four or five hundred for each *ala*, the whole will amount to two thousand and four hundred, or three thousand; which perhaps may seem no improper number to be assigned for a constant residence here, exclusive of the legionary horse. Indeed the five *alae* mentioned in the *Notitia* seem too large a portion of horse for the number of foot cohorts recited there. But 'tis very probable at that time they might only be the remains of them, and far from complet. And as to those separate bodies of horse mentioned there distinct from the *alae*, they might belong to them, tho'

^a Yorkshire, N. 1.

de B. A. cap. 67. Campanorum alam, quingentos fere equites, excedere acie jubet. Liv. Lib. x. cap. 29.

^b Postquam equites Juliani quadringenti vim hostium ad quatuor mille numero sustinere non poterant, Caesar alteram alam mittit. Hirtius

tho' they were drawn out, and posted at other places upon different occasions.

AN *ala* of horse was usually divided into ten *turmae*, as a legion of foot was into ten cohorts. But in some inscriptions we meet with *cohortes equitum*, or *equestres*; as,

Cohors secunda Gallorum equitum.
quarta Gallorum equitum.
prima Hispanorum equitum.

The accounts we can gather from inscriptions of these equestrian cohorts are as follow :

COHORS SECUNDA and QUARTA GALLORVM EQVITVM. The former of these cohorts is mentioned in an inscription, now at *Old Penreth*^a. The latter occurs in an inscription at *Risingham* in *Northumberland*^b. Both in the *Notitia* and some other inscriptions we meet with *cohors quarta Gallorum*, as has been observed before; but they are not called *equites* in either. And as they stand in the *Notitia* in the list of *Roman* forces, under the governour of *Britain*, among several other cohorts, none of which are said to be equestrian; there is no more reason to suppose this so, than any of the rest. For 'tis no way inconsistent to suppose, there might be two cohorts here with the title of *quarta Gallorum*, one of horse, and the other of foot. Indeed we don't meet with the expression of *cohors equitum* in the *Notitia*, tho' once we find *cohors prima Claudia equitata Sebastopoli*^c; which perhaps may be designed to intimate, that this cohort had been promoted from the foot to the horse service. The way in which the *Notitia* expresses any body of horse here in *Britain*, different from an *ala*, is by the general term *equites*. Thus we have *praefectus equitum Dalmatarum, Crispianorum, and cataphractariorum*^d. And the reason of this may be, that they were not posted by single troops or cohorts, like the foot, but by unequal numbers, suited to the nature of the service, as was hinted before. In like manner we have EQVITES CAESARIENSES upon one of our inscriptions^e.

COHORS PRIMA HISPANORVM EQVITVM. This equestrian cohort is likewise mentioned in an inscription^f. And both in the *Notitia* and other inscriptions we have *cohors prima Hispanorum*, but without the word *equitum*; which I have therefore placed above among the foot cohorts, for the reason given in the preceding paragraph.

SERTORIUS URSATUS^g has furnished us with several instances of equestrian cohorts. Nor is this expression peculiar to inscriptions, for we meet with it likewise in *Roman* writers, especially of the later times, which best suits our purpose. The younger *Pliny* writing to *Trajan*, uses the words, *centurio cohortis sextae equestris*^h. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* not only applies *cohors* to the horse, but what is more uncommon, *turma* to the foot, as *Lipsius* observesⁱ. And indeed most of their military terms are used in more senses than one, especially in the lower times of the empire. *Pliny*, as we see here, uses *centurio* for an officer in an equestrian cohort; and so we have *praefectus alae* and *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus cohortis* and *tribunus legionis* in several inscriptions. Nor did the same body of troops consist always of a like number of men, as has been more than once observed already. But to return to the cohorts of horse, with which our inscriptions furnish us; it may perhaps at first sight appear somewhat strange that none of their names are found to be the same with those of the *alae*, to which they may be supposed

to

^a Cumberland, N. LII.

^b N. LXXXVIII.

^c Cap. 27.

^d Cap. 63.

^e Northumberland, N. CVIII.

^f Cumberland, N. LXI.

^g De notis Roman.

^h Epist. Lib. x. 107, 108.

ⁱ De milit. Roman. Lib. xi. dial. 7.

to belong. But there seems to be no great difficulty in accounting for this; for the *ala* might receive its name from the soldiers of that place or country, or the major part of them, out of which it was at first raised, and 'as these dropt off by death or otherwise, it might be supplied with particular cohorts from other parts, and yet retain its old name as an *ala*, tho' some of these cohorts, when spoken of separately, might go by the name of their own country. So these two cohorts of *Gauls* might belong to an *ala* of a different name, and be considered as parts of it^a, when the whole *ala* was mentioned, notwithstanding their being distinguished at other times by the characters of *secunda* and *quarta Gallorum cohorts*. Nay indeed it seems necessary that each cohort should have some name of distinction, considering how often they might be called out upon separate service.

THE *cohors prima Hispanorum equitum* might be part of the *Ala Herculeae*, the *cohors secunda Gallorum equitum* part of the *ala Petriana*, and the *cohors quarta Gallorum equitum* part of the *ala secunda Astorum*, or another part of the *ala Petriana*. These conjectures are grounded upon this: At Old Penreth was found the inscription containing the name *cohors secunda Gallorum equitum*. And there also was found the inscription for an *emeritus* of the *ala Petriana*. The *cohors prima Hispanorum equitum* and the *ala Herculeae* were near together, the former, by an inscription, was at Elenborough, and the latter by the *Notitia* at Old Carlisle. The inscription with the *cohors quarta Gallorum equitum* was found at Risingham: and there is a military way from Cilurnum (where the *ala secunda Astorum* lay) leading to Watling-street towards Risingham. Inscriptions mentioning the *cohors Vangionum* are also both at Risingham and Walwick chesters or Cilurnum.

WE sometimes meet with military bodies of men under other names, either in inscriptions or the *Notitia*, where it speaks of *Britain*; as *milites* (which may respect the foot in opposition to *equites*) *exploratores*, *vigiles*, with some others, as was hinted before. But as these were not fixed to any certain and determinate number of men, they do not so properly come under our present consideration; for which reason I shall pass them over. The term *numerus* seems likewise to have been used in a general and undetermined sense, not only in inscriptions and the *Notitia*, but likewise in other *Roman* writers. Thus *Pliny* the younger, speaking of two slaves found among the soldiers, says, "They were not yet appointed to any particular body of forces^b." And *Tacitus*: "The troops being dispersed thro' the province^c." And in the same sense *Suetonius*; "The soldiers being called to their duty^d." Hence by an easy trope the *Roman* lawyers sometimes use the word **numerus* for a military roll in which the names of the soldiers were registred. It should seem therefore by these, and other passages, which might be produced, that the word *numerus* was not limited to any particular body of soldiers. And that it equally respected both the horse and foot forces, may seem farther evident from the words of *Ulpian*. "We call an army not one cohort, nor "one wing, but many numbers of soldiers^e." But there is one name that frequently occurs in the *Roman* historians, which seems to have been more limited and certain, and therefore ought not to be omitted; and that is *vexillarii*: I shall therefore endeavour to give the best account I can of this, which appears the more necessary, because it will help us to understand another military term, that we shall often meet with in this collection of inscriptions, namely *vexillatio*.

THAT

^a The stations garrisoned by *alae* are generally in fact of the larger size. Risingham which had an equestrian cohort in it is of the smaller sort. An equestrian cohort was less than an *ala*, or only a part of it.

^b Nondum distributi inter numeros erant. Lib. x. epist. 38.

^c Sparsi per provinciam numeri. Vit. Agric. cap. 18.

^d Revocatis ad officium numeri. Vit. Vespasiani, cap. 6.

^e Leg. 42. ff. de testamento militis.

^f Exercitum non unam cohortem neque unam alam dicimus, sed numeros multos militum. Leg. 2. §. 1. ff. de his qui not. infam.

THAT the *Vexillarii* sometimes denoted part of a legion, needs no other proof than what may be drawn from a single passage in *Tacitus*, where the fourteenth legion is said to have thrown out some threatening words against *Vitellius*, and among the rest to intimate, that tho' *Vitellius* got the better in the fight at *Bedriacum*, yet this signified but little; "since only their *vexillarii*, and not the body of the legion, were in the battle^a." I have singled out this passage, because it seems to give us some general notion that the *vexillarii* were no inconsiderable part of a legion; tho' not the whole of it. The word *vexillarius* in the singular number is frequently taken for an ensign, and signifies the same with *vexillifer*, or the person who carried the *vexillum*. Thus *Tacitus* tells us, that " *Antonius Primus* stabbed a *vexillarius* running away, and having seized the *vexillum* turned it towards the enemy^b." But *vexillarii*, in the plural, appear to me to denote a select number of the choicest and readiest men in the legion, perhaps like our granadiers. And *vexillum* is sometimes used in the same sense by a common trope; as when *Tacitus* says, "Having got together the *vexilla* of the legions, and a moderate number of auxiliaries^c." We find the *vexillarii* detached upon several special occasions from the legions to which they belonged, and sometimes sent to a very great distance. In the war between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* the *vexillarii* of the legions in *Britain* were dispatched as far as *Italy*^d. And it is evident from several passages of the history, that upon any extraordinary emergency the *vexillarii* were ordered from their legions, and moved readily to those places where there was occasion for their service. For this reason we find them joined with the horse in any hasty expedition^e. And in another place the same historian joins the *vexilla* of the legions with the choice of the auxiliaries^f. And again he calls them the strength of the *British* army^g.

As to the number of the *vexillarii* in a legion, *Hyginus* tells us expressly they were six hundred^h. And this account I think may be very well accommodated to what *Vegetius* writes; that every century had its *vexillum*ⁱ, and was divided into ten parts, each of which was commanded by an officer called *decanus*^k. For if we suppose one of these divisions, or ten soldiers in every century, to have been more especially charged with the guard of the *vexillum* of that century, and thence called *vexillarii*; this will make sixty *vexillarii* in a cohort, and six hundred in a legion. *Lipsius*^l and after him *Salmasius*^m suppose the *vexillarii* to be the same with the *triarii*, and usually veterans, who yet remained on duty, and were only employed in beating off the enemy, being privileged with a freedom from other employments. But from some of these inscriptions, which have been found upon the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*, it plainly appears, that the *vexillarii* of some of the legions were employed in that work. And 'tis evident from the account there given of the work, that six hundred men were few enough for that purpose. A smaller number scarce consists with the nature and quantity of work said to be performed by them, which is sometimes equal or superior to that which in other inscriptions is ascribed to a whole legion. Thus that body of the *legio sexta victrix*, in one inscription, are said to have built three thousand six hundred and sixty five paces of the wall; and in another, four thousand one hundred and

^a Vexillariis tantum pulsus, vires legionis non affuisse. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 66.

^b Ut vexillarium fugientem hasta transverberaret. Mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 17.

^c Contractisque legionum vexillis, et modica auxiliorum manu. Vit. Agric. cap. 18.

^d Tacit. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 100.

^e Antonio vexillarios e cohortibus, et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapienti, comes fuit Arrius Varus. Tacit. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 6.

^f Vexilla legionum peditumque et equitum auxilium delectos accivit. Annal. Lib. iv. cap. 73.

^g Britannici exercitus robora. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 1.

^h Vexillarii legionum eandem pedaturam debent accipere, quam cohortes legionariae, quia ad sexcentos homines computantur. De gromat.

ⁱ Singulis centuriis singula vexilla constituerunt. Lib. i. cap. 13.

^k Ut decem militibus sub una papillone degentibus praecesset Decanus. Ibid.

^l De milit. Roman. Lib. i. Dial. 8. et Lib. v. Dial. 19.

^m Script. Hist. Aug. p. 928, 956.

and forty one ^a; which numbers will be found equal to those which are usually performed by the whole legion. And 'tis not improbable, that sometimes the whole legion might be at leisure to engage in this work, and at other times the greatest part might be called off, and only the *vexillarii* left to attend it.

IN all the instances I have hitherto produced from *Tacitus* the *vexillarii* appear to have belonged to the legions; but elsewhere he seems to mention them among the auxiliaries. "Having sent the cohorts of the *Gauls*, *Lusitanians*, and the *Britons* before, and the *German* auxiliaries ^b." In another place he seems to attribute them to the horse, where he says: "From the city itself came no contemptible force, five praetorian cohorts, and the *vexilla* of the horse with the first legion ^c."

THE word *vexillatio* is not found in *Tacitus*, nor any *Roman* historian, that I know of, so old as he, unless once in *Suetonius*, where he tells us; that none came to the assistance of *Galba*, when he was killed, "except the *vexillation* of *Germans* ^d." These are thought to be the same which *Tacitus* calls *Germanica vexilla* ^e, and therefore seem most probably to denote a body of *vexillarii* from the auxiliaries of more than one legion. In the age of *Vegetius*, as he informs us, *vexillatio* was used to signify an *ala* of horse ^f. But in our inscriptions we often find this word applied to a single legion, as in the following instances.

VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS XX. V. V. ^g

VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS VI. VICTR. ^h

VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS II. AVG. ⁱ

And by two inscriptions it seems as if this word was sometimes applied to the cohorts. For in one there is TERTIA COHORTIS VEXILLVM ^k; and I think the true reading of the other is COHORTIVM VEXILLATIONES ^l. The word is likewise found in the *Notitia* ^m, but not applied there to any of the forces who had their residence in *Britain*.

^a Scotland, N. iv, vii.

^b Praemissis Gallorum, Lusitanorum, Britannorumque cohortibus, et Germanorum vexillis. Hist. Lib. i. cap. 70.

^c Ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque praetoriae cohortes, et equitum vexilla cum legione prima. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

^d Excepta Germanorum vexillatione. Vit. Galb. cap. 20.

^e Hist. Lib. i. cap. 31. See the observations on the inscription, Durham, N. xxvi. which seems to

read vexillatio Vardiorum. And Dr. Gale reads vexillatio Germanorum in an inscription found at Lowther in Westmoreland. See my observations for that county.

^f Lib. ii. cap. i.

^g Scotland, N. i, &c.

^h Scotland, N. iv, &c.

ⁱ Scotland, N. xii.

^k Northumberland, N. lx.

^l Northumberland, N. cix.

^m Cap. 4, 5, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

An account of the *Roman praetenturae* in the north of *England*, and particularly of the stations *per lineam valli*.

IT is evident there have been three different *praetenturae* erected here at different times, and by different persons; the first of which was a series of stations or forts, placed quite cross the country. And this I apprehend was done chiefly by *Julius Agricola*, and so is the most antient of the three. Next to this was erected *Hadrian's vallum* and its appurtenances, after which the aforesaid stations might probably go by the name of *stationes per lineam valli*. The last and strongest fence of all was built by *Severus*, which is the stone wall with its appurtenances that lies north from the other. I shall speak a little more particularly concerning each of these *praetenturae*, and first of the stations.

THE series of stations from beside *Cousins's house* to *Boulness* (called stations *per lineam valli*) was certainly prior to the walls; and the greatest part, tho' not all of them, were most probably built by *Agricola*.

It has been a received opinion, and I think not a groundless one, "a that in times of peace the frontier garrisons were kept along the line in castles and cities; but when they were apprehensive of the incursions of their neighbours, part of them for the defence of their own, pitched their tents in the enemy's country, and made excursions into their quarters." And hence we meet with *stationes agrariae* in *Ammianus Marcellinus*^b. It is certain from the express testimony of *Tacitus*^c, that *Julius Agricola* built such a row of forts quite cross the country in *Scotland*. And it is certain that *Antoninus Pius* afterwards built his wall just along the same track. So *Hadrian* first, and then *Severus*, seem to have done the like here in the north of *England*, carrying on their walls along the series of stations or forts, which had been erected before^d. For this reason we find the course of the wall directed, as much as it well could be, from station to station, and making some turns with no other view, but to come up to and fetch in a station; *Severus's* wall generally falling in with the north rampart, and *Hadrian's* with the south, tho' sometimes both the one and the other fall in with the middle. In some particular cases they both keep on the north side, and touch not the station at all, for reasons given afterwards. But on the contrary there is not one of these stations, which is all of it on the north of *Severus's* wall, tho' the case be different with relation to *Hadrian's*. The reasons might be, that the

^a See Camden, p. 837.

^b Lib. xiv. cap. 3. Valesius in his note on this passage of Amm. Marcellinus has these words; *Stationes agrariae sunt praefidia militum, quae in castellis, aut aggeribus publicis explorandi gratia constituuntur. Moris enim fuit Romanis—idque etiam pacis tempore observabatur circa limitem, unde hostium excursus timebatur. Has Vegetius Lib. iii. cap. 8. et auctor vetus post Notitiam Imperii editus simpliciter agrarias appellant.*

^c Glota et Bodotria angusto terrarum spatio di-

rimuntur, quod tum praefidiis firmabatur—summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus. Vit. Agric. cap. 23.

^d Dr. Hunter, Philos. Transact. N. 354. supposes the fort at Lanchester in the county of Durham, or however the balneum and basilica there, to have been built at first in the time of *Julius Agricola*. If this should hold good, it is the more probable that the other neighbouring stations were also built at this time. See the observations on N. xi, xii. in Durham.

the stations were stronger than *Hadrian's vallum*, and so generally left without it; but *Severus's* wall was made as strong or stronger than they, and therefore was erected more to the north, and included them all within it. There is another very strong argument to prove that the stations *per lineam valli* were at least more antient than *Severus's* wall; and that is, there have been inscriptions found in these stations of a more antient date than the reign of *Severus*. So the curious inscription found in *Benwel* fort^a, was erected in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, who is mentioned in it.

THE only appendage, that could well be expected to this *praetentura* of stations, is a military way. And I think it can scarce be imagined, that this could be wanting; especially if *Julius Agricola* (who is supposed to have laid most of our military ways) built these forts cross the *isthmus*. Yet I know not of any vestige or appearance of such a way (except from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran* and from *Cambeck* to *Stanwicks*) unless we suppose the large *agger* on the north side of *Hadrian's* ditch to have been it. This is mixed with stones, and in many places is much broader than ever *Hadrian's vallum* seems to have been. And what I think remarkable and curious, tho' hitherto not observed, is the frequent coincidence of this *agger* with the military way belonging to *Severus's* wall. After which coincidence 'tis beautiful and magnificent, and most evidently the military way of *Severus's* wall. So that 'tis very certain that this *agger* (when convenient and near enough) has been converted into a military way by *Severus*. How probable this may make it, that it was a military way before, I leave others to judge. When the soldiers had occasion to march directly from station to station, as from *House-steeds* to *Great chesters*, it would have been tedious and troublesome to have gone so far about. And therefore where *Severus's* wall runs upon the rocks, and at a great distance from *Hadrian's vallum*, the north *agger* seems still to have continued in use, as a military way from station to station, being a much shorter cut. And this may be the reason why it is more conspicuous here, than any where else, having probably been later repaired. In some parts too (as near *Shewen-sheels*) where *Severus's* military way is separated from the north *agger*, yet this *agger* still continues to look very like a military way. But in other places, where 'tis separated from *Severus's* military way, it is full of breaches, and ruinous; which seems to me a strong argument that it is more antient, and was only repaired where *Severus* had occasion for it, or converted it into a military way for the use of his wall. Sometimes these two different appearances of it may be observed in a small space, according as it is united to, or separated from the other military way. The vastly great stones too, that lie beyond *Walwick*, upon the north *agger*, are upon that part of it, which is separated from *Severus's* way. I know not whether they can have been wrought out of the rock, and left there when the wall of *Severus* was building, or whether they can be such as have been lifted out of *Hadrian's* ditch, when 'twas first made, and carried on thro' the rocks that are here under the ground. If this conjecture be admitted, it furnishes another argument to shew that the north *agger* was prior to *Hadrian's* work. And the reason why these large stones were left upon the old military way, might be, that there was now a shorter way made from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran*; and consequently this part of the former way between *Walwick chesters* and *Carrawbrugh* was less necessary, and less frequented. And I don't see which way they could add to the strength of the *agger* if we should suppose it to have been one, those on the south side are removed within, or more to the south than the southern *agger*, and are not laid upon it. The main objection against its being a military way is, that it lies all the way on the north, or enemies side, with respect to *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch. But if this way was prior to *Hadrian's vallum* it is less to be wondered at, that it should be on the north of it; especially since it is very much within the fence, or on the south side of
the

^a Northumberland, N. VII.

the line of the stations, for whose use and service it may have been originally intended. And the other military way laid within the fence of *Hadrian's vallum* from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran*, and probably from *Cambeck* to *Stanwicks*, may have partly supplied this inconvenience. Perhaps *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch, at the same time that it joined and strengthened the stations, might also have been designed for a place of retreat for the soldiers, if they should at any time be suddenly attacked on their march. If the *vallum* of *Hadrian* had been carried on all the way on the north side of what I take to have been the old military way, it must have been in the main much weaker than now it is. For as the north *agger* very often runs along the southern skirt of the hills; so if the ramparts and ditch had been north of it, they must have gone along the very side or declivity of the hill, leaving the upper part of it on the north. They might therefore rather chuse to make the *vallum* stronger, tho' this military way should be more exposed to the enemy. The *vallum* was to be a constant fence to the whole province, the military way was only used on occasions; and therefore it was certainly advisable to give the preference to the *vallum* with respect to strength and security. Especially since, as I have just hinted, this very *vallum* might be also a security to the soldiers when marching, for upon the first appearance or intelligence of the enemies approach, they might quickly retire behind it. I confess I have not observed any convenient passages over *Hadrian's* ditch, except at the stations. There might be such originally, especially where the intervals between the stations were the greatest, tho' now not visible, or not distinguishable from the modern passages made for the husbandmens carriages, which are very frequent. But as we must suppose that whenever a body of men marched along this way, the *Romans* had always their scouts and outguards, besides their advanced stations at *Risingham*, *Riechester*, and other places; so they could scarce be so suddenly attacked by any considerable force, but that they might have time to get into the nearest stations, if they could not pass over the ditch. However it is evident that this difficulty will at least bear harder upon the common opinion; that this north *agger* was properly a rampart, where the *Romans* received the first assault of a northern enemy. For if they should be beat off it, they must of course fall into the ditch, if they could not readily pass it. I think the north *agger* generally runs along such ground as is the fittest within any reasonable compass for a military way, and such as the *Romans* usually made choice of. For it either keeps ground that is a little higher than the adjacent, or else the skirt of a hill without climbing it. By this means the way was preserved dry, and the rain run off as it fell. In some places, I remember, there is a small trench on each side, where the way lies lower, no doubt for draining the water off; which is a farther confirmation of its being a military way. And even where 'tis the most rugged and broken, it has as much the appearance of a military way as most other elevated ridges, that are universally allowed to be *Roman* military ways. But it is time to return from this digression.

THE stations *per lineam valli* have long exercised the learning and skill of our antiquaries. Nor have they ever yet been determined in a clear and satisfactory manner. This matter therefore may deserve a careful enquiry. But before I directly speak to these stations, it may not be amiss briefly to shew what we are to understand by *statio* and *castra stativa*. The *Roman castra* were either *aestiva* or *hiberna*, a summer encampment or winter quarters; and the former either for a shorter, or a longer continuance. The encampments made upon a march were called absolutely *castra*, and in the lower empire *mansiones*. The more lasting summer encampments, as well as the winter quarters, were both of them *castra stativa*, and are so called by *Vegetius**. The word *statio* (as *excubiae* and *vigiliae*) is used in *Caesar*, *Tacitus*, and other good writers, for the duty of soldiers upon guard, or for the men that

* Lib. III cap. 8.

that were employed in this duty. But in the later times it is by a metonymic applied to the fort or place where the soldiers lodged, or were on their duty, in which sense it is to be understood in this chapter. The stations here treated of are, I think, much of the same nature with *Vegetius's castella*; which, according to him, "were often built like towns, and in the borders of the empire, and where there were constant guards and fences against the enemy^a." Nor are they unlike those *castra* which (according to some) were built at the bounds of the empire; and when taken separately are expressed by the word *castrum* in the singular number, to which *Callistratus* seems to refer^b. And yet the modern *English* name given to these stations upon the wall, derived from the *Latin*, runs in the plural; for they are generally called *chester*s, not *chester*. According to *Isidore*, "the antients gave the name of *castrum* to a town in a high situation^c." But the stations I am now to treat of, are in fact strong fortifications, for the most part of no great compass or extent, within which were houses or barracks for lodging the soldiers. In such places the soldiers, I believe, had their usual winter quarters; and here also they kept garrison, even in time of peace. I find in fact that there have generally been *castra aestiva*, or summer encampments, as well as smaller exploratory forts not far from these stations. But whereas the ramparts of the stations are faced with regular stones, besides the stone buildings within them; in the other, that is, in the exploratory forts and summer encampments little or no stone-work at any time appears. And sometimes the same fortified ground seems to have served both for exploration and for the summer encampments. *Montfaucon* speaks of oval and circular camps represented upon *Trajan's pillar* at *Rome*^d. *Vegetius* mentions them expressly, and lays down the method of fortifying them^e. 'Tis certain from that at *Elsdon* in *Northumberland*, that the *Romans* sometimes used circular forts here in *Britain*, at least upon the top of a hill; nor could they well in these cases have them of a different figure. But the figure of the stations I now treat of is generally square, or a regular oblong. Adjoining to these stations there were usually other buildings forming a sort of town, to which the station was in the nature of a citadel, where the soldiers lodged and kept garrison. This agrees very well with what I have just now cited from the *Roman* lawyer and *Isidore*. *Festus* tells us these were called *procestria*^f.^α And *Tacitus* seems to allude to this custom, when he says, "The works that in time of peace had been built like a free town not far from the camp, were destroyed lest they should be of any service to the enemy^g." Other particular circumstances, relating to the situation and manner of building, I shall have occasion to take notice of afterwards. Of this sort, I say, were the stations *per lineam valli*, the account of which we have in the *Notitia*. And this series of stations is not unlike one of *Antonine's itinera*, only with this disadvantage, that the distance from station to station is not set down in the *Notitia*, as it is in the *Itinerary*. However I am much mistaken, if in order to discover and fix these stations, we need do any more, than keep close to the wall and the *Notitia*.

LET us therefore first see what our author says of this matter, where he is reckoning up those officers, that were, as he expresses it, *sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Britanniarum*. Having at the beginning of the chapter^a mentioned

^a Haec castella saepe structa instar oppidorum et in finibus imperii, et ubi perpetuae stationes et praetenturae contra hostem. Veget. Lib. 1. cap. 22.

^b Inquilini castrorum a tutelis excusari solent: nisi eorum, qui et ipsi inquilini sunt, et in eodem castro, eademque conditione sunt. Leg. 17. §. 7. ff. de excusationibus.

^c Castrum antiqui dicebant oppidum loco altissimo situm, quasi casam altam, cujus pluralis numerus castra, diminutivum castellum.

^d Tom. iv. part. i. liv. v. chap. 2.

^c Lib. 1. cap. 23, 24.

Processoria dicuntur quo proceditur in muro. Aelius processoria aedificia dixit esse extra portam. Processoria, quae sunt ante castra. *And so says an ancient Glossary.* processoria, δεικνύματα πρὸ παραμ. Col. 11.

▪ Subversa longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii extracta, ne hostibus usui forent. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. 22.

Cap. 63.

a. H. c. p. ro. ten
 quam am. s. quib
 un. vint. portu
 sod. em. vito, quo
 m. n. t. cur. in. a
 m. an. a. p. l. o. t. e
 itea. ir. r. u. m. p.
 a. n. t. u. r. e. n. e. p.
 v. i. f. e. i. o. i. g. e. t. i. s.
 p. a. r. t. e. a. l. l. o. i. s.
 c. a. s. t. r. i. s. a. p. p.
 y. l. i. a. n. t. i. b. u. s.
 u. t. q. u. e. s. u. b.
 t. e. n. d. o. n. t. u.
 r. e. s. n. i. p. i. s. u. d.
 h. a. b. e. n. t. f. e.
 t. e. m. s. u. o. p. i.
 n. o. b. i. s. d. e. m.
 t. u. b. e. n. t. u. r.
 p. r. i. m. u. m. i. n.
 c. o. l. o. r. i. s. i. n. f.
 s. u. s. t. i. n. t. C.
 L. v. m. 24. T. o. n.
 h. o. r. t. e. n. t. o. r. i.
 a. s. i. n. V. i. r. g.
 L. II. v. 29.

mentioned fourteen, who resided and commanded in the *Roman* garrisons (all of them in *Yorkshire* or the western and northern counties adjoining to it) he adds immediately :

Item per lineam valli

Tribunus cohortis quartae Lergorum Segeduno.
Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum ponte Aelii.
Praefectus alae primae Astorum Conderco.
Tribunus cohortis primae Frixagorum Vindobala.
Praefectus alae Savinianae Hunno.
Praefectus alae secundae Astorum Cilurno.
Tribunus cohortis primae Batavorum Procolitia.
Tribunus cohortis primae Tungrorum Borcovico.
Tribunus cohortis quartae Gallorum Vindolana.
Tribunus cohortis primae Astorum Aesica.
Tribunus cohortis secundae Dalmatarum Magnis.
Tribunus cohortis primae Aeliae Dacorum Amboglanna.
Praefectus alae Petrianae Petrianis.
Praefectus numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum Aballaba.
Tribunus cohortis secundae Lergorum Congavata.
Tribunus cohortis primae Hispanorum Axeloduno.
Tribunus cohortis secundae Thracum Gabrosenti.
Tribunus cohortis primae Aeliae classicae Tunnocelo^a.
Tribunus cohortis primae Morinorum Glannibanta^b.
Tribunus cohortis tertiae Nerviorum Alione^c.
Cuneus Armaturarum Bremetenraco.
Praefectus alae primae Herculeae Olenaco.
Tribunus cohortis sextae Nerviorum Virofido.

It is not said, nor does it appear, that all these twenty three stations, to the end of the chapter, were exactly upon the line of the wall. 'Tis very plain indeed, that according to this writer *Segedunum* was the first, for that immediately follows the title *per lineam valli*; but he has not told us expressly at what place or station they end. I hope to make it evident, that *Tunnocelum* was the last of those stations that are strictly upon the line; and that the other five mentioned immediately after, at the end of the chapter, were on the south side of the wall, lying in a line nearly parallel to it, and not many miles distant from it, and by military ways communicating with it.

BUT before I enter upon this, I must observe, that there are some places, which have been long possessed of ancient names and ranked among these stations *per lineam valli*, whose claim ought justly to be discarded; since the grounds of it are purely imaginary. *Tinmouth*, *Sighill*, *Pont island*, and *Berwick hill*, may have some seeming affinity with *Tunnocelum*, *Segedunum*, *Pons Aelii*, and *Borcovicus*; but as there is not the least vestige of a station at these places, nor the appearance of any kind of *Roman* antiquity, a small similitude of name should carry no great weight with it. Besides, these are all on the north side of the wall, and at some distance from it, and their situation and circumstances don't suit in other respects with the character of these stations. I am so far from believing *Tunnocelum* to be the most eastern station upon the wall (as it must be if we fix it at *Tinmouth*) that I am satisfied

^a The best editions of the *Notitia* have this name *Tunnocelum*; for which reason I have kept to this; tho' I believe the original name, and so the true orthography, may have been *Itunocelum*. *Cæsar* has the names *Ocelum* and *Graioceli* in Gaul. "Ibi Centrones et Graioceli, et Catiriges—Ab Ocelo quod est citerioris provinciae extremum." *De Bel. Gal. Lib. 1. c. 8.* I think the reading with a single *I* preferable to that with a double one.

^b The several editions of the *Notitia* seem to agree

in the name *Glannibanta*, tho' it be *Glanoventa* in the *Itinerary*. Perhaps this latter is the truer and better orthography. Yet when I speak of it as a station in the *Notitia*, I rather chuse to call it by the name it bears in that book.

^c This is called *Alione* in the *Notitia*, and *Alone* in the *Itinerary*. And accordingly I use the one name or the other as I have the one or the other of those books in view.

fied it is the most western of all those which are close upon the line. One principal motive that has induced *Cambden*, and some others after him, to set *Tunnocelum* at *Tinmouth*, is a seeming affinity of sound, and the castle's standing upon a rock or little promontory; for *Tunnocelum* is *promontorium Tunae*. But the affinity of sound between the two names is plainly imaginary. For it is not *Tinocelum* but *Tunnocelum* in the *Notitia*, and *Unocelum* in one edition of it. Besides I want to have it proved, that *Tina* or *Tyna* was the antient name of that river, which we now call *Tine*. *Vedra* is the only river which *Ptolemy* names in these parts; and one would rather take this for the *Tine* than the *Were*, as being more considerable, and in all probability much better known. *Ptolemy* seems to have laid down the *isthmus* from *Tine* to *Solway* frith with sufficient exactness as to the distance, making it about fifty five miles, such as sixty go to one degree of a great circle, which I believe will prove right. *Hadrian's vallum* was built some time before, and the length of it is mentioned by the *Roman* historians, which might therefore be known to *Ptolemy*: so that, I say, from the situation of the river according to *Ptolemy*, from the station (which seems to have been antient) at the mouth of the river near *South Shields*, and the military way leading to it; from the nearness of *Hadrian's vallum* to this river, and the series of stations upon it: from all these considerations I cannot but conclude, that our river *Tine* was known to this antient geographer, and that it is in fact the very same which he calls *Vedra*^a. Between the *Humber* and the frith of *Forth* no rivers are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, but *Vedra* and *Alaunus*. The latter of these I take to be *Tweed*, into which the river *Allon* in *Scotland* does run; and the other is most probably the *Tine*, whose situation answers exactly. As for *Ptolemy's Tine*, it is situated between the *Tay* and *Forth* in *Scotland*, and therefore cannot be ours; nor does it seem to be the frith of *Tain*, or the small river *Tine* in *Scotland*, tho' the affinity of name might lead one to think so^b. This then being the case, why should not a manifest and real affinity rather direct our thoughts to the frith of *Ituna*. This name of *Ituna* is older than the *Notitia*, for it is mentioned by *Ptolemy*; nor could it well be otherwise, since there is scarce any part of *Britain* that seems to have been more frequented, or better fortified by the *Romans*, than that which is near *Solway* frith. Besides the military ways, the stations in *Cumberland* are very numerous, more so in proportion to its extent, than perhaps in any other county. And the west end of the wall is closer set with stations than the east. The reason seems to be, that as the *Romans* first marched and conquered this way when they went into *Caledonia*, so afterwards this was frequently the seat of the war. And since 'tis not uncommon in forming such names to drop the first letter or syllable of the antient words^c; how much more natural is it to suppose *Tunnocelum* or *Unocelum* to have been rather *Itunae*, than *Tinae ocelum*? And this leads us directly to *Boulness*; which the learned Dr. *Gale* truly describes to be *promontorium impendens aestuario*^d, that is, *aestuario Itunae*^e. Tho' he with *Cambden*, and all our other antiquaries, supposes *Boulness* to be *Blatum Bulgium* mentioned in *Antonine's itinerary*. But till I see more reason to the contrary, I must conclude this place to be *Tunnocelum*, which was garrisoned by the *cohors Aelia classica*, who probably were marines.

^a There are in Britain several rivers bearing the name *Alaunus* or *Alauna*. See *Ptolemy* and *Ravenas*—There are several rivers now called *Alne* or *Allon*. There are two of that name which run when united into *Tine*, and another that runs into *Tweed*. And that upon which *Alnwick* and *Alnham* stand in *Northumberland*. This shews that the Britons did sometimes call several rivers by the same name. Perhaps *Vedra* has been the name both of the river *Tine* and *Were*. The tract that lies between the two rivers, and is bounded on each side by them, is now called *Werewickshire*.

^b *Ptolemy* writes the name *Tina* with an *i*, and

not with an *u*. And in antient grants the Latin word *Tina* is wrote with an *i*, and not with a *y*.

^c This I take to be the case in *Lanchester* from *Glannibanta* or *Glanoventa*, where besides the dropping the latter part of the antient name (as is very usual) the first letter is also sunk. According to the common opinion the first syllable of the old name is sunk in *Maldon* from *Camulodunum*. And all agree that *York* has risen from *Eboracum*.

^d *Anton. Itiner.* p. 34.

^e The termination *Ness* in old English signifies a promontory.

marines. And that *Blatum Bulgium* ought not to be placed here, but north from the wall, I hope to shew very plainly afterwards. For tho' the *Notitia* mentions only those stations that are on the very wall, or south from it; yet some advanced stations north of the wall are set down in *Antonine's Itinerary*, and *Blatum Bulgium* is, I think, one of these. The strongest argument in favour of the common opinion, that *Tinmouth* is *Tunnocelum* seems to be taken from the *Saxon* name *Tunnacester*^a. But *Bede* who furnishes the argument has also removed the difficulty, by observing that it had this name from the abbot *Tunna*, tho' *Cambden* thinks from the river. But now if *Boulness* (or *Bonefs* as 'tis pronounced) be *Tunnocelum*, in settling the stations *per lineam valli*, there will be no occasion for departing from the order of the *Notitia*. I need add nothing as to the other three places, *Sighill*, *Pont island*, and *Berwick hill*, which I have also dismissed from the number of these stations; only that the name of *Pont Eland* (if it should not rather be *Pont island*) is easily accounted for, without having recourse to *Pons Aelii*; namely from the river *Pont* which runs by the village, and the name *Eland* which is common to it with some other places. There is a place called *Eland* in *Yorkshire*, where according to *Cambden*^b there is a fine bridge, and where also some *Roman* bricks have been found; and yet no body I believe did ever imagine this to be *Pons Aelii*; whereas at *Pont Eland* the ford is very shallow, and the bridge inconsiderable, and by no means grand enough to bear the name of *Pons Aelii*, or to give that name to the village.

LET us now take a view of the wall, and compare the yet visible stations upon it with the series given us in the *Notitia*. And I hope every judicious antiquary will be pleased with the prospect. For if we proceed regularly, we shall find the stations, as they appear to have been on the wall, to answer agreeably to the order in which they stand in the *Notitia*; and every one which happens to be confirmed by inscriptions to come in its due place with great exactness.

SEGEDVNVM. THE wall at the east end manifestly terminates in a station near to *Cousins's house*, the ruins of which station are yet very visible. This no doubt is the *wall's end*; tho' the village which at present bears that name, is about half a mile off, or more. *Cambden* takes it for granted, that this is *Vindobala* in the *Notitia*, and *Vindomora* in the *Itinerary*^c; supposing these two to be one and the same place, tho' they are certainly different. But the antient name of this station was *Segedunum*, the first of the stations *per lineam valli*, where the first cohort of the *Lergi* was quartered, according to the *Notitia*.

PONS AELII. THE next station on the wall is that at *Newcastle*, to which I think we may venture to assign the antient name of *Pons Aelii*, which was the second station in the series *per lineam valli* according to the *Notitia*, garrisoned at that time by the *cohors Cornoviorum*. I think there are some certain and visible remains of a military way on *Gateshead-fell*, pointing directly towards the part where I suppose the station has been at *Newcastle*, and coming, as I apprehend, from *Chester le street*. Dr. *Hunter* assured me, that he had also observed visible remains of such a way. And it is the common opinion, that there has been a military way from *Chester* to *Newcastle*. This way tends towards the place where the bridge now is. There must then have been a bridge in the *Roman* times over the river *Tine*, near the part where the present bridge stands. And as this communication by a military way and bridge does farther confirm to us the station at *Newcastle*, so I think we need seek no farther for the reason of the name. It is remarkable that those places and

^a See *Cambden*, p. 858. His words are, "Under the *Saxon heptarchy* it was called *Tunnacester*, not as *Bede* affirms from abbot *Tunna*, but from the river." But I must beg leave to give *Bede's* conjecture the preference. He must have known this better than *Cambden*.
^b Pag. 583, 708.
^c Pag. 1090.

and bodies of troops which were called after the emperor *Hadrian*, generally assumed the name of *Aelius*. Thus we have in garrisons on this wall *cohors Aelia classica*, and *cohors Aelia Dacorum*, not to mention the towns and provinces that went by this name. And if *Hadrian's vallum* was begun at the west end, and terminated at *Newcastle*, which I shall shew in the next chapter not to be improbable; then no station was more likely than this to be honoured with the name of that emperor.

THE next station on the wall is that at *Benwell* hill, which remains still distinct and apparent. And this falls in course to be *Condercum*, the name given in the *Notitia* to the third in the series, where the *ala prima Astorum* was quartered. And I very happily met with an inscription which plainly confirms this place to be the antient *Condercum* by the express mention it makes of the *ala prima Astorum*. It was in the collection of the late Dr. *Woodward*, and found at this station^a. CONDERCVM.

THE ruins of the large station at *Rutchester* are yet more remarkable than those at *Benwell*. And as this is the next upon the wall, so it comes in the proper order for *Vindobala*, the fourth station in the series of the *Notitia*, and the quarters of the *cohors prima Frixagorum*. Some have thought *bala* signifies a place where any river or brook issues out of a lake, but according to others it signifies a village^b. The former etymology does not so well suit this place; but if *bala* signifies a village, and *vin* or *pen* denotes a high situation, this sense of the word may well be applied to *Rutchester*. VINDOBALA.

HALTON chesters is the next fort that appears upon the wall. This comes at a due distance and in a proper order for the antient *Hunnum*, the fifth station in the series of the *Notitia*, garrisoned by the *ala Sabiniana*. And 'tis much the inscriptions and other circumstances which greatly confirm it to be so, should hitherto have been quite overlooked, tho' the inscriptions were first published by *Cambden* himself; and the principal one yet remains at *Conington*, and is still very legible, in which the *ala Sabiniana* is expressly mentioned^c. That this inscription came from this station; or near it, is very evident from the account which *Cambden* has given us. He says it was found near *Halton* or *Aydon castle*. And this station is just beside *Halton*, and about half a mile from *Aydon castle*. And what that learned writer himself has observed^d, may serve farther to confirm and illustrate this matter: "That *Aydon* in the *British* tongue signifies a military wing or troop of horse;" which makes it probable, that *Aydon castle* in the neighbourhood may have had its name from the *ala* which lay at this station. Mr. *Gordon* omitting the station at *Halton* makes *Walwick chesters* to be *Hunnum*^e, and supposes *Cilurnum*, the next station in the *Notitia*, to have been between *Walwick chesters* and *Procolitia* or *Carrowbrugh*, but now intirely demolished^f. This cannot hold, for the walls and their appurtenances are here in the greatest perfection, as Mr. *Gordon* has remarked. How then should a fort upon that part of the wall be entirely ruined, so as not to have the least vestige remaining? Besides the great distance between *Rutchester* and *Walwick*, which is above twelve miles, shews that there must have been at least one station between them. And on the other hand the small distance between *Walwick chesters* and *Carrowbrugh*, which is little more than three measured miles, renders it most unlikely that there ever should have been another station between them. HUNNUM.

THE next station in the order of the *Notitia* is *Cilurnum*, where the *ala secunda Astorum* was quartered. For this we have *Chesters* near *Walwick*, which CILURNVM.

^a See the account of it in the observations on Northumberland, N. ix.

^b See *Cambden*, p. 662.

^c See it Northumberland, N. xviii.

^d Pag. 855.

^e *Itiner. Septent.* p. 73.

^f *Ibid.* p. 74.

which I call *Walwick chesters*, where *Cambden* long ago supposed it to be^a. He calls it *Silchester*, or says however that *Silchester* was near it; tho' I can't find that either this place or any other near it, has gone by that name. That some horse kept garrison here in the lower empire seems probable from the inscription and sculpture yet remaining at *Walwick grange*^b. From the figure it appears to be a sepulchral monument for a horseman, and the rudeness of the sculpture is a mark of the lower empire. It is not improbable therefore, that the party deceased had belonged to this *ala*, which kept garrison here.

PROCOLITIA. *PROCOLITIA* is the next station in the *Notitia*. It was garrisoned by the *cohors prima Batavorum*. And the station that now appears next upon the wall at a due distance, and the most intire of any, is *Carrawburgh*. And by an inscription found at this place it plainly appears, that the *cohors prima Batavorum* was in garrison here. Mr. *Gordon* says that "many stately altars" and inscriptions have been dug out of this fort, having the *cohors prima Batavorum* upon them, and that they have been published by others^c; but I could never hear of any but one, which was published by Mr. *Warburton* in his map of *Northumberland*, and in the *Philosophical Transactions*. It was removed by Mr. *Warburton* from *Carrawburgh* to *Hexham*, and from thence has been carried to *Durham*, where it now is^d.

BORCOVICUS. THE next or seventh station in the *Notitia* is *Borcovicus*, which was kept by the *cohors prima Tungrorum*. And the most celebrated station of *House-steeds*, where this cohort by several inscriptions^e under different praefects appears to have lain, comes just in due place to answer it. 'Tis true indeed this cohort appears by some inscriptions to have been also in other places; but the number and variety of monuments erected here, plainly shew that their settled quarters was at this place, and that it continued here the latest. I know not what the gentleman in the last edition of *Cambden* can mean when he tells us, "The name of this place (*viz.* the *House-steeds*) must be "*Bremetunacum*, for at that place this cohort (*cohors prima Tungrorum*) kept "garrison^f." I suppose he has mistaken what *Cambden* calls *Bremetunacum* for *Borcovicus*. For *Cambden* speaking of *Brampton* in *Cumberland*, says, "I take this to be *Bremetunacum* along the wall where formerly the first "cohort of the *Tungri*, and in the decline of the *Roman* empire the *cuneus* "*armaturarum* were in garrison." But *Cambden's* meaning is evident, that it appears by the inscriptions which he is giving an account of at that place, that this cohort had been formerly near *Brampton*, but that in the decline of the empire they settled at *Borcovicus* (according to the testimony of the *Notitia*) and the *cuneus* at *Bremetunacum*, which he supposes to be *Brampton*.

VINDOLANA. *VINDOLANA* is the next station mentioned in the *Notitia*, at which the *cohors quarta Gallorum* kept garrison. And this must be *Little chesters*. For that this is to be reckoned among the stations *per lineam valli*, I shall shew hereafter. Here Dr. *Hunter* found and copied an inscription, which seems to mention the *cohors quarta Gallorum*^g, but the stone was removed to *Beltingham* church yard, and there used as a grave stone. I went to see it, but found the inscription intirely destroyed. There is another inscription^h too, which I once conjectured to have been found here, and might also have mentioned this cohort, but that is uncertain. This station at *Little chesters* is just in the middle, being a little more than thirty four miles distant from each end of the wall, yet there are nine more stations between this and the west end, tho' but eight to the east end; so that, in the main, the forts upon the wall stand, closer towards the west end than towards the east.

THE

^a Pag. 1081.^b Northumberland, N. xxiv.^c Itin. Septentr. p. 74, 75.^d See Northumberland, N. xxxii.^e Northumberland, N. xxxvi to xl.ii.^f Cambden Britan. p. 1053. Edit. 1722.^g Northumberland, N. i.ii.^h Northumberland, N. Liii.

THE next station upon the wall is *Great chesters*, which in the course of the *Notitia* is *Aesica*. It was garrisoned by the *cohors prima Astorum*, but no inscriptions are found here, that mention this, or any other cohort. AESICA.

CARRVORAN is the next fort upon the wall, which we have no reason to doubt was the antient *Magna*, where the *cohors secunda Dalmatarum* was quartered according to the *Notitia*. Whether the antient name *Magna* was *British*, or whether it be purely *Roman*^a, I cannot determine; but I am satisfied Dr. *Hunter*'s opinion is right, that the former part of the present name comes from the word *carr*, not *caer*. For I was assured that it was both wrote and pronounced *Carrvoran*; and perhaps the other part of the name may be the *Saxon* preposition *beforan*, that is before; so that the design of the name may be to denote the fort with the *carr* before it. For there is a *carr*, or standing water, between it and the walls. The author of the *New survey of England*^b observes (as I think Dr. *Stukely* had done before him) that *Carrdyke* in *Lincolnshire* signifies no more than *fen-dike*, and that the fens of *Ankholm* level are called *carrs*. MAGNA.

BURDOSWALD is the next fort upon the wall, and is very large and remarkable. It comes regularly for *Amboglanna* in the *Notitia*, the station of the *cohors prima Aelia Dacorum*. And the great number of inscriptions^c of different sorts and dates (many of them being evidently of the lower empire) which have been found here, with the name of this cohort mentioned in them, do fully confirm this place to be *Amboglanna*. Several of these stones have been brought cross the water to *Willoford*, which has led some to suppose that the station was there^d. But 'tis strange that any one who has been upon the spot, and viewed the two places, should fall into such a mistake. For there are no appearances of a station at *Willoford*; whereas the distinct remains of the ramparts and buildings at *Burdoswald* are beyond all exception. AMBOGLANNA.

CAMBECK fort, or *Castle-steeds*, as 'tis usually called, lies about a furlong or more south from the walls, but must be reckoned among the stations in the line, and occurs at a proper distance to answer to *Petriana*^e in the *Notitia*, where the *ala Petriana* was quartered. The two modern names of this station, *Cambeck* fort and *Castle-steeds*, are taken, the former from the river *Cambeck*, to which it is near, and the latter from the ruins of the fort that are still very visible. Tho' this is the only instance, that I remember, where the name *Castle-steeds* is given to a station; that being the name which is given to all the millitary *castella*. *Cambden* from an inscription and the likeness of names, would have *Old Penreth* to be *Petriana*^f. And Mr. *Gordon*^g seems to think, that the order of the *Notitia* fails here, and that *Cambden*'s reasons to prove *Old Penreth* to be *Petriana* are very strong. But it is plain from *Antonine's Itinerary*, that the station at *Old Penreth* was called *Voreda*^h. And as I have often occasion to shew, little regard is to be had to a seeming resemblance of names, when the hypothesis is supported by no other evidence. As for the inscriptionⁱ, which is the principal difficulty, it is perhaps of the funeral kind erected by or for an *emeritus* of this *ala Petriana*, and there is no improbability in supposing that this *emeritus* might erect a monument for his friend at *Old Penreth*, who died there, or that he himself might die PETRIANA.

^a Others write this name Magni, but I rather chuse to write it Magna, supposing (if it be Roman) that the word castra is understood.

^b Pag. 241.

^c Cumberland, N. I to XVII.

^d Cambden, p. 1038.

^e The name of this place is wrote Petriani by others, but I prefer Petriana, and suppose castra to be understood.

^f Pag. 1020.

^g Itin. Septent. p. 81.

^h See Gale. Anton. Itiner. p. 39.

ⁱ The original of this inscription is lost. Cambden's copy of it may be seen among the observations on the inscriptions at Old Penreth in Cumberland after N. L.

at this place, tho' his own station was at *Petriana*. We find other instances of the like nature, particularly a *decurio coloniae Glevensis* is mentioned in such an inscription at the *Bath*^a. However 'tis evident from another inscription^b, that an equestrian cohort, called *cohors secunda Gallorum*, was at *Old Penreth*; which cohort might be a part of the *ala Petriana*, and placed at *Old Penreth*, and the *ala* quartered at *Cambeck*. There is also an altar, with an inscription upon it of the *cohors quarta Gallorum*, said to have been found at this *Cambeck* fort^c; which also may be thought to have been an equestrian cohort, and a part of the *ala Petriana*, for it appears from the inscription to have been under a praefect of horse. But I have given my reasons in the foregoing chapter, why I rather think the fourth equestrian cohort of the *Gauls* might belong to the *ala secunda Astorum*^d. However I shall leave the reader to judge of this as he pleases.

ABALLABA.

IF we consider the distance between this station near *Cambeck* river and *Stanwicks*, we shall find it to be above double the mean distance between the stations on the wall, and much greater than the interval between any other two stations *per lineam valli*. For this reason I make no question but there has been a station in this interval, tho' it may not be easy now to discover it. And as the wall itself in several places hereabout is almost quite levelled, it is the less to be wondered at if no certain traces of this station appear. It may have been somewhere near *Scaleby* castle, and part of the collection of *Roman* antiquities in the gardens there may have been the produce of it. I had certain information, that one of those altars was found in a plowed field adjacent to the wall called the *House-steeds*; and Mr. *Gilpin* told me, one of them had been in the neighbourhood time immemorial, and lain there neglected, till his father removed it into his gardens at *Scaleby*. I have observed that most of the stations upon the wall (and elsewhere too) have either had *castra aestiva* not far off, or else exploratory *castella*. If *Watchcross*, by reason of its being so small, and having no remains of stone walls, cannot be admitted for a station, and so must only pass for an exploratory fort (for which it is conveniently situated having a large prospect) I say upon this supposition it may still furnish a probable argument, that a station has not been far off, and consequently that we must look for it in some of the neighbouring villages. But I am most inclined at present to believe this small fort now called *Watchcross*, about eighty yards square, near *Bleatarn*, has been the place of this station. My reasons for this opinion will be given in my account of the present state of the wall. *Aballaba* the next station in the *Notitia* was garrisoned only by a detachment called there *numerus Maurorum*, and so was probably but a small station; and this at *Watchcross* appears to have been the least of any upon the line of the wall. The military way which has passed by this fort (and is there very distinct) is favourable to this conjecture. Because the same reasons which shew *Little chesters* in *Northumberland* to be a station *per lineam valli*, will hold in this case; since the two military ways which take the shortest cut along the wall, in the two counties, seem as to their intent to correspond to each other.

CONGAVATA.

THE next, which is the fifteenth station *per lineam valli* according to the *Notitia* is *Congavata*, where the *cohors secunda Lergorum* was quartered. And the next station upon the wall is at *Stanwicks* near *Carlisle*, of which there are such evident proofs as can't well be contested. *Cambden* indeed has placed *Congavata* at *Rose-castle* upon the river *Caudey*^e. But *Stanwicks* falls in here very aptly, and still keeps us right in our order.

THE

^a Somersetshire, N. v.

^b Cumberland, N. l.ii.

^c See Cumberland, N. xxx. and the observations upon it.

^d Pag. 95.

^e Pag. 833.

THE sixteenth station *per lineam valli* is *Axelodunum* according to the series in the *Notitia*, where the *cohors prima Hispanorum* kept garrison^a. This has been universally taken for *Hexham*, but from mere conjecture, without any reason to support it. We have much better authority to place it at *Brugh* on the *Solway* sands, where it lies in the regular order, and where there has undoubtedly been a station. I am surprized the inscriptions mentioning the *cohors prima Hispanorum*, found at *Elenborough* in *Cumberland*^b, have not been more considered. These shew at least that this cohort was in these parts, and so might settle at last in the station at *Brugh*. And I find by an inscription^c, that the *cohors sexta Nerviorum* was at *Brugh* in *Richmondshire* before the decline of the empire, but according to the *Notitia* this cohort was afterwards fixed at *Virofidum*. I am therefore of opinion that when this cohort advanced to *Virofidum* which I take to be *Elenborough*, the *cohors prima Hispanorum* removed from *Elenborough* to *Brugh* on the sands in *Cumberland*, and that this is *Axelodunum*, at which the *Notitia* places this cohort. AXELODVNVM

ONE station more is yet wanting, before we come to the farthest; and this in the *Notitia* is called *Gabrosentum*, the quarters of the *cohors secunda Thracum*. And for this we have the station at *Drumbrugh*. The *cohors secunda Thracum* seems to have been in *Cumberland*^d, and so might more probably in the later times of the empire be fixed at *Drumbrugh*. I know *Gabrosentum* has been generally taken for *Gateshead* near *Newcastle*, ever since *Cambden* imagined it to be there, but without reason. For as there was a station at *Newcastle* on the north side of the river, it is not easy to suppose that there would be another just on the south side at *Gateshead*. GABROSENTVM.

AS for the last station at *Boulness*, in which the wall terminates, I hope I have already given such proofs, that this is *Tunnocelum* in the *Notitia*, as are satisfactory: Here the *cohors prima Aelia classica* kept garrison; of which cohort we have no farther account, than what the *Notitia* gives us. TVNNOCELVM.

THUS we see how the stations, as they appear in fact to have been upon the wall, answer agreeably to the order, in which they stand in the *Notitia*; and that each station, which happens to be confirmed by inscriptions, comes in its proper place with great exactness. The stations are closer at each end and in the middle than in the intermediate spaces. Yet there seems to be an agreeable regularity or correspondence, with respect to the intervals between the intermediate stations. And the contrivance of them with respect to their situation for prospect, pleasure, and strength, is worthy a remark. What *Tacitus* says of the colony at *Camulodunum*, may perhaps be applied to some stations in the north; but I think to few, if any on the wall: "That the Romans in the choice of them had consulted pleasure and delight, more than strength^e." Most of these are very well chosen for strength, as well as prospect. There is nothing that the *Romans* seem to have had a greater regard to, than the convenience of a river, and perhaps too the additional strength it afforded. I remember, as I pursued one of *Antonine's itinera* for a good way in a journey to *London*, I was pleased to see the justness and truth of these

^a We have *Uxellodunum* in Gaul mentioned by *Caesar*. *Oppidum Uxellodunum—natural loci egregie munitum*. *Bel. Gal. Lib. viii. cap. 26.* This probably is the truer name of *Axelodunum* in the *Notitia*, which is much confirmed by the inscription upon my Lord Hertford's cup, where it is wrote VXELODVN or as Mr. Gale conjectures VXELODVMO in the ablative, as if from *Uxellodunum*. The true orthography, I am inclined to think, is

Uxellodunum or *Uchelodunum*; and that it is rightly derived from the Celtic word *uchel*, high or lofty, and *dunum* a hill.

^b N. LXI, LXII.

^c The original is now lost. *Cambden* copied it, p. 759. and I have placed it among my observations.

^d See *Cumberland*, N. LXXIV.

^e *Amoenitati prius quam usui consulitur*. *Tac. Ann. Lib. xiv. cap. 31.*

these observations. I seldom passed a river, where the military way also crossed it, but I found a station upon it, if the river was considerable, and not too near another. And for the benefit of the meridian sun, which they must need who came from so much warmer a climate, they usually had their stations and out-buildings on the north side of the rivers, and on a gentle declivity. In some instances they chose higher ground for dryness and prospect. And as oft as they could, they seem willing to have joined these together. Tho' I believe the highest stations, especially near the limit, have been mostly designed for the *exploratores*.

BUT to return from this digression. If the stations that are strictly *per lineam valli* end with *Tunnocelum*, what must we do for the five following stations mentioned in the same chapter of the *Notitia*, and which seem to be comprehended under the same general title of stations *per lineam valli*? These are *Glannibanta*, *Alione*, *Bremetenracum*, *Olenacum*, and *Virofidum*. In order to determine these with some probability, it will be proper to take notice of what marks or characters we have to direct us in the inquiry; and these which follow are the principal that have occurred to me.

As the stations which are directly upon the line of the wall go on regularly from east to west, so 'tis probable that these did so too. And as the *Notitia* in the former part of this chapter places the more northerly set of stations before those which lay more to the south; so 'tis farther probable that this secondary line of stations being last mentioned, was to the south of the wall. *Alione* appears plainly from the *Itinerary* to be so, which may incline us to think the same of the rest; not to take notice that, at the time of writing the *Notitia*, the *Romans* had no advanced stations on the north side of the wall. Again, as these five stations are reckoned among, or at least immediately annexed to, those *per lineam valli*; 'tis very reasonable to suppose they were nearest to the wall of any at that time. And as the same consideration renders it probable that the garrisons of these stations were designed, in some measure, for the service and defence of the wall; so it is manifest, it would be very convenient for this purpose to have each of them situated upon some military way, which led directly to the wall. Again, as these stations were held till the time of the *Notitia*, and probably were repaired by *Theodosius*; one would expect, generally speaking, to see larger remains. Two of these five stations are mentioned in the *Itinerary* under the names *Glanoventa* and *Alone*; the latter of which is determined by inscriptions to be *Whitley castle*, and 'tis highly probable from the *Itinerary* that the other is *Lancaster*. Now all this being put together, if it appears that there are five stations, and no more, to which all these characters agree, methinks this should seem a satisfactory proof, that they must be the stations required. There are four or five military ways, that have gone directly from the wall southward. The first is *Watling street*, the second is the *Maiden way*, the third goes from *Carlisle* to *Old Penrith* and so forward, the fourth from *Carlisle* to *Old Carlisle* and so on to *Elenborough*, and the fifth is said to have gone from *Boulness*. Upon each of these ways there has been a considerable station, the remains of which are yet very large; which stations have been the nearest of any to the wall at that time, the highest being about eight or nine computed miles from the wall, and the most distant about sixteen. I might add, that as these secondary stations (as I call them) *per lineam valli* did each communicate by a military way with the wall; so I think it probable, that by such a way they communicated one with another; tho' this line of communication has not always been direct. Thus the communication between *Glannibanta* and *Alione* might be by the military way from *Lancaster* to *Old town*, and from thence to *Whitley castle*, which I take to be the course of the tenth *iter* in the *Itinerary*. The communications of this sort between the rest are more crooked, and fetch a greater compass; but yet there is such a communication.

THESE five stations then I take to have been at *Lanchester*, *Whitley castle*, *Old Penreth* usually called *Plunton wall*, *Old Carlisle*, and *Elenborough*. Now *Glannibanta*, the first of these, is according to the *Itinerary* thirty miles from *Alione* the second; which alone is sufficient to shew, that these two could not both of them be strictly upon the wall. This second series of stations then was placed between the wall and those other stations that are mentioned before in the same chapter of the *Notitia*, beginning regularly on the east side, and crossing the country again to the west, at the distance of a few miles from the wall, and in a line almost parallel to it. This agrees very well to *Lanchester* and *Whitley castle*. They communicate with the wall each by a military way; the former by *Watling street*, and the latter by the *Maiden way*. I believe there never has been another station upon the *Maiden way* between *Whitley castle* and the wall; and those which were upon *Watling street* between *Lanchester* and the wall, namely *Vindomora* and *Corstopitum*, that is *Ebchester* and *Corbridge*, must have been abandoned before the writing of the *Notitia*, because they are no where mentioned in it. There are large and considerable ruins of these stations; and both of them appear by inscriptions to have been late repaired, either the stations themselves, or some considerable buildings about them; which is a strong proof that they continued till the writing of the *Notitia*. There is a very remarkable quadruple *agger* round the station at *Whitley castle*. I believe it will scarce be possible to find any other two stations but these, at thirty miles distance one from another, reckoning along the course of the military way, and any thing near the line of the wall, and which have likewise the other qualifications, that must be necessarily supposed in this case.

GLANNIBANTA.

ALIONE.

THE other three stand also each of them upon a military way leading directly to the wall, and have been (*Luguvallium ad vallum* being as I suppose at this time abandoned) the nearest it of any upon these ways. The remains of each of these stations, and the out-buildings belonging to them, are yet very large and conspicuous, so as, I believe, not to be equalled by any in the north, excepting some others mentioned in the *Notitia* among the stations *per lineam valli*.

OLD PENRETH, which I take for *Bremetenracum*, stands upon the grand military way that leads directly to *Carlisle* or the wall, and is visible almost all the way to it. And excepting *Carlisle* (which I believe to be *Luguvallium ad vallum* but abandoned before the writing of the *Notitia*) there seems never to have been any station on this way nearer to the wall than *Old Penreth*. The remains of the out-buildings here continue very considerable, as well as those of the station itself. The fort is about six chains (or a hundred and thirty two yards) in length, and five in breadth, containing about three acres, which is a station of a middle size. The place near the station is called *Plunton wall*, being a long and scattered village. The fort itself is called *Castle-steeds*, and the house that stands nearest it, the *Lough*, from a small lake, I suppose, just before it. The name *Plunton wall* takes in the whole row of houses, of which the *Lough* is one. This house belongs to Mr. *Samuel Thompson*, who is also the proprietor of *Castle-steeds*. The station lies about two hundred yards from the river *Peterel*, which runs on the west side of it. The ramparts are still very high, and the ditch round them pretty perfect. The four gates, or entries, are all very visible, and just in the middle of the ramparts. The *praetorium* also appears, tho' by working stones out of it they have spoiled its figure. On the west side there is a descent, as usual, towards the river, and great ruins of a town. The ruins of buildings also on the other sides, particularly on the east and south, are very remarkable, and the whole like a *Notitia* station, tho' the stones have been wrought away, and used in building the village. The east and west ramparts are about one hundred and

BREMETENRACUM.

and forty yards long, and the north and south about an hundred and twenty. The *praetorium* is near the north rampart. The situation of the fort is also very remarkable, being one of those that have the prospect every way terminated by hills or rising ground, overlooking the vale in the middle. The distance to new *Penreth* is reckoned about four miles. This station appears to have been possessed by the *Romans* in the reign of *Alexander Severus* from the inscription now at great *Salkeld*^a. I was informed, that the pavement of the military way was sometimes found to be above the foundations of the houses, at a part that lies between the station and *Carlisle*; which looks as if that part of the way had been laid anew, after the town, or part of it, had been in ruins. This station is, as I think, called *Voreda* in the *Itinerary*, and *Bereda* by the anonymous *Ravennas*. According to the *Notitia* the *cuneus armaturarum*, that is horse compleatly armed^b, kept garrison at *Bremetenracum*. By one of our inscriptions (as has been observed already) it appears, that the *cohors secunda Gallorum equitum* was at *Old Penreth*^c, and consequently that this station was sometimes garrisoned by horse; and from the shape of the G, and other circumstances of the inscription, it may probably be gathered, that this was in the lower empire, and that the station was late possessed by the *Romans*, and so the more likely to be a *Notitia* station. Should it be supposed that this equestrian cohort was both a part of the *ala Petriana*, and at the same time itself the *cuneus armaturarum*; there might perhaps be nothing inconsistent in the supposition. *Cambden* supposed *Brampton* in *Cumberland* to be *Bremetenracum* from the affinity of names. And it must be owned that the situation of *Brampton* in one respect would do very well, that is, with relation to that part of the wall, which we must suppose was to be relieved, upon any emergency, by the garrison here. But in other respects it does not answer so well. It is too near the wall, and too much out of the line of the other five stations; besides there is no good evidence, that ever there has been a station at *Brampton*. 'Tis true, that the ruins of a station might soon be buried in so large a town; and there are indeed, besides *Brampton* mote, some trenches not far from the town, but I cannot say they appeared to me like a *Roman* camp of any kind. I must add farther, that there is a military way, tho' now much ruined, which goes out from *Old Penreth* towards *Keswick*, but not quite so far west. This, I take for granted has joined the other way, that passes from *Elenborough* by *Pap-castle* to *Ambleside*; and that a branch has gone off from this latter to *Moresby*.

OLENACVM.

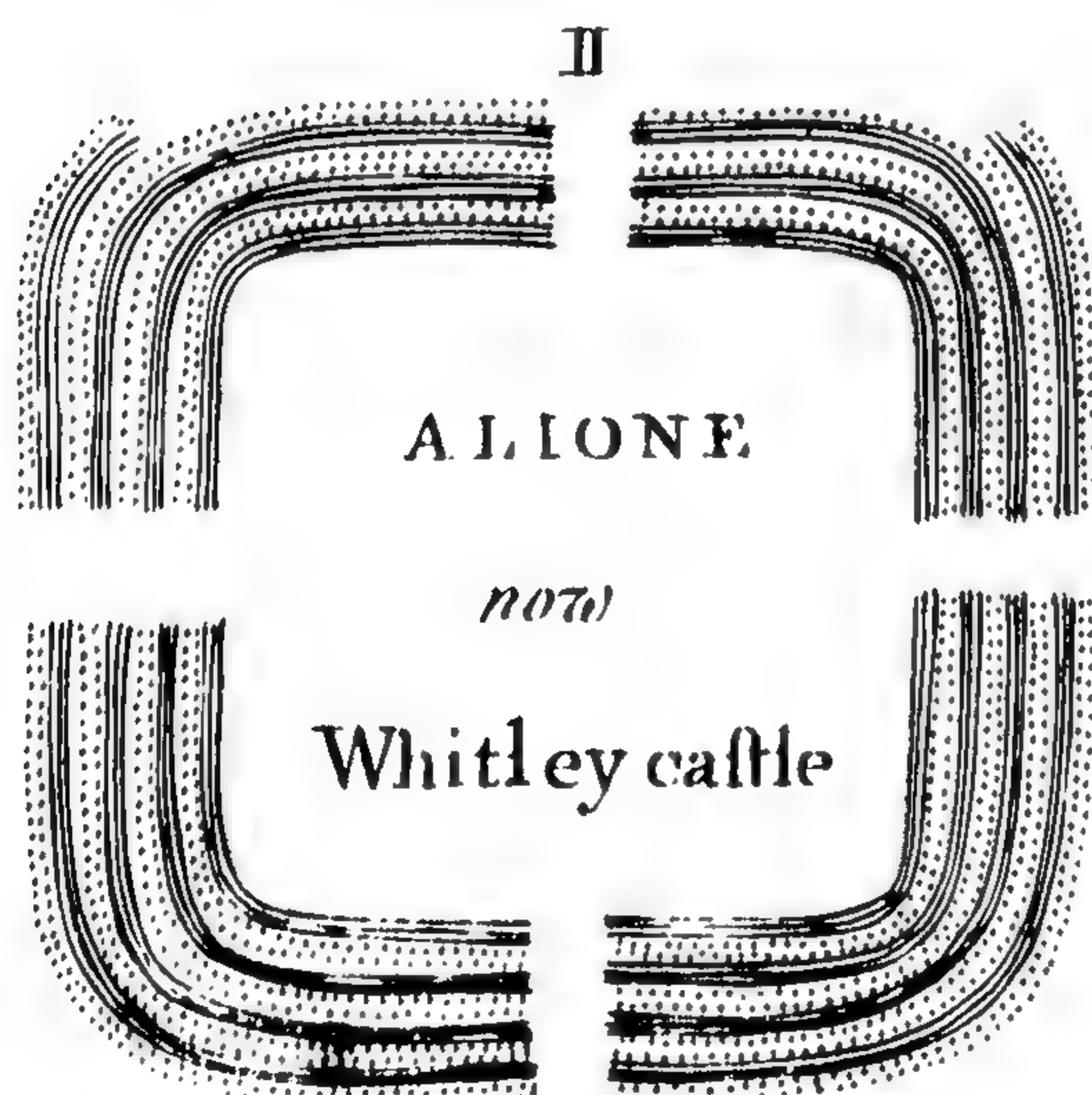
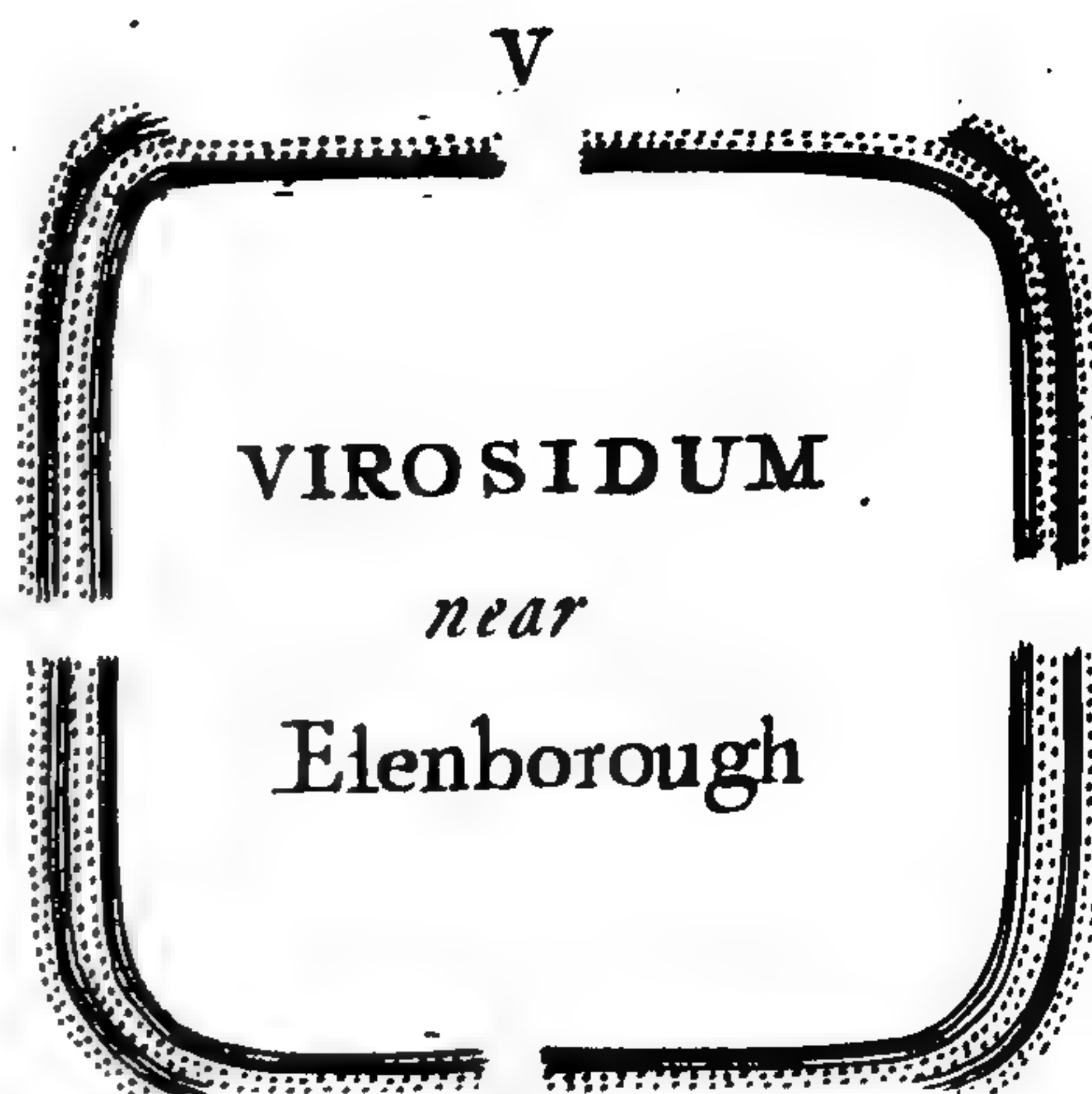
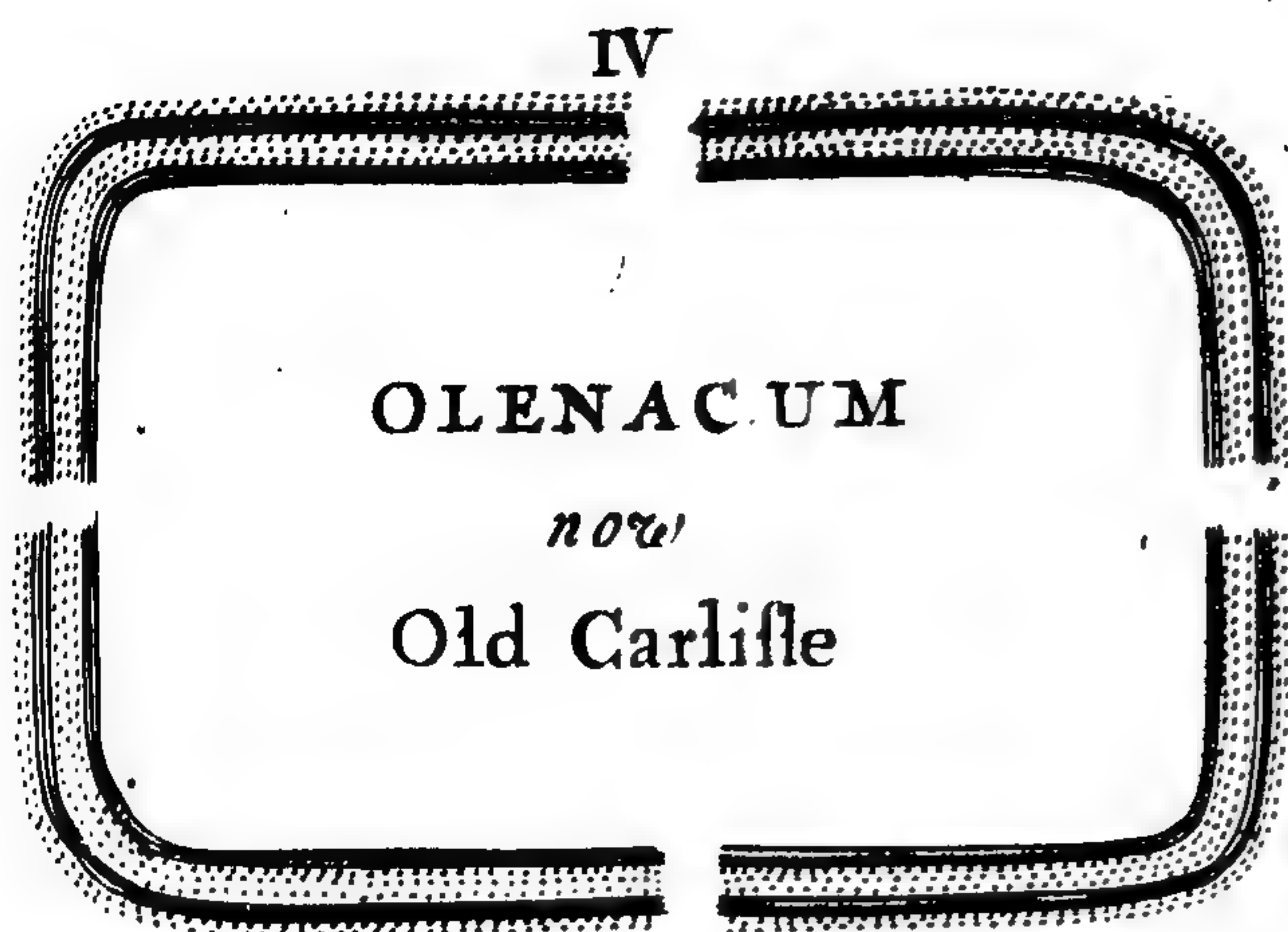
OLD CARLISLE I take to be *Olenacum*, tho' it has generally been placed at *Elenborough*; but I believe the small affinity between the name of the river *Elen* and *Olenacum* is the only foundation for that opinion. The ruins of the old *Roman* town and station here are very grand and conspicuous. It stands upon a military way very large and visible, leading directly to *Carlisle* and the wall; and there is no other station upon this way between it and *Carlisle* or the wall. *Old Carlisle* is about a mile south from *Wigton*, about eight miles south-west from *Carlisle*, and about twelve or fourteen west from *Old Penreth*, and ten long ones east from *Elenborough*. The ramparts of the station lie two of them directly east and west, and the other north and south. There seems to have been a double *agger* quite round it. The river *Wiza* runs on the south and west sides of the station, about half a mile from it, and the descent to the river is steep; yet the out-buildings have been on all sides here, as well as at *Old Penreth*. From this station there is a very large prospect, especially westward, reaching the sea. The *Wiza*, on which *Old Carlisle* stands, may be imagined to have some affinity with *Virosidum* as well as the *Elen* with *Olenacum*, if the order of the *Notitia* did not disagree. According to the *Notitia*, *Olenacum* was garrisoned by a body of horse, called *ala Herculeas*; and it appears from inscriptions, that the *ala Augusta* was long at *Old Carlisle*.
Under

^a Cumberland. N. L. I.

^b Vegetius, Lib. II. cap. 7.

^c Cumberland, N. 52.

The five secondary stations *per lineam valli*:



Watling Street

A scale of 100 paces



Under the emperor *Gordian* this *ala* very probably assumed the name *Gordiana*, in the year 242. And I am much inclined to think, that about forty years after, this same *ala* took the name *Herculea* from the emperor *Maximianus Herculi*, as was shewn before in the preceding chapter^a.

THE last of these stations is called *Virofidum* in the *Notitia*, which I suppose to be *Elenborough*. This station has a double rampart about it, and seems to have been chosen principally for the sea prospect. The extended coast of *Scotland* is here full in view, but there is no great prospect towards the land. There is a round exploratory mount in a point of land, not far from the station. The noble remains of antiquity here appear in great plenty, so that there is no doubt but it has been a *Notitia* station. The same military way which passes thro' *Old Carlisle*, is continued to *Elenborough*. But besides this, another military way is said to have gone from hence directly to *Boulness*, which if true (for I have not seen it) is more observable; since, as I think, there scarce has been any station upon this way between *Elenborough* and the wall. According to the *Notitia*, the *cohors sexta Nerviorum*, was in garrison at *Virofidum*; which cohort is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions discovered at *Elenborough*. But then 'tis also evident from the *Notitia*, that these cohorts, which appear from inscriptions to have been sometime at *Elenborough*, were in the decline of the empire removed to different posts. This makes it probable, that the *cohors sexta Nerviorum* which was before in the western part of *Yorkshire* (as appears from an inscription^b) did advance to this station at *Elenborough*, when the other left it. And I observe, that the *Nervii Diētenses* were, according to the *Notitia*, in garrison at *Diētum*; which I believe to have been another station at no great distance, most likely at *Ambleside*. And these *Nervii Diētenses* might probably be a part of this cohort, and so they were posted near to each other.

THESE five stations thus settled, lie much closer, with respect to the western, than the eastern part of the wall. *Lanchester* is about fourteen miles from the eastern coast, and on the other hand there are two or three of these stations within a less distance from the western sea: Perhaps the eastern side was more unpassable for woods, and less inhabited; or however the more usual inroads of the northern nations seem to have been on the west, to which the figure and position of the country, extending so much to the west, may have contributed. *Ireland* is supposed to be the antient *Scotia*; and I think the *Scoti* were very formidable, and infested the province much in the decline of the empire. The passage from *Ireland* to *Scotland* is short and easy, and the attacks of the enemy from thence would be most frequent on the west end of the wall.

IT may perhaps be thought somewhat strange, that no more of the stations *per lineam valli* are mentioned in *Antonine's Itinerary*; but I am of opinion that not one of the eighteen primary stations, that stand directly upon the wall, is any where mentioned in the *Itinerary*, because this series was not looked upon as an *iter*. It was not properly a marching road, or rout for the soldiers, excepting purely for the service of the wall, and therefore we have no *iter* upon it in that treatise.

OF the other five secondary stations, *Glannibanta* and *Alione* both stand upon military ways, which lead to the wall; and also upon that way, according to which *Antonine* has directed his tenth *iter*, and so are mentioned both there and in the *Notitia*. And the third of these stations probably stands upon a military way, according to which one or two of the *itineræ* have proceeded. Therefore I suppose it to have been mentioned in the *Itinerary*, but under the name of *Voreda*. The two last stand upon a branch of a way, on which no

part

^a Pag. 93.

^b See the observations on the Yorkshire inscriptions after N. xviii.

part of any *iter* has proceeded, and therefore it is no wonder if neither of these be mentioned there.

WHERE *Watling street* crosses the wall, there is no station; and the common opinion, that there was one here, is an error in an obvious matter of fact: so that tho' *Antonine's* first *iter* be continued along this way for almost twenty miles beyond the wall; yet there not being any station upon the wall at the place where these two intersect, it cannot be supposed that any station upon the wall should be mentioned in this *iter*.

THE next military way, or another branch of the same grand way, which ranges from south to north, has crossed the wall at, or near *Carrvoran*, and is called the *Maiden way*. But I am persuaded that the tenth *iter*, part of which is upon this way, does not reach so far as the wall, but turns off to *Chesters* near *Old town*, and so to *Lanchester*, where it terminates; so that here likewise we could expect no mention of any stations upon the wall.

THE most westerly branch of the grand military way passes through *Carlisle* and *Stanwicks* to *Netherby*, and into *Scotland* to *Middleby*. And here, besides the station at *Stanwicks* upon the wall, there seems to have been another very near it, either at a small distance from *Carlisle*, or in the outer part of the city, which lies on the south side of the water, as *Stanwicks* does on the north. I have been told of coins, and other evidences of a station here, by Mr. *Goodman* of *Carlisle*. This city I believe to have been *Luguvallium ad vallum*^a mentioned in the second and fifth *iter* of the *Itinerary*. And as it was so near the station at *Stanwicks* (if this latter was then in being) it could not for this very reason be well supposed, that the station at *Stanwicks* would be mentioned in the same *iter*. It may seem a little strange to suppose two stations so near; but possibly there might be no garrison at *Carlisle*, when there was one at *Stanwicks*. *Luguvallium* was in being at the writing of the *Itinerary*, but might be neglected before the writing of the *Notitia*, which mentions *Congavata* or *Stanwicks*, but takes no notice at all of the other. So that there is no necessity for supposing these two stations were both garrisoned at the same time.

I AM intirely of opinion, that this second *iter* has reached beyond the wall; and that both the *castra exploratorum* and *Blatum Bulgium*, mentioned in it, are on the north side of it. I know *Blatum Bulgium* has been universally taken for *Boulness*, which would necessarily make it one of the stations *per lineam valli*. But it is very evident, that *Cambden's* authority only has led all others into this opinion; and that *Cambden* himself had no other reason for thinking so, but that the first syllable happened to be alike both in the *English* and *Latin* names; and that from the expression *a vallo* prefixed to this *iter*, he concluded it must have been upon the wall. But neither *Blatum Bulgium*, nor *castra exploratorum*, is mentioned in the *Notitia* among the stations *per lineam valli*. *Boulness* is only ten computed miles from *Carlisle*, supposed to be *Luguvallium*; which is far short of twenty four *Roman* miles, the number expressed between *Blatum Bulgium* and *Luguvallium* in the second *iter* of *Antonine*. Nor must we by any means suppose, that this *iter* proceeds from *Boulness* to *Old Carlisle*, and so back again to *Carlisle*; for there is no military way, that I could ever hear of, from *Boulness* to *Old Carlisle*; nor is there any occasion for such a supposition: for if we pursue the same military way, according to which the course of the *iter* is plainly directed, we find on the north side of the wall at *Netherby* a famous station, and by its advanced and high situation^b fit for the *exploratores*; and another at *Middleby*. And

I

^a See the proofs in *Cambden* that *Carlisle* is *Luguvallium* taken from the ancient names of that city. Pag. 833.

^b I would not by this have it understood, that the *exploratores* were always set in the very out-

most stations; since the contrary is plain from some instances in the *Notitia*. Thus there were *exploratores* at *Lavatrae* or *Bowes* in *Yorkshire*, which was far from being a frontier station at that time.

I don't see what objection can be made against its being the *Blatum Belgium* in the *Itinerary*. This place is not far distant from the *Solway* frith; so that if Dr. Gale's conjecture be right, as to the reading and etymology^a, the situation of the station at *Middleby* seems not unsuitable, especially if it be considered that it is on the north side of the frith. And hence the reason is manifest, why neither *Blatum Belgium*, nor *castra exploratorum*, are mentioned in the *Notitia*; because they are both advanced stations, and north from the wall, and consequently abandoned at that time. The distance between these several stations, I believe, will answer well enough to the numbers in the printed editions; tho' Dr. Gale informs us, that the numbers in the manuscripts are uncertain^b; so that if the numbers of miles did not answer exactly, the difficulty in this respect would be the less. The distance between *Blatum Belgium* and *castra exploratorum* is, according to different copies, ten, twelve, or fifteen miles. Mr. Gordon says, that *Middleby* is distant from *Netherby* ten miles, and that 'tis sufficient to contain two or three thousand men^c. And, I think, the medal of *Constantius Chlorus* mentioned by him, as dug up here, makes it probable, that the *Romans* were possessed of this station after the time of the *Antonines*. I am also of opinion, that *Burnswark* camp described by the same gentleman, may have been the *castra aestiva* for the garrison here.

BEFORE I dismiss this subject, I shall briefly explain what I take to be the meaning of the expressions *a vallo* and *ad vallum* in the *Itinerary*. Thus in the first *iter* we have *a limite*, i. e. *a vallo*; at the head of the second *iter* again, *a vallo*; and at the head of the fifth, *a Londinio Luguvallium ad vallum*. The *Notitia*, when speaking of the stations upon the wall, denominates them *per lineam valli*. Let us then compare these expressions together, *a vallo*, *ad vallum*, and *per lineam valli*. I am of opinion, that we must not understand them with great strictness, so as to conclude, that every station, to which any of these is applied, must have been upon the *vallum* itself. As for the expression *per lineam valli* in the *Notitia*, I have already considered it; and shall here give some account of the other two. In the first *iter*, *a limite* and *a vallo* seem to be equivalent one to the other, by the explanatory interfection *id est*; and I believe signify no more, than the most advanced station on the north side of the *vallum*, but not very distant from it; and such *Bremenium* must certainly have been at this time on *Watlingstreet*, as *Blatum Belgium* was on the other military way. *Ad vallum*, I am inclined to think, denotes a station within the wall, or on the south side of it, and pretty near it, tho' not upon the very line of it; for I have shewn already that neither *Blatum Belgium*, *Luguvallium*, nor *Bremenium*, were upon the line of the wall. *Bremenium* is certainly *Riechester* in *Northumberland*, which is near twenty *Roman* miles north from the wall; and yet the first *iter*, which begins from hence, is said to be *a limite*, i. e. *a vallo*. Why then may we not understand the expression *a vallo* in the second *iter* with the same latitude, and set *Blatum Belgium* at as great a distance to the north of the wall? In the second *iter*, when we have advanced twenty four miles *a vallo*, that is to say from *Blatum Belgium* to *castra exploratorum* twelve, and as many from thence to *Luguvallium*, we are still but *ad vallum*; as *Luguvallium*, at the head of the fifth *iter*, is said to be *Luguvallium ad vallum*. And I cannot think with the learned Dr. Gale, that there were two stations of this name, *Luguvallium* and *Luguvallium ad vallum*; for what is called *Luguvallium ad vallum* in the beginning of the fifth *iter*, is called barely *Luguvallium* at the end of it. In the expressions therefore *a vallo* and *ad vallum*, the word *vallum* seems to denote the term from and to which the *iter* was directed, but with some latitude, so as not strictly to signify the *vallum* it self, but any place within a moderate distance from it. Nor is the sense here put upon these prepositions *a* and *ad* disagreeable to the use of them in other writers, when applied to the names of

^a AN LATO BELGIO, scilicet ab lato aestuario. Gale Anton. Itiner. p. 34.

^b Numeri Mss. sunt incerti, p. 35.

^c Itiner. Septentr. p. 39.

of places; in whom they frequently denote a proximity to those places, with whose names they are joined, rather than the places themselves. Perhaps *a vallo* in the general sense of the expression might as well signify a place near the *vallum* on this side, and *ad vallum* one beyond. And therefore this must be known by fixing the situation of the places mentioned, which I have here shewn to be the contrary way. It must be owned that the latitude of the expression seems pretty large in the *Itinerary*; but this may be allowed more easily, if we consider, the *vallum* at that time must have been the most remarkable boundary. The expression *per lineam valli* is to be taken, as all agree, in some latitude; and why then may not *a vallo* and *ad vallum* also be so understood? Some of the secondary stations, tho' included under the general title of stations *per lineam valli*, are perhaps as far from the wall as either *Bremenium* or *Blatum Bulgium*. I shall only farther add, that perhaps the reason why it is *a vallo* in the first and second *iter*, and *ad vallum* in the fifth, may be; that in the two former the *iter* begins at, and proceeds from the *vallum*; in the latter it begins at *London*, tending to and ending at the *vallum* or *limes*.*

C H A P T E R VIII.

The antient state of *Hadrian's vallum*, and the wall of *Severus*.

I HAVE in the preceding chapter given a particular account of the first *praetentura* in the north of *England*, namely the stations *per lineam valli*; and I shall now proceed to consider the walls.

THE famous wall, or fence, which crosses the north of *England*, beginning about three miles more eastward than *Newcastle*, and extending ten miles more to the west than *Carlisle*, has passed under several names at different times, and in different languages. *Cambden* has given us a summary of them, from whom I shall transcribe the following short account. "It was called " by ancient writers *vallum barbaricum*, *praetentura*, and *clusura*; by *Dion* " *διατείχισμα*"; by *Herodian* *χῶμα*; by *Antoninus* and others *vallum*; by some " of the *Latin* historians *murus*; by the *English* the *Picts-wall*, or the *wall*; " and by the *Britons* *gual Sever*, *gal Sever*, and *mur Sever*. The names " *praetentura* and *clusura* are given to it upon account of its being stretched " out against, and excluding the enemy." But there are in fact two walls, a turf and a stone one; the former of which bears the name of *Hadrian*, the latter that of *Severus*. Both these have been designed for *praetenturae*, or defences against the enemy. I shall speak distinctly to each.

HADRIAN'S vallum was the second *praetentura*, and seems rather to have given to the former the name of stations *per lineam valli*, than the wall of *Severus*. What *Bede* says of the wall's being rebuilt afterwards by the *Romans*, is applicable to this: " That it was carried on from town to town much in a streight " line."

* I intended to have annexed to this chapter an enquiry into the names of these stations as they are in the antient geographer usually called the anonymous *Ravennas*. But as I am determined to publish in the third book an essay on this author, I have chose to reserve to that place what I have to say on this subject.

† *Dion*, as has been shewn before, calls it sometimes barely *Τείχος*, and defines it, *Τὸ τείχος τὸ διατείνον τὰς Βρεταννῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόμετα*; that is, the wall which separates the *Britons* and the *Roman* encampments or stations. See Chap. IV. pag. 50, 58, 61, &c.

“line^a.” A work of this nature seems agreeable to the character which the *Roman* historians give of this emperor; for they tell us, “He visited the whole empire, and built a great deal; that he had a peaceable reign in the main, and was rather for defending and securing, than enlarging his territories^b.” And that he did draw a wall quite cross *Britain*, is evident from the express testimony of *Spartian*; whose words are, “He visited *Britain*, where he reformed many things, and was the first who drew a wall for fourscore miles to separate the *Romans* from the barbarians^c.” He is here said to be the first who performed a work of this nature. And as ’tis certain from inscriptions, that the wall in *Scotland* was built by *Antoninus Pius*; and it has been shewn before, and shall be farther shewn immediately, that the stone wall here was built by *Severus*; so this *vallum* or *turf wall* (as it is frequently called by the country people) must be that, which was built by *Hadrian*. The expression of *Capitolinus* concerning *Antoninus Pius*’s wall in *Scotland*, *alio muro cespitio ducto*^d, implies plainly, that one turf wall had been built before; which cannot well be supposed to have been any other than this of *Hadrian*. That in *Scotland* is called *vallum* upon inscriptions there, and this goes by the same name. And tho’ *murus* and *vallum* are sometimes promiscuously used, and both *Capitolinus* and *Spartian*, in the passages just now quoted, use *murus*; yet *vallum* rather signifies an *agger* of earth. So *Caesar* often uses it, *vallo pedum* xi. and *fossa pedum* xv. *hiberna cingunt*^e, &c. As for the other passage usually quoted from *Spartian*, concerning the method of fencing out the barbarians, by driving great stakes of wood into the ground^f (which seem to have been a kind of palisado) I think it by no means applicable to the case before us; because *Hadrian*’s *vallum* with us has been a rampart of earth without any timber. I never saw, or heard of any such wood found in it. This passage therefore is no farther applicable, than as it shews in general, that it was customary to secure the boundaries by some sort of fence, when the sea or rivers failed them, which were their usual limits. What belongs to this work is the principal *agger* or *vallum*, on the brink of the ditch; the ditch on the north side of the *vallum*; another *agger* on the south side of the *vallum*, and about five paces distant from it, which I call the south *agger*; and a large *agger* upon the north side of the ditch, called the north *agger*. This I suppose was the military way to the ancient *praetentura* of stations; and it must have served for a military way to this work also, or it is plain there has been none attending it. The south *agger*, I suppose, has either been made for an inner defence in case the enemy might beat them from any part of the principal *vallum*, or to protect the soldiers against a sudden attack from the provincial *Britons*. It is generally somewhat smaller than the principal *vallum*, but in some places it is larger. These four works keep all the way a constant regular parallelism one to another.

THE third *praetentura* was *Severus*’s stone wall. We have the express testimony of some ancient writers concerning this emperor’s building a wall cross our island, which I have quoted and explained in the fourth chapter^g. These testimonies, whereby it is proved that *Severus* built such a wall, are more numerous and strong, than those which prove the same thing concerning *Hadrian*,

^a Murum a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes quae ibidem ob metum hostium factae fuerant, ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat firmo de lapide conlocarunt. Quem videlicet murum haecenus famosum atque conspicuum sumpra publico privatoque adjuncta secum Britannorum manu construebant. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 12.

^b Orbem Romanum circumivit, et multa aedificavit. Eutrop. Lib. viii. cap. 7. Pacem omni tempore sui imperii habuit, &c. Ibid. et cap. 6.

^c Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit,

qui barbaros Romanosque divideret. Vit. Hadriani, Script. Hist. Aug. pag. 51.

^d Vit. Anton. Pii. Script. Hist. Aug. pag. 132.

^e De bello Gallico, Lib. v. cap. 34.

^f Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepiis (some read *militaris sepiis* which they confirm from Varro who has *militare sepimentum*) funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit. Spartian. in Vit. Adriani. Script. Hist. Aug. pag. 57.

^g Pag. 61, 62.

Hadrian, or Antoninus Pius. And yet no body questions the truth of this fact in *Hadrian's* case, and the inscriptions in *Scotland* will by no means suffer us to doubt of the other; why then should we make any question concerning *Severus's*? And if it be once allowed that *Severus* did build such a wall, whoever seeks for it any where else, but here in the north of *England*, must seek in vain. To this work belongs a paved military way, which every where has attended the wall on the south side, tho' it be not always parallel to it. It sometimes, as I observed before, coincides with *Hadrian's* north *agger* (as it has been usually called) but whenever this is too distant, or perhaps has been too ruinous, or in any other respect inconvenient, the new military way always accompanies *Severus's* wall, and comes up near to every *castellum* upon it; and therefore this has no doubt been made at the same time, and directly for its service. I believe there has been also a lesser military way near to the wall, for the convenience of small parties passing from turret to turret. I thought somewhat like this appeared in one or two places. There is also belonging to this work a large ditch on the north side of the wall, but I discerned nothing that could be looked upon as a sufficient proof of a north *agger*; tho' sometimes the rubbish thrown out of the ditch may raise the ground that is near it a little, and form somewhat like a *glacis*.

UPON this wall certain castles and turrets have been regularly placed, and at proper distances one from another. And in order to form a general idea of the wall and its original state, 'twill be necessary to have some knowledge of these. All these castles (except one near *Harlow* hill which I suppose to have been built before the wall^a) are sixty six foot square, the wall itself falling in with and forming the north side of them. The intervals between these castles are not always exactly the same, but, excepting two or three at the east end of the wall, always less than a mile, that is, from six furlongs and a half to seven. They are constantly called *castles* or *castle-steeds* by the country people (which seems to make it probable that the *Latin* word has been *castellum*^b) so likewise they call the *castra stativa* or *aestiva* usually *chesters* from the *Latin*; and this is a useful criterion whereby to discover or distinguish a *Roman* encampment or station. These *castella* seem to have stood closest, where the stations are widest, and are by some modern authors called *mile castles*, or *milliary castella*. In the last edition of *Cambden* they are, thro' a mistake, said to be of a very different shape and size. Perhaps the remaining ruins of two or three *castle-steeds*, that don't join to the walls, and of one that does, which are all plainly of another sort, have occasioned this error. I shall here transcribe a passage from *Cambden* relating to these *castella*. "In these *castella* the *Areans* had their stations. These *Areans* were an order of men instituted by the antients, whose business was (as *Marcellinus* tells us) to make excursions into the enemies country, and give intelligence of their motions. So that the first founders [of the wall] seem to have followed the counsel of him" [rather to have been of the same opinion with him^c] "who wrote a book to *Theodosius* and his son concerning the art of war; for thus he has it: *One of the great interests of the commonwealth is the care of the frontiers, which would be better secured by a good number of castles built at a mile's distance from one another, with a firm wall and strong towers.*" It is not improbable that there may also have been some exploratory castles belonging to *Hadrian's* work,

^a See the following chapter.

^b *Castellum* both by the form and use of it seems generally to have signified a smaller fort for a small garrison. *Spartos per castella milites consecrati—ipsam coloniam invasere—Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 16.* According to *Isidore*, *castellum* is the diminutive of *castrum*, *cujus pluralia castra, diminutivum castellum. l. lib. 1. cap. 2.* *Suetonius* uses the word, where the fortification was large enough to contain a cohort. *Denique una sextae legionis cohors pra-*

posita castello quatuor Pompeii legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit. Vit. Jul. Caes. cap. 68. *Caesar* himself frequently uses the word as well as *Tacitus* and other writers. It is (as many other words) used with some latitude in different authors, and sometimes in the same.

^c Pag. 839

^d The walls were built long before the reign of *Theodosius*; so that the builders of them could not properly follow the counsel of a writer of his time.

work, tho' there be little appearance of such at present; unless the small remains at *Chappel-houses* near *Newburn*, and those near *Heddon on the wall*, which are called *castle-steeds*, be of this sort. But be that as it will with relation to *Hadrian's vallum*, above two thirds of these *castella* are yet very visible upon the wall of *Severus*; and for a long way together, especially about the middle of the wall, they have their distinct vestiges remaining without interruption. But the original number and situation of these *castella* may be best known by inspecting the maps of the wall and the following table.

Maps of the wall.	Castella coinciding with the stations.	Castella whose remains are visible.	Castella quite destroyed.	Sum total of the Castella.		Miles.	Furlongs.	Chains.	
1	1	4	1	6	From	SEGEDVNVM to PONS AELII	3	5	1 ¹ / ₂
						PONS AELII to CONDERCVM	2	0	9
2	0	6	2	8		CONDERCVM to VINDOBALA	6	6	5
3	0	9	0	9		VINDOBALA to HVNNVM	7	0	3 ¹ / ₂
4	0	5	1	6		HVNNVM to CILVRNVM	5	1	7
5	1	8	0	9		CILVRNVM to PROCOLITIA	3	1	8
						PROCOLITIA to BORCOVICVS	4	5	3 ¹ / ₂
6	1	9	0	10		BORCOVICVS to VINDOLANA	1	3	8
						VINDOLANA to AESICA	3	6	4
					AESICA to MAGNA	2	1	6 ¹ / ₂	
7	0	10	0	10	MAGNA to AMBOGLANNA	2	6	0	
					AMBOGLANNA to PETRIANA	6	2	8	
8	0	5	4	9	PETRIANA to ABALLABA	2	6	6	
					ABALLABA to CONGAVATA	5	1	9	
9	1	1	12	14	CONGAVATA to AXELODVNV	3	3	4	
					AXELODVNV to GABROSENTVM	4	0	9	
					GABROSENTVM to TVNNOCELVM	3	4	1	
In all	4	57	20	81		68	3	3	

THE smaller turrets (in *Latin turres*) have been more generally and intirely ruined than the *castella*; so that 'tis hard to find three of them any where together with certainty. The distance between two where it was thought surest, was measured and found to be near fourteen chains or three hundred and eight yards. It therefore seems most probable that there have been four of these between every two *castella* at equal distances from the *castella* and one another; for thus five intervals will be found between every two *castella*, each consisting of fourteen chains, which five intervals will just amount to seven furlongs, the usual or mean distance between the *castella*. And this scheme answers with a good deal of exactness to the situation of all the turrets, that have yet been discovered. These exploratory turrets, or watch-towers, seem to have been only about four yards square at the bottom. And by placing centinels at each of these, who must have been within call of one another, the communication quite along the wall might be kept up, without having recourse to the fiction of a sounding trumpet, or pipes laid under ground, from one end of the wall to the other; tho' this seems to be credited by Mr. *Echard* and others.

THERE have been also several larger forts or stations upon the wall, or near it, whose distances from each other will be particularly shewn in the following chapter, and may be seen also in the foregoing table. Tho' whilst I am giving a general view of the antient state of the wall, it may not be improper to observe, that there have been eighteen of these stations upon it, with seventeen intervals between them. And whereas the wall is in length sixty eight miles and three furlongs, this divided by seventeen gives the mean distance, which is very little more than four miles. But the stations are much closer and thicker at each end, and in the middle, than in the intermediate spaces between the middle and the extremities, which is not disagreeable to reason, or the usual rules of fortification. Besides, if according to the common tradition the inroads of the enemy were frequently in or near the middle; it was necessary to make it stronger and guard it more; especially since the advanced stations were fewest, if any, where those upon the wall were closest.

THIS wall runs generally upon the top or ridge of the higher ground, keeping a descent on the north or enemies side, and hath thereby both a greater strength and better prospect; for the sake of which it often forms an angle. In *Hadrian's vallum* it is different, but both in the main seem to have been carried on pretty much in a straight line from station to station. There is indeed now and then a gentle turn in crossing a rivulet, or at a station, and sometimes too in passing a height. But this last happens usually (if I am not mistaken) at coming within sight of a station, and perhaps in order to reach it. *Hadrian's vallum* and its appurtenances keep more in a right line than *Severus's* wall, as much as the nature of the ground and other circumstances would permit. And if the north *agger* was really a military way, and prior to the rest of *Hadrian's* work, so as that his *vallum* and ditch has attended this way, or been directed by it; I think some difficulties may be accounted for relating to this matter, which otherways are not so easy to be removed. For this may be the reason why it runs so much more in a right line than *Severus's*, why it takes the shorter cut from station to station, and keeps the low plain ground, tho' 'tis supposed by some to have done this for the convenience of the earth or matter with which it is built. 'Tis plain however that a military way has constantly attended *Severus's* wall, and no doubt was made at the same time with it. This always keeps nigh to the wall, and never coincides with the other way (that is *Hadrian's* north *agger*) but when the two walls approach one another. When they part and go at a distance one from the other, it leaves the *vallum* to accompany the stone wall. But where the wall passes along the brink of the precipices, the military way does not follow every little turn, but in these

lesser windings is like the string to a bow, and keeps upon the sides of the hill in order to avoid, as much as possible, the sudden ascent or descent in passing from hill to hill, and yet so as at the same time never to be at a great distance from the wall. The rule therefore, by which this way seems to have been conducted, is in the general by keeping pretty close to the wall, and at the same time going on in a right line from *castellum* to *castellum*, and shunning the ascent of hills as much as possible. And as the smaller military way went directly from turret to turret close by the wall; so this greater way attended the *castella*, falling in with the old military way (or *Hadrian's* north *agger*) when that did not take it too much out of its road, or was not too ruinous to be made use of. The old military way has been the best and evenest passage from station to station, and when the line of the stations fetched a compass, another distinct military way and shorter was laid, not from one station to the next, but between two stations more remote. This was certainly done in *Northumberland* from *Walwick* to *Carrvoran*, and I have reason to apprehend the like was done also in *Cumberland* from *Carrvoran*, or at least from *Cambeck*, to *Stanwicks*. The military way of *Severus* seems to have been well paved, but not raised so high as what I take to have been the old military way. Sometimes, when they run just by each other, the regular pavement of the one, and the greater elevation of the other, are curious and remarkable. And when they coincide, I cannot say that the pavement any where appears so distinct, tho' the height and breadth are then more considerable. This and some other circumstances incline me to think, that where the country afforded gravel and sand, the more ancient military ways were high raised, with these materials, and a mixture of stone, and well trenched on each side to keep them dry (as the military way from the station at *South Shields* is) but not so constantly and regularly paved; whereas the later ways were better paved, but not so much raised.

I HAVE not been able to discover any gates in this wall or passes through it, except it be just in the stations, or where the grand military ways have crossed it. Where *Watling street* passes the wall, there is a visible track of a square gate, and the ditch belonging to the wall manifestly goes about the other half of it, the inner half not being now so visible. This gate seems to be much of the same size with one of the *castella*, sixty six foot square; only these are wholly within the wall, and the gate half within and half without. I expected to have found some other gates of the same form, or some passes through the wall in the *castella*, but could not. The other two military ways, which cross the wall, seem to have passed at the stations of *Carrvoran* and *Stanwicks*.

WHAT the several dimensions of the walls, ditches, *aggers* and military ways, have originally been, may not be easy to determine with exactness; but the length of *Severus's* wall is certainly known, it having been twice measured of late, once by Mr. *Gordon*, and a second time by my order; and as there is little difference between the two measures, 'tis a proof there is no material mistake in either. Mr. *Gordon* gives a summary account of his work in these words: "The number of stations taken in my actual survey from sea to sea were in all an hundred and fifty nine, wherein I made *Severus's* wall the principal line of the said stationary distances. The total amount of which was seventy three thousand nine hundred fifty nine *Roman* paces, equal to sixty eight *English* miles and an hundred sixty nine paces, equal to seventy three *Roman* miles and nine hundred fifty nine paces^a." The number of stations (or places of observation) upon the same principal stationary line, in the survey I ordered to be made, were an hundred and sixty four; the length of the wall sixty eight miles and three furlongs, including the length of the stations at each end. *Echard* in his *Roman* history makes *Hadrian's vallum* only eight miles

^a Itiner. Sept. pag. 83.

miles long^a. I know not whether there be an error of the press, or the author was led into one himself by Sir Robert Sibbald; for Sir Robert, among other strange notions, imagined *Hadrian's vallum* to be in *Scotland*, and to reach only from *Tynningham* in *East Lothian* to *Innesk* in *Mid Lothian*, eight miles in length, supposing a ditch called the *Long Syke* to be it. I have in my account kept to *English* measured miles and furlongs, in order to make it the more plain and intelligible. 'Tis easy to reduce an *English* mile to a *Roman* one, by considering that a thousand *Roman* paces, that is, five thousand *Roman* feet, make a *Roman* mile; and allowing for the inequality between the *Roman* foot and the *English*, an *English* mile is nearly equal to a *Roman* mile and one thirteenth; so that thirteen *English* miles will be much about fourteen *Roman*. From what has been said, it appears to be a mistake to suppose *Hadrian's vallum* longer than *Severus's* wall, as Mr. Gordon seems to have done^b. 'Tis certain the former has gone more in a right line than the latter, and it seems probable, that *Severus's* wall has at each end been carried farther than *Hadrian's*. So that the very exact agreement which Mr. Gordon supposes between "the actual survey of the wall, and the account of it given by the *Romans* themselves," is in a great measure imaginary. For according to *Spartian* (already quoted) *Hadrian's vallum* was eighty *Roman* miles long, but the actual mensuration cannot stretch *Severus's* wall up to seventy three, and *Hadrian's vallum* is certainly two or three miles shorter, upon the account of its being straighter. I was pleased to find that there had just been eighty one *milliary castella* upon *Severus's* wall, and consequently just eighty intervals between the *castella*. So that if the *Romans* in a general way called every interval a mile, one with another, and *Hadrian's vallum* was near the same length with *Severus's*; this might be looked upon as a plausible reason why the historian should say it was eighty miles long.

ACCORDING to *Bede* the wall was eight foot in breadth and twelve in height^c. The thickness of *Severus's* wall has been measured several times of late, and by several persons, without any great variation; and by the measures taken in different parts, it seems not to have been every where equal. Near *Harlow* hill it measured seven foot four inches about the foundation, and at another place, where the wall is two yards high, it was at that height above seven foot thick; which inclined me to think, that the usual breadth near the foundation was a *Roman* pace and an half. Near *Boulness* on the *Solway* frith, at a place called *Kirklands*, it measures near nine foot. And there seems to be an obvious reason why it should be stronger here, for at full sea the water has certainly flowed up to it.

THE breadth of the military way seemed constantly to measure about seventeen foot, perhaps it has been originally three *Roman* paces and a half.

THE breadth of the ditch, as it now appears in some places, is mentioned in the following chapter. At a limestone quarry west of *Harlow* hill, where the original breadth and depth of *Hadrian's* ditch is very apparent, and may be exactly ascertained, it measured near nine foot deep, and eleven foot over; it was wider at the top than at the bottom, the sides being sloping. The ditch belonging to *Severus's* wall was, I believe, in all places both wider and deeper than that which belonged to *Hadrian's vallum*.

As for the original height and thickness of the *vallum* and *aggers*, I see no way of determining it with certainty. How they appear and measure at present in some particular places, where they are most distinct, is shewn in the following chapter.

THE

^a Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 293.

^b Itin. Septentr. p. 83.

^c Ibid. p. 83.

^d As probably there was a parapet at the top, so this would first go to ruin. Bede's measure is most likely to be exclusive of this.

THE distance between the several parts of these works seem, some of them, to have all the way been constantly the same; others of them vary. Among these variable distances is that between the two walls, which sometimes come very near, within a chain of each other; but at other times are at fifty chains distance. The distance also between *Severus's* wall and the military way belonging to it, is, as I have said, not always the same, tho' generally about two or three chains. Upon some particular occasions it may run at the distance of five or six chains from it, or considerably more, as between the two *castella* west of *Shewen-sheels*, where the distance of the military way from the wall is at one part fifteen chains or more. But the distance between *Hadrian's vallum*, ditch, and north *agger* are every where the same, and so are constantly parallel one to another. The north *agger* I found to be about twenty four foot north from the ditch; and of the two *aggers* of the *vallum*, one is always detached about twenty four foot to the south of the ditch^a, and the other upon or near the very southern edge of it.

THE materials with which the walls were built are certainly known. *Hadrian's* is of earth, tho' sometimes mixed with stone, but there is no appearance of timber. *Severus's* was of free stone, as is certain from what is yet visible of it. In some places, where the foundation was not good, they seem to have made use of oaken piles. Mr. *Gilpin* of *Scaleby castle* has a cane made of oak which had been a pile under the *Roman* wall. The inner part of this wall is filled after a remarkable manner. The filling stones are generally pretty large, and mostly broad and thin. These are always set edge-ways, and usually not erect, but somewhat obliquely^b. Upon these the running mortar or cement has been poured, and by this contrivance (together with the great strength of their cement in most places) the whole wall has been bound as firm as a rock. People are much at a loss to know from whence in several places the *Romans* had the stones which they used in building the wall, and on other occasions. In some places, particularly in *Cumberland*, no free stone is to be had, but at a very great distance; and in other places, where some might have been had, the *Romans* seem not to have used it, but stone of a very different grit. This appears more particularly in the station at the end of the wall near *Cousins's house*, where the *Roman* stone is of a very coarse grit, so as to be easily distinguished from others. And I was assured that there was no such stone, nor any quarry of such a grit, in the neighbourhood. The devil's arrows at *Borough-bridge* are yet of a coarser nature, and look not unlike artificial stone, as some have imagined them to be. Some particular places from whence they were furnished with stones, may be guessed at with probability. Such for instance are the rocks between *Walwick* and *Carraw*, through part of which *Hadrian's* ditch has been cut. And in the late edition of *Cambden*^c it is supposed, that stones were got at *Helbeck-scar* on the *Gelt*, and *Leuge-crag*; the truth of which I have confirmed in my observations upon the inscription on the rock, which hangs over the *Gelt*^d.

SOME have wondered how this work could be carried on in the face of the enemy, supposing the wall to be the very boundary, at the time it was built. But there appears no reason to entertain this opinion; for when the *Romans* had advanced their conquest in *Scotland* beyond the frith of *Tay*, they only fortified the other *isthmus* between *Forth* and *Clyde*, which might be thirty miles or more south from the utmost extent of their conquest, as appears from *Tacitus's* account of this matter^e. So that they kept their *praetentura*,

^a The original distance of the south *agger* from the ditch has been near thirty foot, but the distance is lessened by the spreading of the earth in its present ruinous state.

^b The *Romans* used this method upon other occasions too. The walls of some of their most conside-

table stations, as particularly at *Silchester*, are built after the same manner.

^c Pag. 998.

^d *Cumberland*, N. XLIV.

^e See Chap. III. pag. 39, 40.

praetentura, or series of fortifications cross the country, a good way within the bounds of their conquest. And probably when the walls were erected here, the *Romans* were possessed of part of the country beyond them, and of some advanced stations there, as may be concluded from the inscriptions yet extant. Thus the inscriptions to *Hadrian* at *Netherby*, *Beaucaastle*, and other places, are a plain proof that those stations were in his reign possessed by the *Romans*. And the inscriptions at *Risingham*^a and *Riechester* make it very probable that the *Romans* were masters of these advanced stations in the reign of the following emperors, and most likely in that of *Severus*; some of the *Antonines* are named in them; and the cut of the letters, and other circumstances of some of the inscriptions, are very suitable to *Severus's* time. At the time of writing the *Itinerary* I believe the *Romans* were possessed of *Riechester*, *Netherby*, and *Middleby*, that is, *Bremenium*, *castra exploratorum*, and *Blatum Bulgium*, all north from the wall; for they are mentioned both in the first and second *iter*. The passage in *Eutropius*, which I quoted before, seems to imply that *Severus* built this strong fence, after he had reduced a great part of the country to their former obedience^b. The same thing seems also to be implied in the passage cited before from *Aurelius Victor*^c. So that this wall might possibly not be built till *Severus* had driven the enemy so far to the north, as to render them incapable of giving any interruption to the *Romans* when carrying on the work.

At which end they begun the several *praetenturae* may be another inquiry. The *praetentura* of stations was most probably begun from the west; because *Julius Agricola* first conquered the western parts of the northern counties. And *Hadrian*, I believe, in erecting his *vallum*, begun there too, as seems probable from the inscriptions^d. *Severus* 'tis likely did so too with his wall; which is much confirmed by the situation of the *castella*, that are at a regular distance, if we begin our reckoning from the west; but if we begin to reckon from the east end of the wall, the first *castellum* appears within less than three furlongs of the station there.

I know 'tis the opinion of some ingenious persons, that both the walls with all their appurtenances, and the stations upon them, were the work of the same time, and the same person; and that the one is only an interior *vallum* or *foss* to the other. But that this was not the original design of the *vallum*, tho' it might be so used by *Severus*, appears plain to me from the testimonies of the *Roman* historians; nor does this notion suit the circumstances of the work itself, as they yet appear. The coincidence of *Severus's* military way with the other, the exact parallelism of all the parts of *Hadrian's* work, and the very unequal distances that are between the two walls themselves, are to me convincing arguments that the walls have been erected at different times.

It is also the opinion of some, to whose judgment I pay a great regard, that *Severus's* wall was built upon the same foundation with *Hadrian's* principal *vallum*. This conjecture is supported by plausible reasons. For if the north *agger* has been an old military way, the supposition of a rampart and ditch to the north of this way would remove the difficulty, as to the soldiers being exposed to the enemy, whilst they were on their march; since then the way would have been defended on both sides. Again, the stations too, as well as the military way, are generally (tho' not always) included between the two walls and ditches (or between the works of *Severus* and *Hadrian* as they are now called) the stone wall of *Severus* frequently falling in with the north rampart

^a Northumberland, N. LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, &c.

^b Ut receptas provincias omni securitate muniret vallum a mari ad mare deduxit. Pag. 62.

^c Britanniam pulsus hostibus muro munivit. In Severo.

^d See Cumberland N. XLVI. found at Beaucaastle; and another inscription found at Netherby, the original of which is now lost. See Cambd. Brit.

pag. 1027. Edit. 1722.

rampart of the station, as the turf wall of *Hadrian* does with the southern. Besides this, the advantageous ground is often left on the north side of *Hadrian's vallum*, which in one place, near *Halton chesters*, is just carried round the south skirt of a *tumulus*, or small hill, making a sudden turn, seemingly with a design to avoid passing over it. Now if this was intended to be the most northerly fortification, and to be a fence against the northern enemies; this conduct seems to offend against right reason, as well as against the rule of *Vegetius*, “ that care should be taken to have no neighbouring hill higher than “ the fortification, which being seized by the enemy might be of ill consequence.” And it must be owned, that the southern prospect of *Hadrian's* work, and the defence on that side, is generally better than on the north; whereas the northern prospect and defence have been principally or only taken care of in the wall of *Severus*. Such considerations as these have induced some to believe, that what now goes by the name of *Hadrian's* work, was originally designed for a fence against any sudden insurrection of the provincial *Britons*, and particularly of the *Brigantes*; whilst others look upon it as a *fossa interior*, an inner fortification for the soldiers to retreat to, after they had been beaten off by the northern enemy from their principal *vallum*. Both agree in this, that *Hadrian* must have built a more northerly *vallum*, than those which now bear his name, and that this must have stood upon the same track where *Severus* afterwards erected his wall. This according to their opinion would render the whole fortification rational and regular; whereas without this it must have been in many places very weak, and open to the inroads of the *Caledonians*.

BUT on the other hand, plausible conjectures and speculative arguments must give way to stronger proofs on the contrary side; tho' at this distance of time we cannot see into the design of the *Romans*, nor account for every particular part of their conduct in this affair. I have already hinted, what I take to have been the case, namely, that what is now called *Hadrian's* north *agger* was the most antient military way leading from station to station; and that *Hadrian's* work, which was after this, was guided and limited by it, as it keeps a constant parallelism to it. The north *agger*, considered as such a military way, is, as far as I can judge, conducted according to the *Roman* art and rules in every part of it. It is carried on in the shortest line from station to station. And this without doubt is the true reason why it runs so much upon the southern skirts of the northern hills, the shortest line leading that way. This is particularly remarkable in the small hill near *Halton chesters*, which I have mentioned before. The direct line of the way would have led over the hill, but to avoid climbing it, a small turn is made to carry it round the skirt; and it passes on the south side rather than the north, because this is the shorter and more convenient way to the station, to which it is tending. The other parts of *Hadrian's* work keep their due distance and parallelism, bending exactly in the same manner as the north *agger* does, and so running at a few yards distance to the south of the hill. In a word, the north *agger*, or old military way, keeps just such a course, and runs through such grounds, as one would expect such a *Roman* way should do. And if it was determined that *Hadrian's* work should strictly accompany this, and keep all along an exact parallelism to it; they must then by this rule be tied down to these seeming irregularities and misconduct which appear in this work. It may be said, that they might at least have made the fortification on the north side of the military way, if there was no other more northerly fence. But to this I reply, that it was scarce practicable to carry on the work on the north side of the way, so as to be near and parallel to it; and such is the situation of the ground, that if they

* Cavendum autem ne mons sit vicinus altior, *sort of forts, but no doubt is applicable to all fortifications in general. See Camden. p. 1096.*
 Lib. I. cap. 22. This is spoken immediately of one

they had done so, it would have been generally weaker than it is, running along the very side of the hills; unless they had made it where *Severus's* wall stands, and where, as has been said, some suppose *Hadrian's* principal *vallum* to have stood: but that in fact *Hadrian* had no *vallum* here, and that the whole of his work was comprehended in what still goes by his name, appears most probable to me from the following considerations.

AMONG all the historians that mention the building of such a wall by *Severus*, there is not the least hint to be met with of his building it upon the same foundation with *Hadrian's vallum*. The expression of *Spartian, apud vallum*, looks the likest it of any. But it is certainly more agreeable to this expression to suppose it to be only near the *vallum*, and not directly upon it. And to build a stone wall upon the foundation of an earth one, does not appear very probable. If I am not greatly mistaken, it would be more laborious and expensive to build such a wall upon the ruinous *vallum*, than to erect it upon ground that was entirely clear. And there are not at present the least evidences of such a *vallum*. And yet it seems hard to suppose, that the *agger* of earth has been every where so intirely removed, as to leave no visible remains of it any where along the whole tract of the wall. Again, *Severus's* wall passes over large spaces, where the erecting of an earthen rampart seems almost impracticable. Sometimes it passes for a considerable way along the tops of precipices, and sometimes down the steep declivity of a bare rock, and in these places there is no ditch^a. In one place too the wall is carried through a small morass, near *Bleaturn* in *Cumberland*. Here I believe the foundation may be helped by piles of wood, but *Hadrian's* work shuns it, and runs at ten chains distance from the wall of *Severus*.

I SEE no circumstances in the two works of *Severus's* wall and *Hadrian's vallum*, that argue them to be done at the same time, or to have any necessary relation one to the other. The constant parallelism of the north *agger*, the ditch, and the two southern *aggers* of *Hadrian's* work, is a sure argument of their mutual relation. But this parallelism does not hold in the wall of *Severus*. Where they are most distant, there are no visible branches of any military way leading from the one to the other, whereby the communication between them might be more easily preserved. In some places there is a morass between the two walls, which must make a retreat from one wall to the other inconvenient, and is improper for a body of men to stand on. The military way, that now attends *Severus's* wall, is agreed to have been made at the same time with the wall itself; if then *Hadrian's* principal *vallum* was on the same ground, where the wall of *Severus* has stood; how comes it to pass, that there has been no military way accompanying it?

IF *Hadrian's* work is supposed to have been designed for a defence against an attack from the south; difficulties of the same kind will arise, perhaps not easy to be removed. For sometimes the advantageous ground is left on the south, where it might easily have been otherwise ordered, if their design had been only to secure themselves against assailants from the south, and the course of their fortification had not been previously determined by some other rule. In one place the *vallum* runs between higher grounds on each side^b. Besides, if it was designed against an enemy from the south, the ditch is on the wrong side, being to the north of two ramparts. And why may not we suppose the most southerly rampart to have been either a slight fence against an attack from the south, or an interior defence to retreat to, if the ditch should be carried by an assault from the north? I don't see that there was any occasion to draw such a line of defence in order to prevent their making an attack upon the stations, for they are stronger on all sides than this *vallum*.

I

^a See the account of the walls from *Shewen-sneel* castle to *Carrvoran* in the next chapter.

^b See the account of the walls between *Carravough* and *House-steeds* in the next chapter.

I think as far as the old military way is concerned in the difficulty; it may be better lessened by observing, that there is an inner military way, which is also shorter, that reaches half the length of the wall from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran* in *Northumberland*, and probably as far as *Stanwicks* in *Cumberland*. This is wholly within the defence of *Hadrian's* work, and that too where it might seem the most necessary.

I ONLY farther add, that at each end of the wall *Severus's* work is continued beyond *Hadrian's*. This part then of *Severus's* wall at least was not erected upon *Hadrian's vallum*. And yet I see no difference between the appearance of this work here, and in the other parts of it.

WE find no inscriptions here, like those in *Scotland* which so plainly shew that wall to have been built by *Antoninus Pius*. This however is no objection against the reign of *Severus*, any more than that of any other emperor^a. And no other, as I have shewed, can with equal probability be assigned as the author of it, from their own historians. It is my opinion that the inscriptions, which I call *centurial*, have been erected upon the same occasion as the inscriptions in *Scotland*, and to the same purpose; tho' they are not so full and pompous, and do not mention the emperor's name under whom the work was performed. The circumstances and cut of the letters in these inscriptions suit *Severus's* reign, and favour the opinion that this work was done at that time, tho' the inscriptions do not expressly declare it^b. For these inscriptions have been found in the face of the wall, and seldom in stations (as far as I could learn) and are upon stones of the same shape and size with the facing stones of the wall, which has occasioned a very great resemblance of them one to another; and this not only with respect to the stones, but also to the matter and form of the inscription. These inscriptions were doubtless inserted in the face of the wall, when it was building, and were in all probability erected by those centuries or cohorts who built that part of the wall, where they are found, or by their commanders. All the inscriptions in *Scotland* of this sort are erected by legions or vexillations of legions, that work having been shared out to such bodies; and perhaps it was not customary, till *Severus's* time, to allot such works to centuries and cohorts: besides, such stones could not conveniently be inserted in the face of any wall, but one made of stone, like that of *Severus*. The legions at other times had their stated quarters elsewhere; but while the wall was building, they probably quartered in some of the stations that were in the line of it, and from thence sent out their cohorts, that were employed in the work. And for this reason perhaps we meet with legionary inscriptions only in stations, several of which have been found in the stations upon the line of the wall; which is another plausible argument that the wall was built after the stations, which stand in the line of it. At the place where the whole body of the legion quartered, monuments were more likely to be erected in the name of the whole legion. The legionary cohorts might also at some other times be occasionally upon the wall, when the seat of the war was near it, or to the north of it; and upon these occasions erect some monuments of their victory and success. But these are rather, or I believe only, to be met

^a Mr. Gilpin of Scalby castle shewed me a seal, where *Severus* and his two sons are supposed to be represented under the figures of *Jupiter*, *Castor* and *Pollux*; and another, which seemed also to have the face of *Severus*. They were both, as I remember, cut in *cornelian*, and found near the wall.

^b These *centurial* inscriptions, found upon the face of the wall, and a passage in *Vegetius* mutually illustrate each other. According to *Vegetius* every century took their share or proportion in digging, building, and other works. His words are, *singulae centuriae accipiunt pedaturas*. This leaves no room to doubt, but that these inscriptions have been set up by the centuries, or the centurions who commanded them, as

they were performing their respective shares in the work. And I also think it curious and worthy of a remark, that the allotment of the several shares in building the wall in *Scotland* seems not, as here, to have been according to the centuries, but the whole legions and their vexillations. That the vexillations or vexillarii had their allotment sometimes in a body is plainly intimated by *Hyginus* in *Gromat.* when he says, "that the vexillarii are to have an equal share with a legionary cohort." But this I shall have occasion to take notice of in my discourse upon the wall in *Scotland*, and my observations upon the inscriptions found in it.

met with in the stations where they might quarter in their march, and are pretty different from that set of inscriptions I am now discoursing about, which I think must have been placed in the wall at the time of its building. And this time may be determined, namely in the year 208, if my conjecture be admitted with relation to the inscription upon the rock on the *Gelt*, mentioned above; which date suits well enough with the *legio secunda Augusta* being at *Caer-leon*, when *Pompeianus* and *Lollianus Avitus* were consuls in the year 209, two years after the consulate of *Aper* and *Maximus*, which was in 207.

IN order to make the best use of this set of inscriptions I have now described, with relation to the subject I am treating of; I shall here take a general view of all I have been able to discover of this sort upon the wall, or near it; to which I shall add those erected by legions or vexillations, which may give light to the matter before us.

Cousins's house.
COH. I, II, X.

THE first set is at *Cousins's house*, in which the first, second, and tenth cohorts are mentioned expressly ^a.

Denton.
LEG. II. AVG.
COH. VIII.

ABOUT five or six miles from thence, namely a little to the west of *Benwel* fort, was found a stone making express mention of the eighth cohort of the second legion called *Augusta* ^b.

Walbottle.
I, III, V, VIII.

ABOUT two miles farther, at *Walbottle*, are several stones with numbers upon them, but no express mention of the legion or cohort. The numbers that are certain are I, III, V, VIII; besides a stone with the name of a centurion, but no visible number upon it ^c.

High-seat.
IX.

ABOUT four or five miles farther on, at *High-seat*, and between that and *Harlow* hill, are four or five centurial stones; in two of which the names of the centurions are distinct, but nothing more; in another the number IX only ^d.

Corbridge.
LEG. II. AVG.
COH. III.

AT *Corbridge*, two miles south from the wall, and about six miles from this last place, is a stone ^e of this kind expressly mentioning the fourth cohort of the *legio secunda Augusta*; but 'tis uncertain whether it was brought from the wall.

Portgate.
COH. VI.
LEG. VI. VI.

IN the wall itself, near *Portgate*, there was another stone expressly mentioning the sixth cohort, and the centurion's name ^f. About a mile west of *Portgate* is another, mentioning the *legio sexta victrix*, but the number of the cohort is effaced ^g.

Towertay.
COH. VI, X.

ABOUT four or five miles farther west, that is about half way between *Walwick* and *Carrawburgh*, near a cottage called *Towertay*, is the greatest number of these inscriptions, that any where occur together. But no legion is mentioned in any of them, nor cohorts now visible, except the sixth and tenth ^h. At *Carraw*, about two miles farther west, are two more of these stones, one of which has only the centurion's name, and the other nothing plain.

House-steads.
LEG. VI. V.

AT *House-steads*, there is an altar ⁱ erected by a centurion of the *legio sexta victrix*, but none of these centurial stones appear upon the rocks or precipices, or very few in all that space. The *legio sexta victrix* is upon the famous altar ^k, *Fortunae populi Romani* (found as I suppose at *Little chesters*) and

Little chesters.
LEG. VI. VIC.

^a Northumberland, N. I, II, III, IV.

^b Northumberland, N. IX.

^c N. XI, XII, X.

^d N. XIII.

^e N. CI.

^f N. XX.

^g N. XXI.

^h N. XXX, XXXI.

ⁱ N. XLIV.

^k N. LV.

and also upon two bricks ^a, which I brought from the same place. The third cohort is also mentioned (as I think) upon another inscription.

COH. III.

ABOUT four miles farther, near *Allaley*, are two more of these stones, but both of them obscure, only the seventh cohort seems to appear upon one of them ^b.

Allaley.
COH. VII.

NEAR *Carrvoran*, at a place called *Glenwhelt*, are two of these stones, in both of which the centurion's name appears legible, and upon one of them the first cohort is mentioned ^c.

Glenwhelt.
COH. I.

AT *Burdoswald*, and near it, several of these stones have been found. There is one in the wall of a house within the fort, with only the centurion's name upon it; and one at a place, not far from the fort, called *Murray*, with the centurion's name and *cohors sexta* distinct. In *Naworth* garden are two expressly mentioning the *legio secunda Augusta*; in one of which is also *cohors prima* distinct, in the other beside the legion there is only the centurion's name or the century commanded by him. There is also a fine stone with *legio sexta victrix* upon it ^d, but on what occasion erected I cannot be certain.

Burdoswald.
COH. VI.

Naworth.
LEG. II. AVG.
LEG. II. AVG. COH. I.
COH. VI or VIII.

ABOUT two miles farther, at *Leanertone*, I met with two centurial stones, on one of which *cohors prima* ^e seemed to appear, but nothing more that was certain.

Leanertone.
COH. I.

AT *Helbeck-scar* on the *Gelt* there is one mentioning a vexillation of the *legio secunda Augusta* ^f. At *Howgill* is one ^g, with only the name and country of the centurion.

Gelt.
VEXIL. LEG. II. AVG.

AT *Randylands*, between *Burdoswald* and *Cambeck*, there is one with *coh. viii.* expressed upon it, and no more ^h.

Randylands.
COH. VIII.

IN *Cambeck* fort there is one found with *legio sexta victrix fecit* ⁱ inscribed upon it.

Cambeck.
LEG. VI. V.

AT *Old wall*, not far from *Scaleby*, are two of these stones; in one of which the *legio secunda Augusta* and the name of the centurion are distinct, in the other only the commander's name, but there seems to have been also *cohors prima* ^k.

Old wall.
LEG. II. AVG.
COH. I.

AT *Drawdikes* there is one inscribed *cohortis IIII. praetorianae centurio Julius Vitalis* ^l.

Drawdikes.
COH. IIII. PR.

AT *Carlisle*, *legio sexta victrix* ^m. But 'tis uncertain whether these two last are of the same sort or not, tho' the former is exactly of the same shape and size.

Carlisle.
LEG. VI. VIC.

THE legionary soldiers were the persons employed in building this wall, as they were generally in all considerable works of this nature. And that the three legions, which were at that time in *Britain*, built *Antoninus's* wall in *Scotland*, is clear from a great number of inscriptions found in that wall, which expressly declare it. However I am inclined to think the twentieth legion had no concern in building the wall of *Severus*; but that it was wholly done by the

^a N. LVI.

^b N. I. XXV.

^c Cumberland, N. XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIII.

^d N. XXIV.

^e N. XXV.

^f N. XLIV.

^g N. XXVII.

^h N. XXVI.

ⁱ N. XXXIII.

^k N. XXXVI, XXXVII.

^l N. XXXVIII.

^m N. XLII.

the other two, namely the *legio secunda Augusta*, and *legio sexta victrix*. For these legions only (as far as appears) erected the inscriptions I have now been speaking of. If therefore twenty cohorts, the number in two legions, built the whole wall, it will be easy to determine the share which belonged to every cohort. For there being eighty one *castella* upon the whole wall, and so eighty milliary intervals; just four of these intervals would fall to the share of every cohort. Nor may it be amiss to try how far we can find out the several cohorts belonging to the respective legions, and on what part of the wall each legion and cohort seems to have been employed.

If we divide the wall into four equal parts, the first and third quarters, reckoning from the east end^a, seem to have been built by the *legio secunda Augusta*, and the second and last by the *legio sexta victrix*. For at the east end of the wall we have express mention of the *legio secunda Augusta* in the stone at *Denton*, which is about six miles from that end of it. And we have six if not seven cohorts of this legion mentioned on these centurial stones, found in this quarter, viz. I. II. III. V. VIII. IX. Besides, there is a seeming appearance of the sixth at *Walbottle*. This quarter reaches near to *Halton-sheels*, or to the next *castellum* east of it, which is above two miles east of *Halton-chesters*. In the second quarter, which reaches from hence to the second *castellum* west of *House-steeds*, we have the *legio sexta victrix* on a centurial stone, about four or five miles from the beginning of this quarter. And at *House-steeds* and *Little chesters*, just at the end of it, the same legion is mentioned upon two altars and two bricks; but the *legio secunda Augusta* does not occur in this space, at least not in any stone that can be relied on. There are no cohorts upon any stones in this space distinct and visible, except the sixth and tenth. But no doubt several others have been mentioned upon the many stones found here, tho' the numbers are now quite effaced. In the third quarter, which reaches to *Old wall* near *Watchcross* in the county of *Cumberland*, we have the *legio secunda Augusta* mentioned again several times. Indeed the *legio sexta victrix* occurs upon a stone in *Cambeck* fort; but probably it has been inserted in the face of that fort, when it was repaired upon some other occasion. The cohorts in this space are the I. VI. VII. and IX. which I believe have all belonged to the *legio secunda Augusta*. In the last quarter, which I suppose may have been built by the *legio sexta victrix*, I meet with no centurial stones, excepting that at *Drawdikes*, which seems to have belonged to a cohort of another kind. The *legio sexta victrix* is upon a fine stone at *Carlisle*, but no particular cohorts appear in this space.

It is very certain that *Severus's* wall never came to *Tinmouth*. And the mouth of the river being guarded by the station at *South Shields*, may possibly have been one reason, why it was not thought necessary to carry *Hadrian's vallum* any farther than *Newcastle*, where there was a bridge, and *Severus's* not so far as *Tinmouth*. However 'tis very evident that *Severus's* wall went no farther, than the station near *Cousins's house*. It is very strange that such great men as Bishop *Usher*, *Burton*, *Buchanan*, Dr. *Smith*, and others should say that the wall reached only to the *Esk*, on the west; when the contrary upon view is plain to a demonstration. And 'tis no less surprizing, that any should seek for another boundary of the wall towards the east, than this at the station near *Cousins's house*. I have already observed, that there is not in all the space between *Cousins's house* and *Newcastle* the least vestige or appearance of *Hadrian's vallum*, or any thing belonging to it. It might be then judged, that the river from thence to the mouth of it was a sufficient fence, and therefore there was no need of another; since the maxim of this emperor was to build other fences in those places "where the barbarians were not restrained by rivers^b," as I have before shewn from *Spartian*. *Hadrian's vallum* on the west side of the town, where it

^a Tho' I believe the wall was begun at the west because my evidence here is strongest.
^b In quibus barbari non fluminibus dividuntur.

it is last visible, bears full upon the castle, and so has probably reached the bank of the river, and formed the south rampart of the station there ; it being very certain, that the river formerly flowed much higher up towards that part of the town, than it does now. So that I cannot think this work was intended to be continued any farther, otherwise it would scarce have been carried down to the river, or near it at that part ; for then, if continued, it must have made a very quick turn in order to keep without the banks of the river, which much later than that time flowed to the *Netherdeen* bridge. On the other hand, *Severus's* wall on the west side of the town points directly to the *Netherdeen* bridge, and there making a very gentle turn, goes towards *Pandon-gate*, and by proper bridges passes the hollows and branches of the river, that might flow up there. For what reasons *Severus* carried his wall farther than *Hadrian*, is not very easy to know. Most probably he did not think the river alone a sufficient fence so far up, and therefore continued his wall farther, and added a new station (in which his wall terminates) to the former stations *per lineam valli*. This may be the reason why we meet with few centurial inscriptions at any other station but this at *Cousins's house*. And this farther confirms my opinion, that the stone wall was not built till after the other, and not till the reign of *Severus*. As *Hadrian's vallum* therefore ended in the station at *Newcastle*, so *Severus's* wall has terminated in the station near *Cousins's house*, about three miles east of *Newcastle*, where the ruins of a *Roman* station and town are still plainly to be discerned, and the boundaries of the station may distinctly be traced out. The *area* of the station has been on a plain ; the south rampart has run along the brow of the hill, or at the head of the descent towards the river ; and the out buildings or town (as appears by the hillocks of stones and rubbish) has stood upon the descent open to the southern sun, and reached to the side of the river. All which is exactly agreeable to the rules the *Romans* seem to have almost inviolably observed in building their stations.

THE antient state of the wall from the east end of it to the *Red-barns* may easily be known from what has been said. At this house the line of it bears full upon the *castle* and *Pandon-gate* in the way to it, thro' which, or near it, the wall certainly passed. This is confirmed by the antiquity of the building, tradition, and the usual proverb, *as old as Pandon-gate*. Mr. *Gordon* and others must therefore be mistaken, when they affirm, that the wall is visible through the fields to the west of the *Red-barns*, and goes streight to the *Sally-port-gate*. The appearance of the ditch so distinctly on the west side of the *Red-barns*, gives an opportunity to take the bearing of the line with a good deal of exactness, and sufficiently determines which way it enters the town. Near *Pandon-gate* is what we call a *deen*, that is, a hollow and a brook, and near this an old house, which according to tradition was formerly the mansion house of one of our *Northumbrian* kings*. Hither 'tis certain the tide did formerly flow. And at passing this (or near the *Stockbridge*) the wall must have taken another gentle turn, which kept it from the river, and brought it up to the *Netherdeen* bridge, along which I suppose it has passed. For the line of the wall from the west, points to the western end of this bridge ; and it must have crossed this hollow, and therefore as likely at the same place where the bridge now is, as at any other. It is curious to observe, how the wall by taking these gentle turns, and observing this course, has either kept upon the rising ground all the way, or else preserved a descent on the north, the enemies side of the country. For in passing from the *Netherdeen* bridge it has run along the descent of the hill (I think through some of the yards between *Pilgrim-street* and the *Manor-chair*) and then again has kept on the other side on the slope of the hill, from *Pandon-gate* towards the *Red-barns*. And thus by descending to, and ascending from the *deen* or rivulet obliquely, and making a very easy turn at it, the wall has kept

* "The kings of Northumberland had a house in Pampden, which we now call Pampden hall." *Survey of Newcastle*, p. 4. According to this writer Pampden has been Pantheon: But the latter syllable more probably is from *deen*, for such is the place.

kept, on both sides the deen, some lower ground, and a descent on the north; as by making the small turn at the *Red-barns* and *Ewsburn* it reaches the top of the rising ground there, and keeps it to the end, so as no where to leave any advantage to the enemy of a rising ground on the north.

THE author of a pamphlet, called *A chorographical survey of Newcastle*, published in 1649, has several things that give light and confirmation to what I have said concerning the course of the wall through *Pandon-gate*. Speaking of the turrets upon the *Roman* wall he says: "One of these towers remains whole on the town-wall in *Pampden*, older than the rest of the towers, and after another fashion standing out of the wall^a." If the whole tower jutted out on the inside from the bottom, this is exactly according to the *Roman* fashion both of the *castella* and turrets. He tells us afterwards, "that this *Roman* tower in *Pampden* was lately decayed^b." He adds also, "that boats came up to the *Stockbridge* from the river, and that the antient fish market was thought to have been here." And as *Pampden* (now *Pandon*) was formerly a distinct town of itself, so this author quotes the grant^c of *Edward* the first, whereby it was given to *Newcastle*. The distance between the east end of the wall and *St. George's* porch, near the west end of *St. Nicholas* church (which as I shall endeavour to shew stands in the east rampart of the station at *Newcastle*) is about three measured miles and a half. From near the *Red-barns* on the east side of *Newcastle*, to near the *Quarry house* on the west, no vestige of the wall, or any thing belonging to it appears. But that it passed through that part of the town, which is on the east side of the station here, in the manner already described, is farther confirmed by the following account of it in the western part of the town. In laying the foundation of a building in the *Groat-market*, about fifteen or sixteen years since, the masons struck upon the *Roman* wall at each of the side walls, so that the building stands cross the *Roman* wall. There is also a pretty certain account of the *Roman* wall's being discovered in the vicaridge gardens, which lie a little to the north of *St. John's* church in *Westgate*. And there is likewise a traditionary account of its having passed through the north part of *St. Nicholas's* church yard; and another of its having gone through *St. George's* porch, near the west end of it. To which may be added the following testimony of the writer above-mentioned, who says that "under the *Netherdeen* bridge came boats up from the river, and the *Picts* wall came over that bridge, and so along unto *Pandon*^d." As these accounts are altogether independent of each other, I think they afford a good argument, that the wall has proceeded through the town in the line to which all agree. I viewed from the most convenient situations the several places through which the wall must have passed according to these accounts, and was not a little pleased to find all these places so directly in the same line, and that line to answer so well with respect to the line of the wall, where I suppose it was, on the west of the town.

As for *Hadrian's vallum*, we can only carry on the line from the place where it was last visible without the *West-gate*, and where it bears upon the north corner of the castle. And according to this line it must have entered the town to the south of the *West-gate*, between that and the smaller gate, which leads to the *Forth*, and have gone near the free school, and *Mr. Ord's* house (almost over against *Denton-chair*) crossing *Westgate* between the pant or conduit and *Bailygate*, but nearer to *Bailygate*; thus falling in with the south rampart of the station here, as *Severus's* wall has done with the northern one. The two walls here seem to have been about six chains one from the other, which is the mean breadth of a station, when the station itself is a square, as I suppose this was.

BUT

^a Survey of Newcastle, pag. 2, 3.
^b Pag. 8.

^c Pag. 14.
^d Pag. 9.

BUT before I determine the situation and bounds of this station, it will be proper to recollect what reasons there are to conclude that there must have been a station in this town. And if we consider the importance of this place, its distance from the first station at the end of the wall, and the turns the wall makes (especially on the east side of the town) in order to its passing through the heart of it; we can scarce question but there has been a station here. And it's old name of *Monk-chester* seems to put it out of doubt. The former part of the name is taken from the settlement of the monks in this place, and the latter part from the *Latin* word *castra*, which is a pretty sure mark of a station. Besides the name *New-castle* (given first to the castle itself and then to the town) has been thought to imply (as in other instances) that there was an old castle or fort there before, and near the place where the new one was erected. And as this new castle was built by *Robert* son of *William the conqueror*, the old castle must have been undoubtedly *Roman*. And some years ago a coin of *Vespasian* was found near the castle, as I was told by the person himself who found it.

THE next thing is to determine the boundaries and situation of this station, which I persuade myself may be done. I hinted before, that there was a traditionary account of the wall's passing through *St. George's* porch, near the north-west corner of *St. Nicholas* church. But 'tis certain that the line of the wall lies a little to the north of this end of the church, and I think has not touched this porch, tho' it comes near it. And therefore I conjecture that the wall, which has passed through this porch, must have been the east rampart of the station; for this supposition will reconcile these seemingly differing accounts. And if a line be erected perpendicular to that of *Severus's* wall, so as to pass through that porch, and be continued along the brow of the hill at the head of the *Side*, till it meet the line of *Hadrian's vallum*, near the east end of *Bailygate*, and not far from the castle; this line seems to answer so well in all respects, that I can't much doubt its having been the eastern limits of the antient station. For this brings the station near to the castle, which probably has been built a little more to the south-east, in order to bring it nearer to the top of a steep hill. And fixing the eastern boundary of the station here, leaves a plain and level area for the station itself, and without it, a descent towards the south and the river, for the town to stand upon, which might extend itself to the bridge, supposing the antient bridge to be near the same place where the present one stands; from which bridge the antient town and station might probably take the name of *Pons Aelii*. This eastern boundary of the station must at that time have been nearer the river, than it is now; since 'tis certain that the river formerly flowed farther up toward this part of the town. The position of the eastern rampart of the station being thus determined, the other boundaries may be also defined; for the distance here between the lines of the walls seems to be about six chains. And it is not much to be questioned, but the two walls here (as in other cases they frequently did) have fallen in with the northern and southern ramparts of the station; so that these six chains have been the breadth of the station. And if we suppose the station to have been of a middle size, we must make it a square, and allow six chains for the length of it. If at this distance another line be drawn equal and parallel to the former, and between the lines of the wall, it will be the western boundary of the station, as the two respective parts of the two walls make the northern and southern limits. And upon this supposition a line drawn from the foot of the *Flesh-market* to *Bailygate*, near the east end of it, will be the eastern limits of the antient station. That part of the *vallum* which reaches from *Bailygate* to *Mr. Ord's* house, will be the southern limit; and a line drawn from hence to that part of the line of *Severus's* wall, which is about thirty yards east from the end of *Rosemary-lane*, must be the western boundary; and the part of *Severus's* wall included between this and the foot of the *Flesh-market*

M m

remains

remains for the line of the northern rampart. And what the author of the *Survey* informs us of, with respect to this part of the town, serves to confirm this opinion; that "the upper part and west was called *Monk-chester* before the conquest^a." And this seems to have been the most antient part of the town of *Newcastle*; for tho' the same author tells us, that those parts of the town about *Newgate* were antient, and called "*Hucksters booths*, because they had their living from the friers and nuns^b;" yet this shews that the antiquity of these parts according to this account reaches not so high as the *Romans*. According to this same author the mayor and aldermen had their residence in the *Flesh-market*, before they removed lower down; and the earls of *Northumberland* had their seats in the *Close*, and the earls of *Westmoreland* in *Westgate*. As churches, castles, and religious houses, have often arose out of the *Roman* stations and towns; so 'tis not unlikely that this may have been the case here. For tho' no *Roman* stones have yet been discovered in the churches, as have been at *Lanchester*, *Ilkley*, *Hexham*, and other places; we have near the limits of this station two churches, *St. Nicholas's* and *St. John's*, the *White friery* at the foot of *Westgate*, the *Hospital* where the free school now is, and the castle and buildings thereabout; not to mention some old buildings, or the ruins of them, that in my memory were at the foot of *Westgate*, or in the gardens belonging to the houses there, which may have been a part of some of the old religious houses. And according to the author of the *Survey*, there were above forty in the town and near it.

THUS I have endeavoured to trace out the antient line of the wall through the town of *Newcastle*. I might have attempted the like as to such places where 'tis now lost towards the other end, as near *Carlisle*, and beyond *Brugh* upon the sands; but that will better fall in with the account of the present state of the wall, which will make the subject of the next chapter. Tho' the wall has gone no farther than *Boulnefs*; yet it has been observed, that there has been a series of turrets continued along the side of the *Solway* frith, from *Boulnefs* to the most westerly promontory of this *aestuarium*. *Bede* mentions these, and Mr. *Gordon* tells us, that he discovered the remains of them^c. These turrets are said to have been built a little before the last departure of the *Romans*. The exploratory turrets along the side of the *Solway* frith may be compared with the station at *South Shields*, at the mouth of the river *Tine*, from whence there is also a large view into the sea. The reason and use both of one and the other may in general have been the same. But as the eastern coast hereabouts was sooner left by the *Romans* than the western; so the station at *South Shields* was doubtless abandoned before those turrets on the coast in *Cumberland* were erected. If there be any certainty in what *Cambden* and other good authors affirm, "that the *Scots* poured out of *Ireland* into this island^d;" this alone would be a sufficient reason both for erecting these turrets upon the coast, and for making the western parts and west end of the wall stronger, by placing more stations and garrisons there. In my account of the stations *per lineam valli* I have shewn, that three of the five stations, which are secondarily *per lineam valli*, have stood upon military ways which lead to *Carlisle*^e. Perhaps the reason of this too might be, because the northern nations frequently made their inroads thereabouts.

^a *Survey*, pag. 5.

^b *Ib.* pag. 16.

^c *Itin. Septent.* p. 90, 91.

^d *Cambden*, p. 1004. edit. 1722.

^e *Pag.* 113, 114.

CHAPTER IX.

The present state of *Hadrian's vallum*, and the wall of *Severus*.

HAVING in the foregoing chapter given some account of the ancient and original state of the *Roman* walls in the north of *England*, I shall now proceed to describe them in their present condition. And since the remains of them are more or less perfect in different places, I shall reduce these remains to four degrees of appearance. As to *Hadrian's vallum*, I would call it the highest or fourth degree, if in any part the present state could be supposed to be nearly equal to what it originally was, but this I think never is the case; the first and lowest degree is, when there are any certain visible remains or vestiges, tho' not very large; and the second and third are the intermediate degrees, as they approach nearer to the highest or lowest. But in the stone wall I call that the fourth degree, where any of the original regular courses are remaining, and usually name the number of courses. Where the original stones remain upon the spot, tho' not in their regular order, I call it the third degree; where the rubbish is high and distinct, tho' covered with earth, or grown over with grass, I call it the second; and the first is where there are any remaining vestiges of the wall, tho' faint and obscure.

SEVERUS's wall has very manifestly terminated in a square fort or station, SEGEDVNVM. above a furlong to the east of the mansion called *Cousins's house*, as was shewn in the preceding chapter. The ruins of a *Roman* station and town at this place are still very discernible; tho' it has all been plowed, and is now a very rich meadow. The stones and rubbish of the buildings are leveled, and covered with earth and grass; but yet the ramparts of the fort may be distinctly traced out, both they and the ditch being visible at least in one degree almost quite round. There are very evident remains of two turrets at the western and eastern entries to the station, and of another at the south-west corner. The west entry has been close to the wall, and the eastern one directly opposite to it. The fort has been about one hundred and forty yards, or perhaps six chains, square, and so the contents of it above three acres and an half. About sixty yards of the western and eastern sides lie without, or to the north of the line of the wall, and eighty within it; so that the wall falls upon the sides of the station, not far from the middle of them. The south rampart of this fort is about three quarters of a furlong from the river side, and runs along the brow of the hill, or at the head of a considerable descent from thence to the river. There have been ruins of buildings on this part, and to the south-west of the fort; but they are now so leveled and covered, that little evidence appears above ground; yet the stones and remains of rubbish are easily discovered, when the surface is any where removed: and some of these inequalities in the surface, which usually arise from ruins, yet remain, and may easily be perceived to be hillocks of stones or rubbish. Mr. *Gordon* supposes, that the wall itself forms almost a right angle, and then is continued down to the side of the river*. But it is the western rampart of the station which makes that angle with the wall. Nor does this rampart reach to the river, tho' 'tis likely the town, or buildings without the fort may have extended so far. On the north side of the station there are some crooked risings and settlings of the ground, which at first view appeared to me not unlike a round
fort

* Itin. Septent. p. 70.

fort or tower, projecting from the station with a triple rampart and ditch. The two closes in which the *Roman* town and station have stood, are called *Well-lawes*, perhaps it has been *Wall-lawes*; there being other instances wherein the names *well* and *wall* have been changed the one for the other. If the name *lawes* be owing to the rising ground only, the termination *larwes* or *lowes*, which signifies hills, so far corresponds to the *Roman* name *Segedunum*: but as there are yet two distinct *tumuli* remaining near the *Beehouses*, and not far from these closes; I rather think that from these, and a supposition that the ruins of the station and buildings about it were of the same nature, these closes may have borrowed this name; a *lawe* or *lowe* being one of those names by which such *tumuli* are frequently expressed*. There is one remarkable ruinous heap in the south-west corner of the western close, which is supposed to have been an antient building, perhaps a temple; tho' it might be mistaken for a *tumulus*. There are some inscriptions and other *Roman* stones with an altar now at *Cousins's house*, which must have belonged to this station, or to this end of the wall.

THE wall having left the station passes on to a stile in the hedge which incloses the more westerly *Well-lawe*; and is for this space (near an hundred and fifty yards) in the second degree, the ditch only in the first. At the stile it makes a very small turn, still keeping in the main towards the west, tho' inclining a little to the south. It passes through the outer court of *Cousins's house*, and on the north side of the mansion itself; the wall at this part being only in the first degree, tho' the ditch be in the second. The wall and ditch in the same state pass close by the *Beehouses* on the north side.

A LITTLE west of these *Beehouses* has been a *castellum*, the foundation and remains of which are very visible. 'Tis twenty two yards or sixty six foot square, which appears to have been the stated measure of all these *castella*. This, which is the first of them on the east side, is about three furlongs distant from the end of the wall; and has been, like all the rest, built on or close to the wall, but wholly within it, or on the south side. From hence the wall passes by *Walker* or *Wall-kier* to *Byker* hill, both it and the ditch being for this space in the second degree, and keeping all the way within the inclosures. *Walker* no doubt has its name from the wall, and perhaps from the word *kier*, which in the present *Highland* tongue (as I remember) signifies a town, as *caër* does in the *British*.

BETWEEN *Walker* and *Byker* hill, upon an easy ascent, are the visible remains of another *castellum*, of the common stated dimensions. The distance between this and the last is about an *English* measured mile and half a furlong, which is somewhat more than the usual distance. From *Byker* hill the wall descends towards *Ewsburn*, being in the first, and the ditch mostly in the second degree. As the wall goes down this descent, it keeps within the fence on the south side of the highway, which seems sometimes to have been repaired with the stones of it.

AT the head of *Ewsburn's* bank, that is the bank on the east side of the village, is the visible foundation of another *castellum*, conveniently situated for prospect, as well as the last. And the distance between these two is exactly the same as before. There are also in this part of the track of the wall (I mean from the end of it to *Ewsburn*) some ruinous heaps, which may probably have been the remains of some of the smaller exploratory turrets, that have been placed all the way upon the wall. But these ruins are scarce distinct enough to be relied on.

FROM

* The field, in which the station at South Shields has stood, is called the Lawe. Formerly it went by the name of the Burrough meadow.

† This is a rivulet so called, the true name of which is perhaps Ouse-bourne.

FROM *Ewsburn* to the *Red-barns* the wall is scarce to be discerned; it passes through the inclosure, close by the hedge on the south side of the highway. The stony part of the highway it self between the mill and the *Red-barns* can't have been the wall; because this is on the north of the ditch, which is visible in one degree or more. These stones may have been taken from the wall to repair the road. The wall seems to have passed through the mansion house of the *Red-barns*, between the court and the garden. The ditch is visible in the first degree or second to the west of the *Red-barns*, not far from the walls of *Newcastle*, bearing full upon the castle there, and *Pandon-gate* in the way to it. But this is the last appearance of any part of the work on the east side of this town.

I COULD no where from the end of the wall to *Newcastle* discern any certain vestiges of the military way. Near the *Red-barns*, and upon the descent from *Byker* hill to *Ewsburn*, I saw the track along which I believed it had gone; but the appearance is so very faint and obscure, that I lay no great stress upon my conjecture; nor should I have observed it, had I not known before, that it must have been thereabouts.

As for *Hadrian's vallum*, I could no where in all this space discern the least trace of it, or of any thing belonging to it; nor did I ever hear of any traditionary account of its having been here.

THE distance from the station at the end of the wall, to *St. Nicholas's* church in *Newcastle* is exactly three measured miles and five furlongs. And in this space there are three *castella*, all visible; that which should have been next in course, is lost in the station at *Newcastle*.

No appearance of either of the walls can be expected, as far as the buildings of this great town extend; but as soon as they are well ended, some faint vestiges of both, or of what has belonged to them, begin to shew themselves. For just at the end of the houses without *Westgate*, and on the south side of the street, or highway, what I take to be *Hadrian's* ditch is for a short space pretty visible; and I believe the raised foot-way there has been upon the north *agger*. For a little space again every thing relating to *Hadrian's vallum* does quite disappear, till near the *quarry house* some faint marks of the ditch, and north *agger*, begin to appear, but chiefly of the latter. And this state of the *vallum* extends to *Benwel* fort. PONS AELII.

As to *Severus's* wall, little or nothing relating to it can be discovered between the town and the *quarry house*. There seemed to me at first sight to be some visible remains both of the wall and ditch, in a small field near the *quarry house*, between it and the town, and on the north side of the highway, which comes from *Westgate*. But upon examining them more narrowly, they appeared not so distinct as I imagined. A quarry, which has been wrought hereabouts, and from whence the house has its name, does very much perplex this affair. Yet I still saw reason to believe, that the wall had passed through this field.

I THOUGHT there were some visible remains of a *castellum* just behind the *quarry house*, and the line of the wall appeared to go through the midst of the house. And, as I think the walls converged a very little before, so *Severus's* wall has made a very small turn hereabout, in order to come up to the north rampart of the station at *Newcastle*, and to get to a sufficient distance from *Hadrian's vallum*. The *castellum* at the *quarry house* is conveniently placed for prospect, and is the only one that is visible between *Newcastle* and the next station. By the distance there should have been another, but it is quite demolished.

demolished. From the *quarry house* to *Elfwick* windmill, *Severus's* wall is but in the first degree; but from hence to the fort on *Benwel* hill, the appearance of the ditch is frequently very distinct, and the track of the wall (which keeps much upon the high road) pretty certain.

FROM the station at *Newcastle* to *Benwel* hill is nearly two miles and a furlong, and no inscriptions have been discovered in this space; at least none now remain, nor even the remembrance of any.

CONDERCVM.

UPON *Benwel* hill are the plain remains of a *Roman* station. And I make no doubt but that to the south of it there have been, as usual, some out-buildings, tho' now demolished and leveled by the plough. The situation of it is high, and the prospect considerable. The ramparts are large and distinct in the second degree, but the ditch scarce to be discerned. *Hadrian's vallum* seems to have fallen in with the south side of it, and *Severus's* wall strikes upon the east and west sides, so as to leave three chains to the north and six to the south. But there is no appearance of the wall and its ditch being continued through the fort, tho' Mr. *Gordon* has so represented it^a. And at *Rutcheſter*, the next fort to this, where the wall also strikes upon the side of the fort, both the wall and ditch are plainly discontinued. There are stones in the road that now crosses this fort, but these seem only to have been taken out of the ruins to repair the highway. The inscriptions found here will be mentioned in their proper place. *Severus's* wall and ditch in going down from hence to *Denton* continue much in the same state as before. But *Hadrian's* work on this side begins to appear more conspicuous. Both the walls pass to the north of the hall and village of *Benwel*, which is not improbably thought to have its name from the northern word *ben* signifying within, and *wel* for wall, as being seated within, or on the south side of the wall. From *Denton* to the *Chapel houses* both the walls and their ditches are almost all the way visible and distinct, generally in the second degree. Over against *west Denton hall* there seemed to be the visible remains of a *castellum*; and somewhat like the ruins of a turret, not very far from it.

NEAR the *Chapel houses* about a furlong south from *Severus's* wall, and less from *Hadrian's*, are somewhat like the ruins of a rampart. It is called the *Castle-steeds*, the name usually given to those *castella* that are regularly placed along *Severus's* wall. But this (besides its being at some distance from the wall which the other never are) appears to have been of a quite different form and dimensions. For it is about four chains long, with an interval in the middle, that looks like a gate, and so makes it appear very like the south rampart of a small fort. But if there have been ramparts on the other sides, no traces of them appear at present. The prospect here, especially to the south, is very considerable. Perhaps it has been an exploratory tower belonging to *Hadrian's* work, and prior to *Severus's*, and so neglected in his time. The usual *castellum* belonging to *Severus's* wall is about a furlong west from the *Chapel houses*, and visible there; so that the other can neither be one of these, nor intended to supply the place of one. From the name *Chapel houses* one would expect to find some ruinous chapel there; and I should have suspected these ruins to have been somewhat of that nature, if the name *Castle-steeds* had not determined against it.

FROM *Chapel houses* to *Walbottle*^b both walls and ditches are pretty visible, generally in the second degree, and continue so to *Newburn-deen*. But on the descent from the *Chapel houses* to *Walbottle*, *Hadrian's* north *agger* becomes visible in the second or third degree, and holds so for the most part

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^a Itin. Sept. pag. 71.

^b If bottle be a Saxon termination signifying the same as by, ham, ton, &c. 'tis evident that Wal-

bottle near Newburn is no more than Walltown, and that the story about the battle there, supposed to occasion the name, is pure imagination.

to *Newburn-deen*. Between *Walbottle* and this deen is a *castellum* still very visible. And from the deen to *Throcklow*, *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch are discernible, but not very large, in the first degree or more, and *Severus's* wall and ditch in the second or more.

OVER against *Throcklow*, in a convenient high place, there seems to be the ruins of another *castellum*; but near the village the *vallum* is very obscure. From *Throcklow* to *Heddon on the wall*, *Severus's* wall and ditch are very conspicuous, each of them mostly in the third degree, and *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch in the second. The north *agger* is also discernible for part of the way, and near *Heddon* it is very considerable, being in the second or third degree.

BEFORE we come to *Heddon*, there is on the north side of the wall another place of the same nature with that at *Chapel houses*, and called likewise *Castle-steeds*. The remains are very confused, and as it is altogether on the north of the wall, and detached a little from it, I believe it has been somewhat of a *castellum* prior to the wall, and neglected after the building of it. The prospect from this place is very good, which makes it the more likely to have been of the exploratory kind. However there seems to have been an usual *castellum* in *Severus's* wall, very near to these ruins; which is a farther proof that the other has not been used after the wall was erected. It seems to have been twice as large, as one of *Severus's castella*, and yet not large enough for a station. Three sides, the north, east, and west, may be traced out, but the other is intirely leveled.

NEAR *Heddon on the wall* somewhat appeared like *Severus's* military way, pretty near to his wall. But I think it rather the stones and ruins of the wall, and that the military ways have here coincided, because the north *agger* is so large, tho' in a ploughed field. Not far from this place there have been some remarkable *tumuli*. The village *Heddon lawes*, which stands upon a hill, has no doubt had its name from such *tumuli*. There is yet remaining one very great heap of stones, besides other *tumuli*, and a remarkable one farther to the east, called *Dewly lawe*, with a smaller one near it. The whole hill is like the ruins of a quarry, but curious and worth the seeing. If regard be had to the distance of twelve miles from the sea, *Heddon on the wall* would seem to be *Bede's villa ad murum*, and not either *Wall's-end* or *Wall-town**. From *Heddon* to *Rutcheſter* both the walls and their ditches are distinct, mostly in the second or third degree. And a little before we come to *Rutcheſter*, *Hadrian's* north *agger* is distinct in about the second degree. Here is another *castellum*, the remains of which are very visible, and an oval fort (tho' I think not *Roman*) near it.

IN this space there are six visible *castella* in a series without interruption, and the constant exact measure between them is six furlongs and three quarters; and the whole distance between the two stations, six measured miles and three quarters. The two *castella* that have been next the fort at *Benwel* hill, have no visible remains.

AT the fort of *Rutcheſter*, *Severus's* wall runs upon the middle of the east rampart, but is not continued through the station; whereas *Hadrian's* seems to have gone a chain or two to the south of it. This fort has been very considerable, as the ruins of it at present are very remarkable. On the north side there have been six turrets, one at each corner, one on each side the gate, and one between each corner and those adjoining to the gate. On the east and west sides there is also a tower between the gate and the angle, in that part of the fort that is on the north of the wall; but 'tis doubtful whether there has

* See Camden, p. 1055. and the Survey of Newcastle, p. 8.

has been the same number of towers in that part that lies within the wall. At present however they are not so distinct. The ramparts of this fort are still very visible, being in the second degree or more on every side. The ditch is but faint, and scarce discernible on the east side, being leveled in the highway. On the other three sides it is visible. The ruins within the fort plainly appear, and the entries into it may be distinguished. If there has been a town without, which there can scarce be any doubt of; it has been as usual on the south, where the village of *Rutcheſter* now stands, and covers its ruins.

FOR all this space from the very beginning both the walls have kept much upon the high grounds, so as there is generally a large prospect, but oftner towards the south than the north, especially with respect to *Hadrian's vallum*, where one would imagine the southern prospect has been chiefly consulted. *Hadrian's vallum* often leaves a rising ground to the north, which *Severus's* wall has all along guarded against; no doubt to prevent the enemies having any advantage from thence, in case of an assault. Accordingly I observe here, that whilst *Hadrian's vallum* goes on for a great way in nearly a straight line, *Severus's* wall winds and turns a little to fetch in the eminencies at *High-seat* and *Harlow* hill, which will be best understood by inspecting the map.

FROM *Rutcheſter* to *Harlow* hill *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch are for the most part obscure; tho' both these, and the north *agger* too, are visible in the second degree for some part of this space. *Severus's* wall and ditch almost all the way are in the second and third degree, and sometimes the fourth. Between *Rutcheſter* and *Harlow* hill two of the square *castella* are very visible.

THE breaks in the north *agger*, which are remarkable both here and in several other parts, deserve to be considered. They look like gaps made for carriages; but whether they are really for this purpose, or whether stones have been wrought out of it for paving *Severus's* military way^a, or whether they are only accidental, I shall not pretend to determine. They are oft very numerous, continued for a good space, and within thirty or forty yards (sometimes more sometimes less) one of another.

TO the north-west of *Rutcheſter* is a place called *Whitcheſter*, sometimes *Outcheſter*; in *Cambden* it is called old *Wincheſter* or *Vindolana*^b; and there are said to be some remains of a fort here, but all this seems to be a mistake. There is somewhat like the remains of an earthen rampart on one side, which added to the name may make it probable, that here have been the *castra aestiva* of the garrison at *Vindolana* or *Rutcheſter*; for perhaps it has been called the *Outer cheſters*. It lies without or on the north side of the wall.

BETWEEN *Whitcheſter* and *Harlow* hill is a round hill with a trench about it, which seems to have been exploratory; and by the situation one would judge it to have been antient, and *Roman*.

THE foundation of *Severus's* wall and the breadth of it are very distinct a little to the east of *Harlow* hill, and measures about seven foot and four inches. I thought I saw hereabouts the ruins of two turrets; which, according to the scheme I have laid down, must have been the first and third, east from the *castellum* at *Harlow* hill. Here also the military way was lately very visible (before the ground was ploughed up) pointing directly to the *castellum*. *Hadrian's vallum* just at *Harlow* hill is not to be discerned in any part of it, and *Severus's* wall too is in a great measure lost in the village. But 'tis curious here to observe the passage of *Hadrian's* ditch through a limestone quarry; where tho' nothing is to be discerned in the surface, yet below it the exact dimensions

^a See before, pag. 99.

^b Pag. 1087.

dimensions of the ditch may be taken ; because that part of the quarry through which the ditch has been carried on, is now filled up with earth only, so that the shape and measure here are very plain. It is made sloping, the depth between eight and nine foot, and about eleven foot broad. At this place too I was told of a *castellum*, and was shewed the place where it had stood, and the foundation seems yet to appear. It has had a high situation and a large prospect.

A LITTLE west of *Harlow* hill *Severus's* military way begins to appear very plain, and seemed to measure here about thirteen foot, being distant from the wall about three chains. And this is the first undoubted appearance of this military way, which now continues for a great length very conspicuous, mostly in the second or third degree. There is no doubt but it has gone up to the *castellum* at *Harlow* hill ; and where it first appears, which is but at a little distance from that, it seems to have come in a straight line from it.

FROM *Harlow* hill, or a little west of it, to *Halton-sheels* all is for the most part very conspicuous. At the usual distance from *Harlow* hill a *castellum* is visible, and about a furlong west from this the walls approach very near to each other, being not above a chain distant. Again at the usual distance another *castellum* appears, but somewhat obscure, and of an uncommon shape ; two of the sides being about double the usual length, namely those which lie east and west ; and the south side of it reaches very near the north *agger*. Here *Severus's* military way seems to cross the north *agger*, or rather runs upon it, there not being sufficient room for it between this and the *castellum*. I believe this has been one of *Hadrian's* exploratory *castella* ; but the north side of it falling in exactly with the line of *Severus's* wall, it has been used also as a *castellum* by him. Here *Hadrian's vallum*, ditch, and north *agger* continue in the second and third degrees ; and *Severus's* works mostly in three degrees, the wall sometimes in four, some of the original regular courses appearing. *Hadrian's* north *agger* is visible also some part of this way and afterwards very conspicuous ; so that I wonder Mr. *Gordon* should intimate, that it did not appear till beyond *Walwick*, or between that and *Carrawburgh*.*

SEVERUS's military way keeps upon the north *agger* for a while ; afterwards it passes on the side of it, without running upon the top. A little after it has passed by the *Wall-houses*, it runs almost parallel both to the wall and the north *agger*, and within a few yards of the north *agger* ; it passes also near the entries into the *castella*, but does not go up close to them. There seemed to be somewhat like a pavement from the entry to the way ; and 'tis highly probable that there has been one, tho' the distance between them is but about ten yards, and sometimes less. The military way here is low, but the pavement regular. The north *agger* is high by intervals, but has great breaks in it, and is in the main ruinous ; so that probably it required more pains and expence to level and prepare it for a pavement, than to lay the pavement quite new where they have done it. From hence every thing continues for the most part in the same state, till we come to *Halton chesters* ; only *Hadrian's* north and south *aggers* become obscure for a small space east of this station.

BEFORE we come to *Halton chesters*, somewhat appears that is pretty remarkable. *Hadrian's vallum* running full upon a little hill, turns at once round about the skirt of it, leaving the hill on the north, and thereby, one would think, rendering the *vallum* itself a weak defence at that part. The north *agger* goes close to the south side of this hill ; so that they were also obliged to carry the *vallum* round the hill, in order to preserve the parallelism. If the north *agger* was the old military way, and prior to the *vallum*, there

was

* Itin. Septent. pag. 74.

was nothing improper in carrying it on the south skirts of the hill; and then when the *vallum* came afterwards to be built (for a defence or place of retreat) they were under a kind of necessity to form it after this manner. Nor do I know how to account for this piece of management upon any other scheme than what I have already advanced. And if my supposition accounts for this conduct, this appearance does not a little confirm my scheme. *Severus's* military way keeps here also on the south side of the hill, and close to the north *agger*; but his wall passes over the north side of the hill, near the top of it; and the ditch is continued also on the north side of the hill, and appears very deep. Above a mile south-east from *Halton-sheels* is *Shildon* hill, where there is a large entrenchment of an oval figure. This, if *Roman*, may have served for exploration, or the *castra aestiva* for the station at *Halton chesters*. It is upon the top of the hill, the shape of which may have occasioned the oval figure of the encampment.

FROM *Rutchester* to *Halton chesters* is a little more than seven measured miles. There are nine *castella* between these two stations, and all of them visible, the interval between every two of them being near upon six furlongs and a half. And it is remarkable, that as the interval between these two stations is the greatest of any upon the whole line of the wall; so the intervals between the *castella* are rather the least of any, except in one single instance, for which there will be a particular reason given afterwards.

II V N N V M.

AT *Halton chesters* (as I call it from its nearness to *Halton*) are the remains of a station very distinct; tho' all our antiquaries have hitherto overlooked them. Perhaps the reason has been the irregularity of the figure; for the ruins both within and without are very considerable, and as apparent as most of the stations upon the wall. The broader part lies within the wall, and the less or narrower without it. The former they call the *Chesters* or *Silver hill*, the other the *Chester close*; so that both retain the name, which is a pretty sure mark of a station. And no doubt the name of *Silver hill* has been given to it upon account of the *Roman* coins found there, of which some have been found very lately. Perhaps the reason, why that part without the line of the wall was not made so broad, as that within, was, because there is a descent or hollow ground joining to the west side of this part, so that the work could not be carried on any farther that way without much trouble and expence; tho' it must be owned the *Romans* don't usually seem to have valued either the one or the other. Dr. *Hunter*, Mr. *Smith*, and others, take notice of some remains at *Portgate*, or near it. And in the new edition of *Cambden* it is observed, that "there is at *Portgate* a square old tower still standing, and great ruins of old buildings." But this tower has nothing in it that is *Roman*, being of the same form with a multitude of others that are in the north, and of a much later date. And the ruins are not (that I know of) at *Portgate*, but at *Halton*, which is more than half a mile to the east of it. *Hadrian's vallum* seems to have fallen in with the south rampart of this fort, and *Severus's* wall with the north line of the inner part; but both it and the ditch are discontinued for the breadth of the narrower and outer part of the fort. There seems to have been an *aqueduct* to convey water to this station, from a spring on the higher ground near *Watlingstreet* gate. When I rode that way, I was shewn part of it by a countryman, who said it was what the speaking trumpet was lodged in; of which fiction some account has been given in the preceding chapter. The remaining ruins of the out-buildings are to the south, and south-east of the fort. The rampart round the fort is in the second degree, and the ditch in the first, tho' in some parts scarce discernible. Near *Watlingstreet* gate (that is about a furlong to the east of it) is a visible *castellum*. And at *Watlingstreet* gate there has been a square *castellum* half within the wall and

and half without, in which respect it differs from the other *castella*. And the part without is more visible and distinct than that which is within.

FROM *Halton* to *Watlingstreet* gate, and beyond it as far as *Portgate*, *Severus's* wall and ditch are in the third degree. But *Hadrian's*, passing through plowed ground, can scarce be discerned, only the ditch is visible in the first degree at the least.

AFTER the walls have passed by *Portgate* (which is to the south of them) the military way becomes again very visible, passing near *Hadrian's* north *agger*, and going to another *castellum*, which is also very visible; and after it has left this, it approaches again to *Hadrian's* north *agger*, and then coincides with it; after which the two continue united, till they come near the next *castellum*, and then *Severus's* military way leaves the other, and bends its course gradually towards the *castellum*. After it has passed this *castellum*, it inclines again to the north *agger* of *Hadrian's* work, and at the distance of about a furlong from the *castellum* falls in again with it, and so continues united with it, till it comes nigh the following *castellum*, which is near *St. Oswald*. Here I suppose they have parted again for a little space. But the military way is lost in the village and inclosures from *St. Oswald* to *Walwick*. *Severus's* military way appears very distinct for the small spaces where it is separated from the north *agger*; regularly paved, but not much raised above the level of the ground. When the two are united they make a military way, very beautiful and magnificent, almost all the way in the fourth degree. And the rest both of *Severus's* and *Hadrian's* works are ample and conspicuous all this way. As for the course of *Severus's* military way, and its coinciding with *Hadrian's* north *agger*, and going off from it again at every *castellum*; it seems very curious, and I wonder it has not been more observed. I shall have farther occasion to take notice of the same appearance again a little after.

FROM *St. Oswald* to the river of *North Tine* some parts or appurtenances of the walls become more faint and obscure, and some not visible at all. But yet *Severus's* wall is in the second degree, and the ditch in the third most of the way; and *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch in the second.

AFTER the wall has crossed the *Tine*, it comes up to another station, which I have called *Walwick chesters*. The distance between this and *Halton chesters* is near five measured miles and a quarter, and in this interval there are five visible *castella*, besides one that must have stood near the river *Tine*, but is now entirely lost. The constant distance between these *castella* seems to have been seven furlongs.

AT *Walwick chesters* *Severus's* wall falls upon the middle of the fort, and *Hadrian's vallum*, as usual, falls in with the south side of it. *Severus's* wall and ditch, being never continued through a station, are here, as in all the like cases, supplied by the north rampart and ditch of the fort. The ramparts of this fort are in two degrees, and the ditch in one. The ruins of the out-buildings shew themselves between the fort and the river. There has been a considerable bridge over the river just at the fort, the foundations of which are yet visible. There are large ruins within the fort, the shape and whole dimensions of which may be seen in the draught. This fort is usually called *East chesters*; tho' I rather chuse to call it *Walwick chesters*, from the neighbouring place. *Cambden* says it was sometimes called *Silchester*, or at least that *Silchester* was not far from it*. But I could not learn that either the fort itself, or any place near it went by this name. I have been told that *Riechester* in *Riddesdale* is sometimes called so; and I know there is a place near that station which they call the *Sills*, and a rivulet which they call *Sil-burn*; but

CILVRNVM.

* Pag. 1081.

but this is at too great a distance. In the last edition of *Cambden*^a both *Great chesters* and *Little chesters* are mentioned, as being hereabouts; whereas they are both of them several miles farther west.

FROM this station a military way has gone directly to *Carrvoran*. It is very visible for the greatest part of the way. The course of it will be best known by inspecting the maps. I take it to have terminated eastward at this station; for the bridge over the river has been here, and the military way is very visible as far as *Newburgh*, pointing towards the river and this station. I observed what I took to be some remains of it near *Walwick grange*; and Dr. *Hunter* of *Durham* told me that he had made the same observation some years ago. The sepulchral stones now at *Walwick grange*, which were found between that place and the *Chesters*, seem to be a farther confirmation of this; for such monuments were often erected near their military ways. I also think the same way, or another beginning at *Cambeck*, was continued to *Stanwicks*. This military way is like a string to a bow, when the soldiers were to march directly from the station of *Walwick chesters*, or from the bridge beside it to *Little chesters*, *Great chesters*, *Carrvoran*, or any of the stations more westerly than these. If their march was *per lineam valli*, this way was by much a shorter rout, than to follow the course of the military way which attends *Severus's* wall. And if the north *agger* was the antient military way from station to station, and not ruined before this was laid; yet this is still the shorter and better, if the march was not immediately from station to station, but from the bridge to any of the stations more westerly than *House-steeds*. Besides that it is within, or on the south side of *Hadrian's vallum*, and consequently when they marched along this way, they might be better secured from a northern enemy, before the wall of *Severus* was built. And 'tis curious to observe, how in time of leisure and peace the soldiers were employed, and what works they performed in order to facilitate their march when they should be called out against the enemy. A little advantage, by making the marching rout easier or shorter, upon such an occasion, was procured at the expence of great labour, when they were disengaged from other affairs. And 'twas both a benefit to them, and a piece of good discipline to keep them employed in such works. And that it was their custom, where the way was longer than needed, to lay another shorter and straighter, Dr. *Plot* has observed from *Galen*^b. And 'tis plain that this way was designed for the use of the wall, and the stations upon it; for it leads to no other military way, but that which belongs to the walls: so that the stations upon this way, or between it and the wall, are rightly placed among the stations *per lineam valli*.

THERE seems also a branch of a military way to have come from *Watling street*, south of *Risingham*, to this station, or to the bridge beside it; of which there are some visible remains, as well as of two or three *tumuli*, that are on the west side of it.

FROM *Walwick chesters* to the village *Walwick*, *Severus's* wall and ditch are visible in the second and third degree. But *Hadrian's vallum* with what belongs to it, is more obscure. At the top of the ascent, just at the village, there seems to be the foundation of a *castellum*, and it is both a proper situation, and at the usual distance.

FROM hence all the way to *Carrawburgh* both the walls and their ditches are very conspicuous, and most part of the way several regular courses of the original facing stones are visible in *Severus's* wall. The two walls still keep pretty close together, and nearly parallel one to the other. Taking all the works together, they are no where in the whole track more conspicuous and magnificent than they are here, at least for so long a space.

I A M

^a Pag. 1054.

^b Natural Hist. Oxfordshire, p. 328. §. 26.

I AM much of opinion that the military way of *Severus*, and the north *agger* of *Hadrian* have oft coincided, where neither of them are now to be seen. And this probably has been the case in ascending the hill to *Walwick*. However *Severus's* military way, which seems plainly to have come off from the *castellum* at *Walwick*, inclines a little to *Hadrian's* north *agger*, and thus converging gradually for a little space, they again coincide and continue united for a long way very noble and grand, except where *Severus's* way goes off a little to reach the *castella*. A remarkable instance of this appears at a considerable turn the wall makes between *Towertay* and *Carrawbrugh*. This surprized me at first, till I plainly discovered the reason of it; that *Severus's* military way goes directly off to the *castellum*, and coming out from thence again with a gentle curvature, bends its course towards the north *agger*, and within six or seven chains runs upon it again. After this re-union it becomes larger and broader, and in every respect more grand and magnificent. This is a strong proof both that *Hadrian's* work and north *agger* was prior to that of *Severus's*; and that the north *agger* was really a military way leading from station to station. But this will be best understood by a particular draught of this part of the wall, which I have added for that purpose. The walls keep near to one another for a long way, and the military way separated or united, is within a chain or two of the wall.

NEAR *Towertay* there are five or six regular courses of the facing stones of the wall. And a little west from thence are large remains of a *castellum*, detached about a yard from the wall, the reason of which is not very obvious.

HEREABOUTS also there are for a small space heaps of rubbish lying on the north side of *Hadrian's* ditch, at a place where the ditch passes through some rocks, which looks as if stones had been wrought there for the use of the wall. There are also in this part of the north *agger* several breaks, as if they had been made for the passage of carriages, which I also observed in other parts. I remember not to have seen any such in those places, where the military ways are united. And here both the rubbish upon the north *agger*, and the breaches in it, are where *Severus's* military way leaves it to go off to a *castellum*.

THE distance between *Walwick chesters* and *Carrawbrugh* fort is almost three measured miles and a quarter. And in this space there are three visible *castella*. The fourth has either been very near the station at *Carrawbrugh*, or just fallen in with it. The intervals between these *castella* are seven furlongs.

HADRIAN's vallum seems to fall upon the middle of the fort at *Carrawbrugh* a little obliquely. And *Severus's* military way, which hitherto continues united with the north *agger*, appears to enter the east gate of the fort, and go out at the west. This I suppose must be what Mr. *Gordon* means, when he says*, "that *Hadrian's* ditch passes through the middle of the *area* of this fort." 'Tis an agreeable sight, to see how intire a great part of the ramparts of this fort still continue, especially on the east side. And *Severus's* wall, which forms the north rampart, is in the third degree at the fort. The ditch is most visible on the west, being in the second degree; but on the other sides it is not so much. Here too it may plainly be seen, that the corners of the forts were not strictly angular, but turned off in a curve; excepting where *Severus's* wall makes the north rampart, for at those angles the sides of the fort seem to be rectilineal. The buildings without this fort have been chiefly on the west side, where about a year ago they discovered a well. It is a good spring, and the receptacle for the water is about seven foot square within,

PROCOLITIA:

* Itin. Septent. p. 74.

within, and built on all sides with hewn stone; the depth could not be known when I saw it, because it was almost filled up with rubbish. There had also been a wall about it, or an house built over it, and some of the great stones belonging to it were yet lying there. The people called it a cold bath, and rightly judged it to be *Roman*. *Carrawbrugh* has its name from *Carraw* the neighbouring village, and *brugh* or *burgh*, which like *chesters* makes part of the name of such places. *Newbrugh* seems to be so called in contradistinction to this place, and perhaps the stones, with which *Newbrugh* has at first been built, may have been brought from hence; for I see no appearance of its being *Roman*.

FROM this fort to the village of *Carraw*, *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch are not very conspicuous. But *Severus's* wall is in the second degree or more, tho' the ditch is very obscure. About half a mile south-west from *Carraw*, upon a high ground, is a square fort now called *Broom-dikes*. It is as large as the fort at *Carrawbrugh*, and probably has been for exploration, or for the *aestiva* of this fort. About half way between *Carraw* and *Threep-fell-house* there seemed to be some vestiges of the smaller military way, supposed to have gone close by *Severus's* wall from turret to turret.

HERE I measured the breadth of the united military way, and found it to be eight yards, tho' the limits were somewhat uncertain. The height was about four foot; in some places it is much higher, and farther to the west nine foot or more. It was about eight yards distant from the side of *Hadrian's* ditch. There was about five yards distance between the south *agger* and the *vallum*, the earth being much scattered; the *vallum* was about seven yards broad and five foot high, and the south *agger* about two foot high and four yards broad. But as they are now fallen and spread, it is impossible to form an exact judgment from these measures concerning the original height and breadth. And in some places the south *agger* is much higher, broader, and larger than the *vallum* itself.

FOR about a mile the walls keep near to each other, and for that space are themselves and all their appurtenances very large and conspicuous. Several courses of the regular stones appear in *Severus's* wall, and the united military way is very pompous and grand. But after this the walls part, and take different courses; tho' the military ways continue united for some space after the walls begin to diverge. But near a *castellum* *Severus's* military way quits the other, and bends its course towards the *castellum* in an inclosed woody field about a quarter of a mile east from the *castellum* which is next on the east to *Shewen-sheel* houses. After the parting of the military ways, and near half a mile east of *Shewen-sheels* is a square entrenchment between the two walls about sixty yards square. This I think must also have belonged to *Hadrian's vallum*, and become useless when *Severus's* wall was built. The north *agger* continues after the separation large and high, tho' neither so large or so broad as when the two were united. It is mixed with stones, and no regular pavement appears; whereas *Severus's* military way after this parting appears little raised, but regularly paved. Both of them have the manifest appearance of a military way after they are parted. The continued separation of these two ways is owing to the great distance of the walls from one another. For *Hadrian's vallum* keeps the low ground all the way, and for a good space is in a narrow ground between two hills, whilst *Severus's* runs along the very brink of the precipices, which in some places seem to have been made steeper by art, in order to render them more inaccessible. For this reason *Severus's* wall is for this space very crooked, whilst *Hadrian's* in the main is pretty straight. They have made no ditch to *Severus's* work when they had the advantage of a precipice, nor was there the least occasion for it. But in the hollow intervals between the rocks they have often drawn a ditch, and in these places usually erected their *castella*.

AFTER

AFTER their separation *Severus's* military way accompanies the wall pretty closely, and is generally for the whole space that the walls continue so far parted, visible and distinct. Yet the way does not follow every smaller winding of the wall, upon the tops of the precipices; but generally takes a shorter course, and passes along the slope of the hill from *castellum* to *castellum* in the shortest and most convenient line that it can. This is very remarkable at the first great turn of the wall, after it enters upon the precipices; for which reason I have in the map represented the military way at that turn, as it passes from one *castellum* to another. The wall itself is almost all this way visible in the second or third degree, and sometimes in the fourth, as near *Buisy-gap*; which is an aperture or pass between the hills so called, where there is an opportunity of crossing the wall on horseback. Thus it passes by *Shewen-sheel* houses, leaving *Shewen-sheel* castle to the north. This, or something else near it, is called a square *Roman* castle in the new edition of *Cambden*^a; and *Cambden* himself thought this was the station of *Hunnum*. But I saw nothing that was *Roman* about it. The castle itself (now in ruins) and the moles beside it are undoubtedly of a much later date. And I observed several trenches thereabouts; particularly a large and long one, which reaches from *Buisy-gap* cross the passes between the mountains. But these are all on the north side of the wall, and must certainly have been made in later times for securing the neighbouring passes. Probably they are no older than the times of our famous *Moss troopers*, who might conveniently shelter themselves among these hideous mountains and moles. I took the height of one of the rocks hereabout, and found it to be about forty yards perpendicular. But in other parts they are considerably higher. As such steep rocks are a sufficient fence of themselves, I am inclined to think the wall has not in these parts had either strength or thickness, equal to what it has had in other parts. For the remains here are not so considerable, tho' it seems very improbable that any of the stones, especially in some places, could have been removed. In the hollows between the rocks, besides the addition of the ditch and a *castellum* here and there, the wall itself seems to have been stronger and thicker. Where there is a small break of the precipice inward, the wall forms an internal angle fetching a compass. In other cases it passes directly from one rock to another, and then is usually continued down the side of the one, and up the side of the other, except where the descent is almost perpendicular, in which case it is only carried close to the side of the rock, beginning again at the top, which is all that was needful or practicable. Of this we have an instance just at *Haltwhistle-burn*. In its passage from one set of rocks to another, in the part I have been hitherto speaking of, it forms the north rampart of the celebrated station at *House-steads*.

As for *Hadrian's vallum*, and its appurtenances, they continue very fair and distinct almost all the way, both the *aggers*, *vallum*, and ditch being mostly in three degrees, till they come near this station, where they are somewhat obscure. It makes a remarkable angle pointing southward near a single house called the *Kennel*, which is about a furlong south from the *vallum*. And here the distance between the walls is very considerable, being five furlongs or thereabouts.

THE distance between *Carrawburgh* and *House-steads* is somewhat more than four miles and five furlongs. All the *castella* between these two stations are very visible, being five in number, but their distances are a little unequal. The two first intervals are just seven furlongs, but the next is only six, and the last no more in a right line, but if the compass the wall fetches be taken into the computation it will be seven. There is a turret near *Buisy-gap*, the distance of which from the nearest *castellum* is, I find, just one fifth of the whole interval between the *castella*. This falls in exactly with my scheme
about

^a Pag. 1054.

about the situation and distances of these turrets. It is also remarkable, that *Severus's* military way, coming off from the *castellum* next to this station on the east side of it, takes the low ground, and goes the nearest way to the east entry of the fort.

BORCOVICVS.

I CANNOT say, that *Hadrian's vallum* has made the south rampart of this station at *House-steeds*, but I think it has passed it not much to the south, and seems to have made a small turn just at the brook in order to come near, if not up to it. The southern boundary of this station is uncertain, tho' the other limits are distinct. The ditch about the station is also flat and obscure. *Severus's* wall makes the north rampart. From south to north it is about five chains, and from east to west about seven. The ramparts on three sides are in two or three degrees, but are lost on the other. The *area* of the most northerly part of the station is nearly plain; but the south part is more upon a descent, than any other station that I remember. I think the *praetorium* is visible, and the ruins of a temple near it. The vast ruins of the *Roman* station and town are truly wonderful, and a great number of inscriptions and sculptures have been found, and many yet remain, at this place. The town or out-buildings have stood upon a gentle declivity to the south and south-east of the station, where there are streets or somewhat that look like terrasses. The best view of the walls, and the greatest variety, is between *Walwick* and *House-steeds*.

FROM this station there seems to have gone a military way to *Little chesters*, some faint vestiges of which I thought I observed, but can't be certain. As such a military way might be of service for marching forces from one of these stations to the other; so it might also be farther useful for a more convenient passage from *House-steeds* to *Carrvoran*, or to any other stations along the wall more westerly. Near to this way, and to that part of *House-steeds*, where a temple is supposed to have stood, are some old wrought quarries, now grown over with grass. But I scarce think they are old enough for the *Romans* to have got their stones from them.

FROM *House-steeds* *Severus's* wall runs immediately upon the precipices, and the military way attending it is very conspicuous, particularly near the *Peel* and *Steel-rigg*, and so they continue almost all the way to *Haltwhistleburn*, not far from *Great chesters*. But as for *Hadrian's vallum*, as it keeps the low ground upon the skirt of the hill, and is at a good distance from *Severus's* wall; so for about a mile west of *House-steeds* all belonging to it is very obscure, as far as *Bradley*, from whence to *High-sheel* the *vallum* is in the second or third degree, and all the rest in the first or second.

THE distance between *House-steeds* and *Little chesters* is about a mile and three quarters. And the distance between *House-steeds* and that part of the wall which is directly opposite to *Little chesters*, is about a mile and three furlongs. And in this space there are two visible *castella*, the interval between which seems to be just about six furlongs. This is the least interval between any two *castella* upon the whole track of the wall. The reason of which may be the distance of the station at *Little chesters* from the wall.

VINDOLANA.

LITTLE CHESTERS is south from both the walls, but stands just by the military way, which I have already described, that passes directly from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran*, which is very visible for a considerable space from this station. So that this station must be reckoned among those which belong to the wall, it being in this rout, and the only military way, which belongs to it, coming from the wall and returning to it. There are two or three forts more, as *Carrvoran* and *Cambeck* fort detached to the south of the wall, tho' none so far as this; yet this is not above half a mile from *Hadrian's vallum*.

The

The people there call this station *Chesters*, or the *Bowers*; but by others it is called *Little chesters*, to distinguish it from the next station, that goes by the name of *Great chesters*; and it is in reality not only less than *Great chesters*, but than most of the other forts on the wall. It is only seven chains long from north to south, and four broad from east to west, and so does not contain three acres of ground. The ramparts are visible quite round, and very large, being in the third degree; but the ditch only in the first. The town or out-buildings here have been chiefly to the west, and south-west of the fort; there being a small brook to the south-east, and a descent from the station to it. The *praetorium* may be distinguished; and there seems to have been some towers at the corners of the fort, and perhaps too in the sides of the ramparts. The ruins of one of these towers are still very visible. What Dr. *Hunter* has told us in the *Philosophical Transactions** deserves notice. In the last edition of *Cambden's Britannia* this passage is quoted from him, but through mistake referred to *House-steeds* instead of *Little chesters*. The doctor's words are as follow: "Some years ago, on the west side of this place about fifty yards from the walls thereof, there was discovered under a heap of rubbish a square room strongly vaulted above, and paved with large square stones set in lime; and under this a lower room, whose roof was supported by rows of square pillars of about half a yard high. The upper room had two niches like (and perhaps in the nature of) chimneys on each side of every corner or square, which in all made the number sixteen: the pavement of this room, as also its roof, were tinged with smoke. The stones used in vaulting the upper room have been marked, as our joiners do the deals for chambers; those I saw were numbered thus, X. XI. XIII." This I take to be the place, which they shewed me, but it was then filled up. It looks very like a *balneum*, with the *hypocaustum* below it. And somewhat of this nature I saw at *Lancaster*, and *Risingham*; at this latter place it was not far from the *praetorium*.

SEVERUS's wall, which keeps upon the precipices all the way, is almost at a mile's distance from this station. And if this station was prior to both the walls, there is an obvious reason why neither of the walls could come near it. For *Severus's* could not reach it without quitting the precipices intirely; and *Hadrian's* could not come up to it without crossing some hills, which it always avoids, and quitting the plain low ground and the streight way, which it always endeavours to keep.

FROM that part which is over-against *Little chesters*, all the way to *Haltwhistle-burn*, *Hadrian's vallum*, ditch, and all its appurtenances, are pretty conspicuous, especially the ditch and north agger. And it is remarkable, that the *vallum* to avoid a morass or peat-moss, keeps the high ground south of the moss, so as that the flat mossy ground lies between the two hills, on the brow or edge of which stand the walls. But from *Haltwhistle-burn* to *Great chesters* it goes through some softer ground, tilled and enclosed, and is not quite so large as before. Between the *Steel-rigg* and the *Peel* there is a very remarkable turn in the military way attending *Severus's* wall; which seems to have been designed to carry it upon a slope, from one *castellum* to another. The way forms nearly a right angle pointing from the wall.

SEVERUS's wall descends at *Haltwhistle-burn* from the precipices for a small space, or rather the precipices fail here, and for above half a mile are not considerable.

FROM this place to *Great chesters* *Severus's* ditch is very large in the third degree, and near the station there are four or five courses of stones in the wall. One thing which here deserves to be remarked, is the considerable

2

turn

* N. 278.

turn made by the wall, as it crosses the rivulet, which has been manifestly formed with a design to bring up the wall to the fort of *Great chesters*, so as to fall in with the north rampart. For if the intent had only been to gain some advantage of the ground, or to bring it up again to the precipices beyond *Great chesters*, it would not have needed to turn either so sharp or so soon.

THERE are several *lawes*, *barrows*, or *tumuli* near the military way, or the branches of it, which goes from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran*, particularly near *House-steeds* and the two *chesters*. There are four of these near the branch of the military way, that goes off to *Great chesters*, and within sight of the station, which they call the *four lawes*.

THE distance between *Little chesters* and *Great chesters* is about three miles and three quarters, and here again all the *castella* are visible, being four in number, besides one more, which seems to have fallen in with the station at *Great chesters*. The interval here again between the *castella* is seven furlongs.

AESICA.

THE fort at *Great chesters* must be reckoned among the number of those that have been well preserved. The ramparts about it are in the third or fourth degree. Some part of the original stone wall is standing at a good height. The ditch is also pretty visible on all sides but towards the east, where it is somewhat flat. And on the west side there is a double *agger* and ditch. The ruins of the rampart on this side are very high. Several regular courses of stone are to be seen in the middle of this side-rampart, where the ruins have been cleared out. The *praetorium* is very visible, being about fifty yards from east to west, and forty from north to south. To this is joined another parallelogram at the east end, of the same breadth with the *praetorium*, and twenty five yards from east to west. This I take to have been the *quæstorium*. On the north side of the *praetorium* are large ruins of some considerable building, which probably has been a temple. On the south side of the fort has been a regular entry. Part of the jambs and some other stones are remaining entire; which may shew for what purpose such stones must have been, which are found in other *Roman* forts. A stone which looks like the threshold is lying near the gate. Some pieces of an iron gate and hinges have been found in the ruins not long ago. From this gate there goes a paved military way to *Hadrian's vallum*, which is distant about fifteen chains from this entry; which way is also continued, till it joins the other military way, which I have often spoke of. The out-buildings are most considerable on the south side, tho' there are also some on the east. I was told of a cross, standing in a meadow south from this fort; but when I came to it, I saw it to be a *Roman* stone, and the remains of a large altar. There are vast ruins of buildings in this field, which, as usual, has a gentle descent, and is open to the south. It seems to be called *Great chesters* to distinguish it from the last station, which bears the name of *Little chesters*; tho' it is not among the number of the largest forts, nor much greater than *Little chesters*.

BEFORE I take my leave of this station, I would remark the good contrivance and usefulness of this branch of a military way, that comes from the other principal one to this fort. I sought for such a branch at *Carrawburgh*, but could not discover any, and it is plain that it could have been of no service; for the shortest way from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrawburgh*, or even to *House-steeds*, is by the military way attending the wall. But if the march was to *Great chesters*, the other military way is plainer and shorter, and then the branch which comes off from thence to this station stands in good stead.

A LITTLE to the west of *Great chesters* near a house called *Cock-mount-hill*, the wall begins again to ascend the rocks. From *Great chesters* to this place the ditch is but faint, except for two or three chains, where it is distinct.

THE

THE wall running along the tops of the rocks passes by *Waltown*, where there is a well and a *Roman* stone or two lying by it. They have a traditionary story concerning this well, and the first Christian king's being baptized there ; which is too long to be inserted in this place, but may be read in *Cambden* ^a.

A LITTLE to the west of *Waltown*, and between that and *Carrvoran*, there is a part of the wall, which is in the greatest perfection of any now remaining in the whole track. It is about three yards high, has about fourteen regular courses, and at one part sixteen, of the facing stones entire. The reason of its being so well preserved at this part is, that the wall is here backed up with the earth and rocks on the south, or inner side ; so that tho' it be three yards high on the north or outward side, yet within it is not much above the level of the ground. For a considerable space the wall seems to have been faced up against the ground or rocks, and only to have been raised so far above the inner ground, as to serve for a parapet ; tho' even here it appears to have been of the usual thickness. I make no doubt but this is the place referred to in *Cambden* ^b, where we are told, that " within two furlongs of " *Carrvoran*, on a pretty high hill, the wall is still standing fifteen foot in " height, and nine in breadth." Both these measures are certainly too large, and must have been taken by guess. And I am apt to think, the height has been guessed at by the number of the facing stones that are standing intire ; which being probably reckoned fifteen in number, a foot has been allowed to each course. Soon after this the wall reaches the end of the long ridge of rocks, which it had followed from beside *Shewen-sheels*, and passes by the station at *Carrvoran*.

As for *Hadrian's vallum*, it is visible all the way from where we last left it, till it comes near *Carrvoran*. It passes near *Low-town*, just to the south of it, and particularly the *vallum* or rampart on the south brink of the ditch is here very visible. I was told there were the ruins of some *Roman* works at *Low-town* ; but upon viewing them, nothing like it appeared. They look somewhat like the houses of *Moss-troopers* ; which seems confirmed by what *Cambden* says, " that he durst venture no farther this way, for fear of " them." He mentions *Carrvoran* on the one side, and *Carraw* on the other ; so that the two *Chesters*, and the *House-steeds*, must have been the stations that he was afraid to visit.

THE distance between *Great chesters* and *Carrvoran* is almost two miles and a quarter. In this space there are three *castella*, and all of them visible, the intervals in a right line being six furlongs ; but if the turns of the wall be taken into the computation, they will then be about six and a half.

THE fort at *Carrvoran* is placed about twelve or thirteen chains to the south of both the walls (which are here very near to each other) and has a peat-moss before it. This may both be the reason of the modern name, and why the walls approach no nearer to it. The ramparts round this fort are very conspicuous, and also the ditch, both being in two or three degrees. And the buildings without the fort have been on the south and west sides, on the descent, towards the river *Tippal*. This (as I hinted before) is one of the forts that is intirely within *Hadrian's vallum* ; *Little chesters*, the fort at *Cambeck* water in *Cumberland* and *Watch-crofs* are the others.

MAGNA

THE military way, called *Maiden way*, passes through this place, and, as is said, goes to *Beaucaſtle*, which is about six miles from it. And the other military way, which comes from *Walwick chesters*, passes a little to the south of this fort, or enters and terminates in the *Roman* town here. It is very visible upon the moor south-east, and not far from *Carrvoran*.

FROM

^a Pag. 1054.

^b Pag. 1070.

^c Ibid.

FROM *Carrvoran* or the head of the hill just over against it, down to *Tippal* water, both the walls and ditches are very conspicuous. They leave *Thirlwel-castle* to the north. Here, according to tradition, the *Scots* and *Picts* broke through the wall. But the castle might be so called from the passage of the river through the wall. Just beyond *Tippal* water and this castle *Hadrian's vallum* makes a little turn, whereby the walls begin to diverge, and *Hadrian's vallum* becomes more obscure. Farther west, at a house called the *Chapel*, which stands within a *castellum*, the walls are about five chains distant from one another. For about a quarter of a mile before, *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch, the south and north *agger* are all in the second or third degree. But at the *Chapel* all of them again begin to be obscure. For the space between the two rivers *Tippal* and *Poucherling*, *Hadrian's* work is mostly in the second degree, and from thence, except a little here and there, continues obscure to *Burdoswald*. But near the *Chapel* *Severus's* ditch is very large, being in the third or fourth degree, and the wall itself in the second. The military way is also visible in the first or second degree. At *Foultown* the way is lost, but the wall and ditch continue in the second degree. And *Hadrian's* north *agger* is here and there pretty large.

NEAR the *Gap* the distance between the walls is about six chains. And not far from this, there is for a good space somewhat like a vast *agger* on the north brink of *Severus's* ditch, but whether natural or artificial I know not. Just on the west side of *Poltrofs* water a *castellum* is visible; and about two furlongs west from this *castellum* the walls are within a chain of each other, and continue so, almost all the way, till they cross *Irthing* water near *Burdoswald*. On the west side of the rivulet called *Poltrofs*, and near *Mumps-hall*, *Severus's* ditch appears large and distinct, being detached about eight yards from the wall. I measured it about thirty foot wide at the top, and fifteen at the bottom, and its depth about ten.

AT *Willoford* on the east side of the river the military way seemed to be south of both walls, and at the head of the bank on the west side near *Burdoswald* there seemed to be a military way on the north of them both, which was pretty visible. If the appearance be not mistaken, this is the only instance of *Severus's* military way running out from between the two walls in their whole track. I saw no remains of a bridge, either at *Poltrofs* or *Irthing*. The bank of the river *Irthing* on the west side, to which the wall points, is very steep and high, but it seems to have become more so of late years from the falling away of the sandy bank. But the declivity on each side of the water must probably have been always considerable; because the military way here fetches a compass, and goes sloping down the one side and up the other.

FROM *Carrvoran* to *Burdoswald* is just two miles and three quarters. And in this space are three visible *castella*, the intervals equal, and just six furlongs and a half.

AMBOGLANNA. THE fort of *Burdoswald* stands upon a large plain, at the head of a steep descent towards the river, having the out-buildings chiefly on the south-east. *Severus's* wall (which before it reaches the fort is in the third degree tho' the ditch be only in the second at the most) forms the north rampart of this station; and *Hadrian's vallum*, which is lost near the fort, must have fallen in with the southern. The foundations of the houses within this fort are very visible. I measured the thickness of their walls, and found them to be about twenty eight inches, and the distance, or breadth of the passage, between the rows of houses or barracks to be no more than thirty two inches. The ramparts about the fort are in the third degree, and the ditch in the second, excepting on the north side, where it is not so much. The foundation of
the

the west rampart is distinct, and measured about five foot. There are regular entries visible on the north and south sides, opposite one to another, as also faint appearances of entries on the east and west. In the northern part of the station there seem to be the remains of a temple. The turrets in the south rampart on each side the gate are still very visible; and over-against the entry are the ruins of the *praetorium*, on which a house or two stand at present.

FROM this fort westward for about a mile, *Severus's* wall shews itself between two and three degrees; but *Hadrian's vallum* is obscure at first, tho' afterwards, at a little distance, both it and the ditch appear in the second degree. Over against a house called *Midgham-foot* the walls are about ten chains distant. From *High-house* to *Walbours* they are very large and conspicuous; *Severus's* wall in the third or fourth degree, and the ditch in the second, and the military way very visible in the second or third degree at the least. The *vallum* looks like a military way, tho' this seems to be occasioned by its being the publick road at present; for 'tis very broad, but low. There is a visible *castellum* here, to which *Severus's* military way (as usual) goes up; and perhaps this has led Mr. *Gordon* to say, that the "walls touch one another". From hence to a place called the *Banks* the walls are distant about three or four chains, *Severus's* continuing in three or four degrees. At a house belonging to one Mr. *Bell* we discovered the foundation of a *castellum*.

A LITTLE west of the brook called *Banks-burn*, at a house called *Hare-hill*, is the highest part of the wall that is any where now to be met with; but the facing stones are removed. We measured three yards and an half from the ground, and no doubt half a yard more is covered at the bottom by the rubbish; so that probably it stands here at its full original height. Here has been a *castellum*, the prospect from hence being very good. The foundations of the *castellum* may be discerned, tho' there has been an house within it, the end of which has stood against the wall, and probably been the occasion of its being preserved at such a height. The walls here are about five chains distant, diverging so as farther west to run to a considerable distance from one another. And here *Severus's* wall and ditch are in the third degree; but *Hadrian's vallum* and ditch are almost flat, tho' the north *agger* for a good space is in the third degree. And near *Birch-shaw* the walls are distant about eight chains from each other. *Hadrian's vallum* avoids the hill, whilst *Severus's* wall fetches a compass, and passes over the top of it. Near a place called *Garth-side*, about a quarter of a mile west of *Randylands*, the walls come within two or three chains of each other. And for this space, *Severus's* wall and ditch are in the second and third degree. *Hadrian's* ditch is in the second degree, but the rest of his work is not very visible, the ground being plowed and inclosed. From *Howgill* westward *Hadrian's vallum* is in the second degree, the north *agger* and ditch in the first; but a little after they become very obscure. And from the same place *Severus's* wall and ditch are in about two degrees. The distance between the walls near *Howgill* is about three chains, diverging a little. At the water of *King* they are about five chains distant, from whence to the village of *Waltown* *Severus's* wall is a little obscure. At *Waltown* all relating to both the walls is obscure. But at this place there seems to have been some fortification or encampment. One side of the square is yet very visible, and the ramparts pretty large about eighty yards long. Somewhat also like a smaller rampart may be seen in the middle of the ditch, and something like a covered way beyond it, resembling the double or triple ditch and rampart with which some forts are encompassed, but less than usual. There seems to have been nothing of stone about it, nor any ruins of stone buildings within. It is pretty high ground and dry. Perhaps it has been a summer encampment or exploratory fort for the garrison at *Cambeck*, if it be a *Roman* work, of which

* Itin. Septent. pag. 80.

which I can't be certain. The wall after this passes by a few houses called *Sandy-sykes*, and so on to *Cambeck* fort. And from *Sandy-sykes* to this fort *Severus's* wall is in two degrees, the ditch not being so much ; but *Hadrian's* can scarce be discerned.

THE distance between the forts of *Burdoswald* and *Cambeck* is about six miles and a quarter. And in this space there have been seven *castella*, which are all yet to be discerned. The intervals between these seven *castella* are equal, and just seven furlongs each.

PETRIANA. *CAMBECK* fort usually called *Castle-steeds* is all grown over with wood, yet the boundaries of it may be traced out. It seems to have been about six chains square. It is detached to the south about twelve chains from the wall.

FROM this fort for about a mile *Hadrian's vallum* is scarce any where to be distinctly observed. And a little to the east of *Cambeck* hill *Severus's* wall is obscure, being in plowed ground, tho' just before it was pretty visible. And from *Cambeck* hill to *Irthing new town* the wall and ditch are in about the second degree, and continue so to the part over against *Comeranton*. *Hadrian's vallum* is here distant about three chains, and both it and the ditch appear in the second degree. But from hence to *Old wall* it is almost quite lost (tho' *Severus's* wall be for this space in the second degree and the ditch in the third) being all grown over with hazle and thorn. At *Old wall* the distance between the walls is about ten chains. At which place and beyond it *Hadrian's* work is pretty visible, especially the ditch and north *agger*. From *Old wall* to *Bleatern* the wall and ditch of *Severus* are both very conspicuous, the former in the second degree, the latter in the third. Here also the wall is covered with bushes of hazle and thorn. And between *Old wall* and *Bleatern* is a place called the *House-steeds*, where, about seven years ago, was found an altar, that is now at *Scaleby*, but has no visible inscription upon it.

THE distance between *Cambeck* fort and *Watchcros*s is about three miles, and has three visible *castella* in it, besides one more which was discernible some years ago, but is now quite ruined. The intervals are just seven furlongs.

ABALLABA. A LITTLE detached from the walls to the south, is a *Roman* fort of about four chains and an half square, called *Watchcros*s ; and, as I was assured by the country people and have had it since farther confirmed, a military way has gone near it, or between it and the military way belonging to the wall ; for they often plow up paving stones here, and think part of the highway to *Brampton* to be upon it. This is the least station in the line of the wall, and is as much plundered of its stones as that at *Brugh* or *Drumbrugh*. However the ramparts and ditches are very fair and visible. It is about half a mile from *Bleatern*. The military way, which I just now mentioned, has gone from *Cambeck*, or *Carrvoran*, to *Stanwicks*, like the string to a bow. And so *Watchcros*s stands here in much the same manner as *Little chesters* does in *Northumberland*. Near *Bleatern* the wall runs through mossy ground, and the foundation here has been made with piles of wood. *Hadrian's vallum* goes round this bad ground, and runs at ten chains distance from *Severus's* wall.

FROM *Bleatern* to *Wall head*, *Severus's* wall and ditch continue visible in about the second degree at least. But from thence to *Walby* the wall is very obscure, tho' the ditch continues visible. The most westerly houses at *Wall head* stand upon a piece of ground called *Hen-moss-brow* ; and about thirty years ago was found here a remarkable stone, which by the accounts of it seems to have been a *Roman* threshold. The stone was removed from this place to *Crosby*, but I know not what is now become of it. *Walby* stands just upon the wall, which is lost in the village. Some have thought there was the appearance

appearance of a station on the north side of this village. The country people say they several times turn up lime and stones with the plough. But the ground is wet, and not very fit for a station; and the lime and stones, which are plowed up, may have belonged to the wall itself or a *castellum*, which probably has been at this place. From hence to *Drawdikes* all is obscure, tho' some appearance of the ditch may still be discovered. For about ten chains not far from *Bruntstick-mills* the track of the walls is more plain and distinct, and there is a faint appearance of the ditch. But for about ten chains or a furlong near to *Tarraby*, either the wall, or ditch, or both, are visible in the second or third degree. From *Tarraby* to *Wall-knowe* both the wall and ditch may be traced out, especially the ditch, but neither are for any space very large or distinct; and they are less so from *Wall-knowe* to *Stanwicks*, being there in arable grounds.

FROM *Watchcros* to *Stanwicks* is more than five miles, and but two *castella* are visible in all this space, the one of which does not immediately succeed the other; for it is certain by the distance, that there must have been three more between these two, which are the first and last in this space.

STANWICKS, according to some, signifies the same as *Stane wegges*, that is, a place upon the stones, or a stoney way^a. Here the person where I lodged told me that the wall had passed through his garden; and that they hit upon it, and got stones from thence when they dug and enclosed his garden. The ditch therefore which appears so distinctly to the west of the village, between it and the river *Eden*, and which seems to lie pretty much in a line with this garden, and the track of the wall must, I think, be *Severus's*. And then 'tis highly probable that *Severus's* wall has formed the north rampart of the station here, as it has generally done with respect to the other stations upon the wall. This situation will suit exactly well with those rules which the *Romans* observed in building these stations. For here is a plain *area* for the station, and a gentle descent to the south, and towards the river, for the out-buildings. And by all accounts, and the usual evidences, it is upon this descent, and chiefly to the south-east, that the *Roman* buildings have stood. Abundance of stones have been lately dug up in this part. I was told of some, which by the description of them resembled the stones of an *aqueduct*. The ruins of the wall are very visible to the brink of the precipice, over which it seems to have passed in going down to the river, just as at *Burdoswald*. But doubtless both these precipices have been made more steep, since the building of the wall, by the falling away of the bank. It is not unlikely (as some have thought) that the river *Eden* has formerly run near the north side of *Carlisle* castle, and joined the river *Caudey* near the north-west corner. However I think it evident, that there must have been some alteration in the course of the river since the time of the *Romans*. And I believe the wall has been carried forward pretty directly from the height on one side of the river to the opposite height on the other. We are told in *Cambden*, "that the wall passed the river over-against the castle, where in the very channel the remains of it (namely the great stones) appear to this day^b."

ON the west side of *Eden* the walls are mostly obscure. At a part between *Grinsdale* on the one side, and *Newton* on the other, *Severus's* wall is very visible, and *Hadrian's* may be discovered about a furlong to the south of it. And a little to the east of *Kirkanders*, the vestiges are clear. Between *Wormanby* and *Brugh* the track of the walls is also visible, and they come within a chain or two of each other. But excepting the ditch at the west end of *Brugh*, *Hadrian's vallum* appears no more after this with plainness and certainty. And *Severus's* wall in the general is for several miles very obscure, and

^a Cambden, p. 1026, 1027. Perhaps the last part of the name may be derived from wick, a town. ^b P. 1024.

and much leveled. The people hereabout have no stone quarries for building, so that they spare no pains in digging for stones, wherever they have any prospect of finding them, upon which account the wall and stations have been sufficiently plundered. The ditches are here the most visible part of the works, and are very discernible in going up to *Beaumont*. At the entrance into *Wormanby* I apprehended I saw something like a military way, that seemed to be continued to *Brugh* on the south side of the wall, but I am doubtful of this.

THE distance between *Stanwicks* and *Brugh* is about four measured miles and a half, and in all this space we have not one visible *castellum*; but allowing the usual interval between them, there must have been five; for by carrying on the computation thus, the next visible *castellum* comes just in the proper place.

AXELODVNVM. THE name of *Brugh* leads one to think of a station there. And when I was upon the spot I saw and heard of such other evidences as leave no room for doubt. The station has been a little to the east of the church, near what they called the *old castle*, where there are the manifest remains of its ramparts. On the west side these remains are most distinct, being about six chains in length. And *Severus's* wall seems to have formed the north rampart of the station. I was assured by the person to whom the field belonged, that stones were often plowed up in it, and lime with the stones. Urns have also frequently been found here. I saw, besides an imperfect inscription, two *Roman* altars lying at a door in the town, but neither sculptures nor inscriptions are now visible upon them. I saw also a large stone coffin standing in the church yard, which has been dug up hereabouts not long ago. If besides all this, we consider the distance from the last station at *Stanwicks*, I think it can admit of no doubt but there must have been a station here, tho' most of its ramparts are now leveled, the field having been in tillage many years. I shall only farther add, that it was very proper to have a station at each end of the marsh, which, if the water flowed as high as some believe, would at that time make a kind of bay; and then the station here, and the next at *Drumbrugh* castle, would be the more necessary. The walls are lost near the village, which is a mile in length; yet by pretty certain accounts it appears, that *Severus's* wall has passed on the north side of the town. I take it, that about a quarter of a mile west from this town there has been a *castellum*; for at this place they have dug up a larger quantity of stones, than the bare thickness of the wall could well have afforded. They call the field the *Watch-hill*, and a remarkable tree in it is called the *Watch-tree*; and the tradition runs, that in ancient times there was a watch tower on this spot. I was also told that they sometimes struck upon a pavement hereabouts, not far from the track of the wall, and that the stones they found there, were such as they now use in paving. This, I think, must be the military way, especially since it seems to have been between the two walls. For as *Severus's* wall seems to have run nearly parallel to the highway from *Brugh* westward, and to the north of this way; so from *Brugh* to *Dikesfield* there is a ditch very visible to the south of *Severus's* wall, at first five chains, and at the end of the village *Long-brugh* about ten from it, which therefore must have belonged to *Hadrian's vallum*.

WHETHER *Hadrian's* work has been continued any farther than this marsh, or to the water side beyond *Drumbrugh*, is doubtful. But I am pretty confident that it was not carried on so far as the wall of *Severus* at this end, any more than at the other. And I can by no means yield to Mr. *Gordon's* sentiments, that the one for a good space at each end was built upon the foundation of the other. However 'tis certain, that from the side of the marsh to the west end of the wall there is no appearance of *Hadrian's* work, or any thing belonging to it.

FROM

FROM hence to *Drumbrugh* castle no vestige of the wall is to be seen ; tho' I think it certain, that the wall did not pass through the marsh, but by *Boiv-steed* hill and *Easton* : for both tradition and matter of fact favour this course of it. The country people often strike upon the wall, and could tell exactly several places through which, by this means, they knew it had passed, and always by the side of the marsh. Besides, it is no way reasonable to suppose, that the *Romans* would build their wall within tide-mark ; and 'tis evident, that the water has formerly overflowed all this marsh. The *Solway* frith has reached much higher, both southward and northward, than it does now ; and in very high tides it has been known even within memory to come a great way.

BETWEEN *Brugh* and *Drumbrugh* is somewhat more than four measured miles. It is not to be expected that any *castellum* should be visible here, considering the ruinous state of the wall ; but computing after the same manner as before, there must have been five *castella* between these two stations, the last of which is pretty near to the station at *Drumbrugh*.

AT *Drumbrugh* is a fort about five chains square, whose ramparts are large, and the ditch very deep. Out of this fort abundance of stones have been taken. It is very probable, that the house and garden walls have been built with the stones of the wall and station, and that it has the name of *castle* (as *Whitley castle*) from the old *Roman* fort ; for the seat is not built in the form of a castle. There seemed to be somewhat like a ditch to the south of the house, which I suspected might have been *Hadrian's* ; but this I dare not depend on. I am much of opinion, that *Severus's* wall may here too have fallen in with the north side of the station. As for the altars and inscriptions that are here, 'tis generally said, that they were all brought from another place. And 'tis certain from *Cambden*^a, that the two curious inscriptions^b which yet remain at this place, and are legible, did not originally belong to it. Whether any other altars which are here, and whose inscriptions are effaced, may have at first been found here, I can't determine.

GABROSENTVM.

A LITTLE beyond *Drumbrugh* castle, *Severus's* wall begins again to appear plain in the second degree, and the ditch is also to be discerned, and continues nearly in this state all the way to *Boulness*. About half a mile on the east of *Boulness* the wall measured ten foot in height, tho' the facing stones are removed. As for *Hadrian's vallum*, I have said before, that the track of it is intirely lost. And yet I am rather of opinion, that it has gone beyond *Drumbrugh*, and down to the *Solway* frith ; and that this may have been one reason why *Severus's* wall has formed such an angle in its way to *Boulness*.

THE distance between *Drumbrugh* and *Boulness* is near three miles and an half ; one *castellum* is visible, which falls in the proper place, when the computation is carried on, and just seven furlongs allowed for the distance between the *castella*. This *castellum* is fourteen furlongs from *Boulness* ; so that there has been another between this and the station, which has supplied the place of the last. If the wall was begun at *Boulness*, then the *castellum* has been built just at a proper distance.

AT *Boulness*, besides coins and other antiquities found there, as also an inscription, a copy whereof is yet at *Appleby*^c, there are still the visible remains of a station. The village now stands, and the fort has stood, upon a rock or promontory, on the edge of *Solway* frith ; and it is not to be doubted but the

TVNNOCELVM.

^a Pag. 1015.

^b Cumberland, N. LVI, LVII.

^c See the observations on the Cumberland inscriptions after N. XLIII.

the church, and what other stone buildings are in the village, have been raised out of its ruins.

THE station must have supplied them sufficiently with what stones they have used in their houses, most of which are made of clay; so that they have not gone to any distance to fetch stones from the wall, the remains of which are considerable not far from this place on the east, but there is no appearance of it to the west. *Cambden*^a supposes that the wall begun a mile beyond *Boulnefs*, from the foundations that appear at low water; but upon enquiry into this matter, I could not find any thing about it, which could be relied on, and therefore am of opinion that it has been the foundation of one of the small forts, which were placed along the shore of the frith, that led him into this mistake. When the tide is out, the river is fordable here. I rode it the evening I was there, but was told it could not be forded below; so that it is probable the wall has terminated in this station.

FOR the better representing the present appearance of the ruins of the wall, I have added both a general map of the whole wall, and also particular maps of the parts of it upon a larger scale. In these the several black lines are designed to express, according to their number, the respective degrees of appearance, as I have fixed them in the beginning of this chapter. The several members of the works, and their exact distances, could not be distinctly represented on a scale of that size; but to supply this, I have given a yet larger draught of so much of the walls as lies between two *castella*, and a profile or section of the walls, as I suppose they were in their original state. The interval between the two innermost lines in the maps, that is, between the most northerly line of *Hadrian's vallum* and the most southerly one of *Severus's* wall, shews the distance between the two works of *Hadrian* and *Severus* in the several parts of the country. The pricked lines north from *Severus's* wall represent the ditch, according to its degrees of appearance; but there was not room in the maps to express *Hadrian's* ditch, between the two walls, in the same manner.

CHAPTER X.

The antient and present state of the Roman wall in Scotland, and the forts upon it.

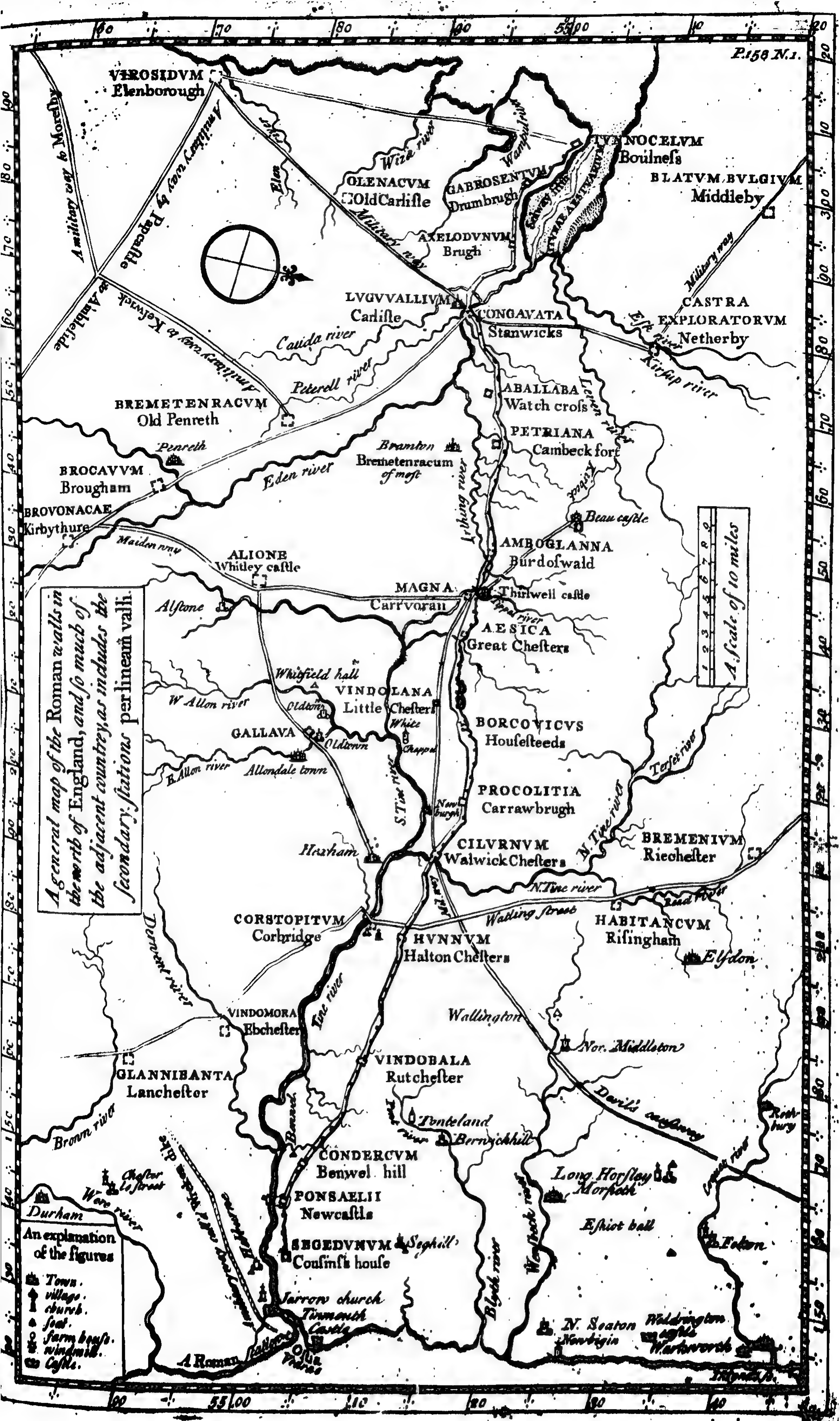
IT is very certain that this wall was built by *Antoninus Pius*, and that it has reached from the frith of *Forth* to the frith of *Clyde*; for the inscriptions found on this wall (as has been said already^b) put the former out of doubt, and we have ocular demonstration of the latter.

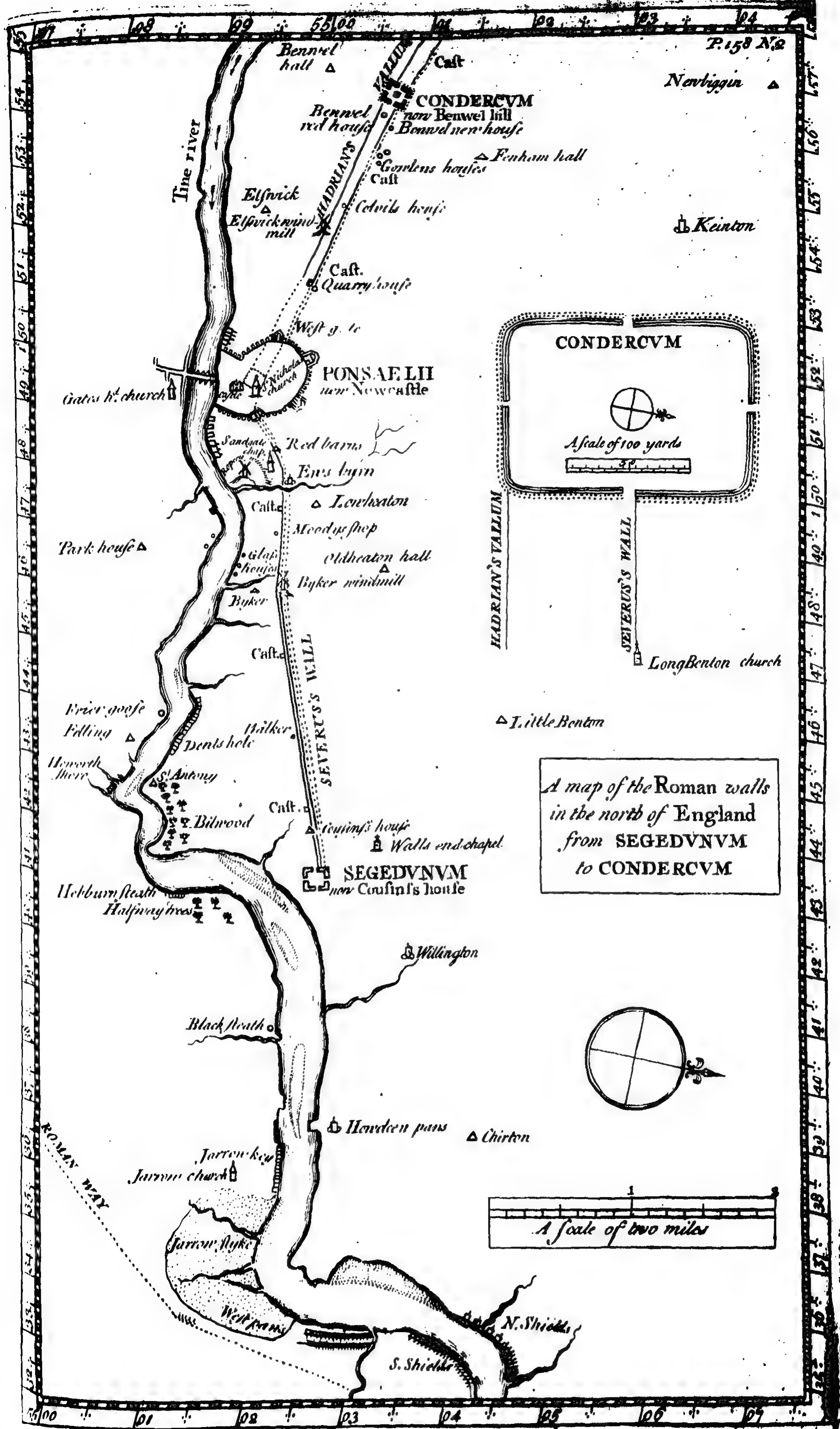
THERE are on this wall, as well as on that in the north of *England*, a series of forts or stations, a particular account of which will be given afterwards. I would only now observe, that many of these forts at least were in all probability prior to the wall, which I have also shewn to have been the case with respect to those stations on the walls of *Hadrian* and *Severus*^c. The argument for proof of this is the same in both cases; that the wall does sometimes manifestly make a turn with no other view but that of coming up to a station, and falling in with the north rampart of it, by which means it sometimes quits

^a Pag. 1017.

^b See above, ch. IV. pag. 52. ch. VIII. pag. 117.

^c See above, pag. 98.





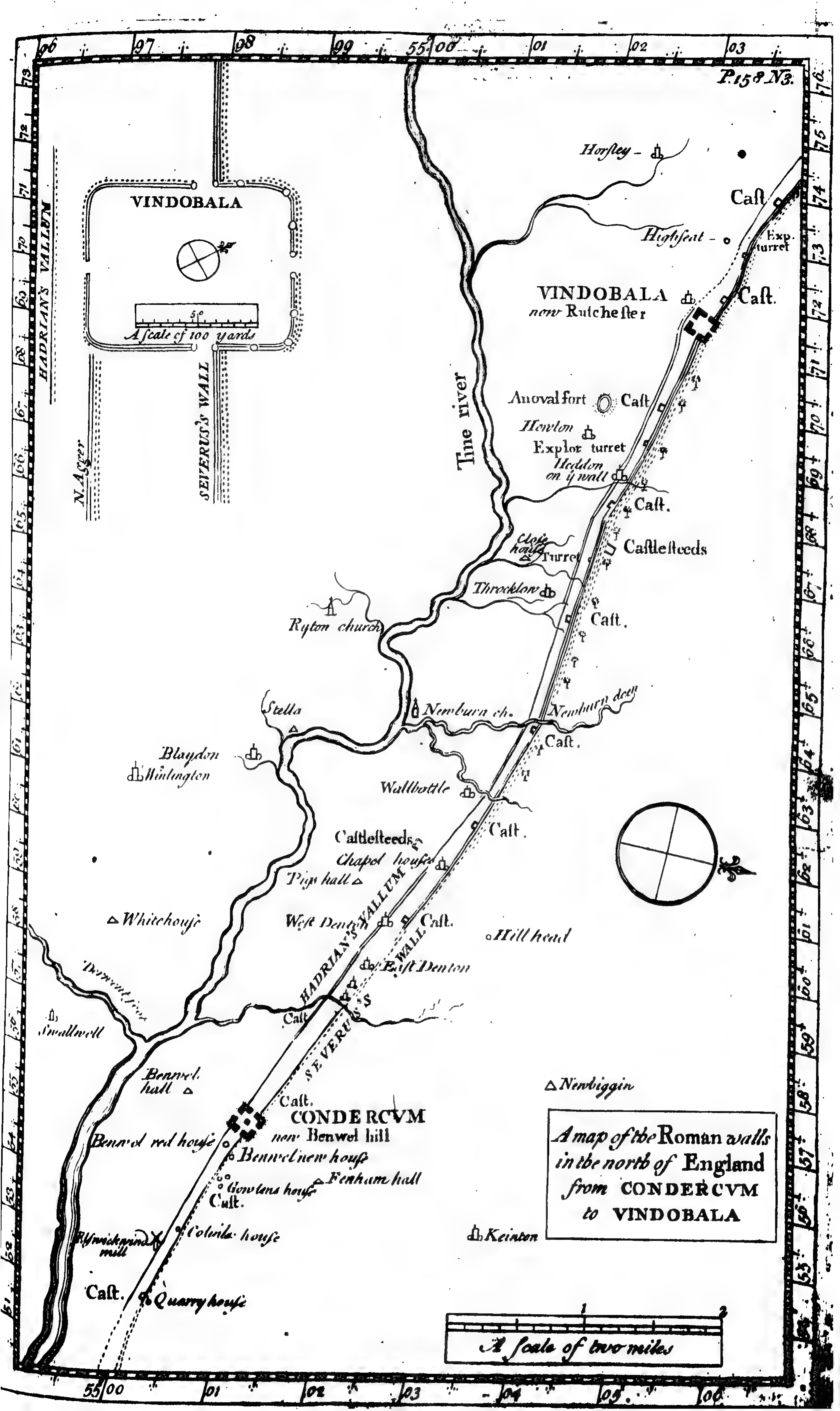
P. 158 N. 2

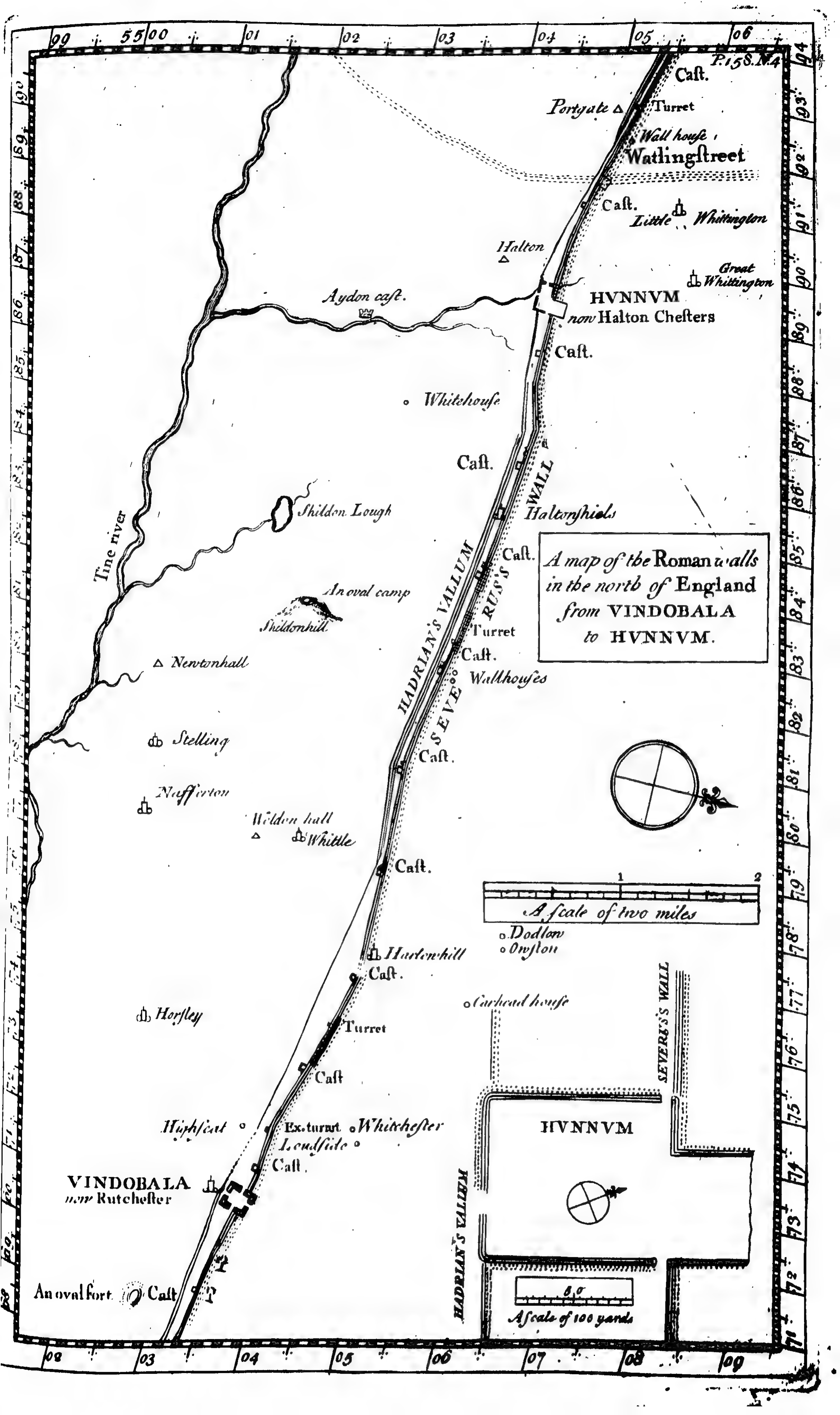
CONDERCVM

A scale of 100 yards

A map of the Roman walls
in the north of England
from SEGEDVNVM
to CONDERCVM

A scale of two miles

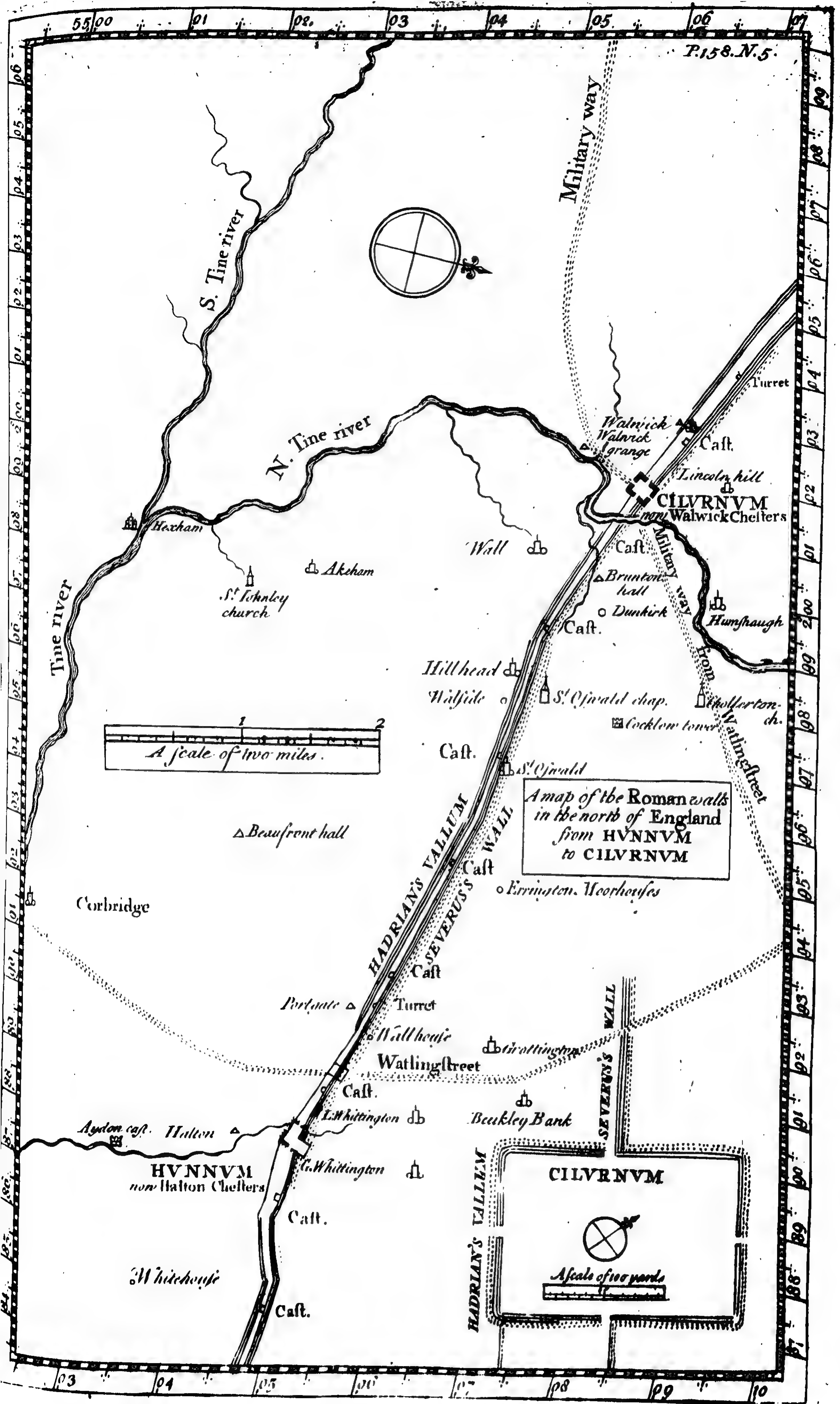


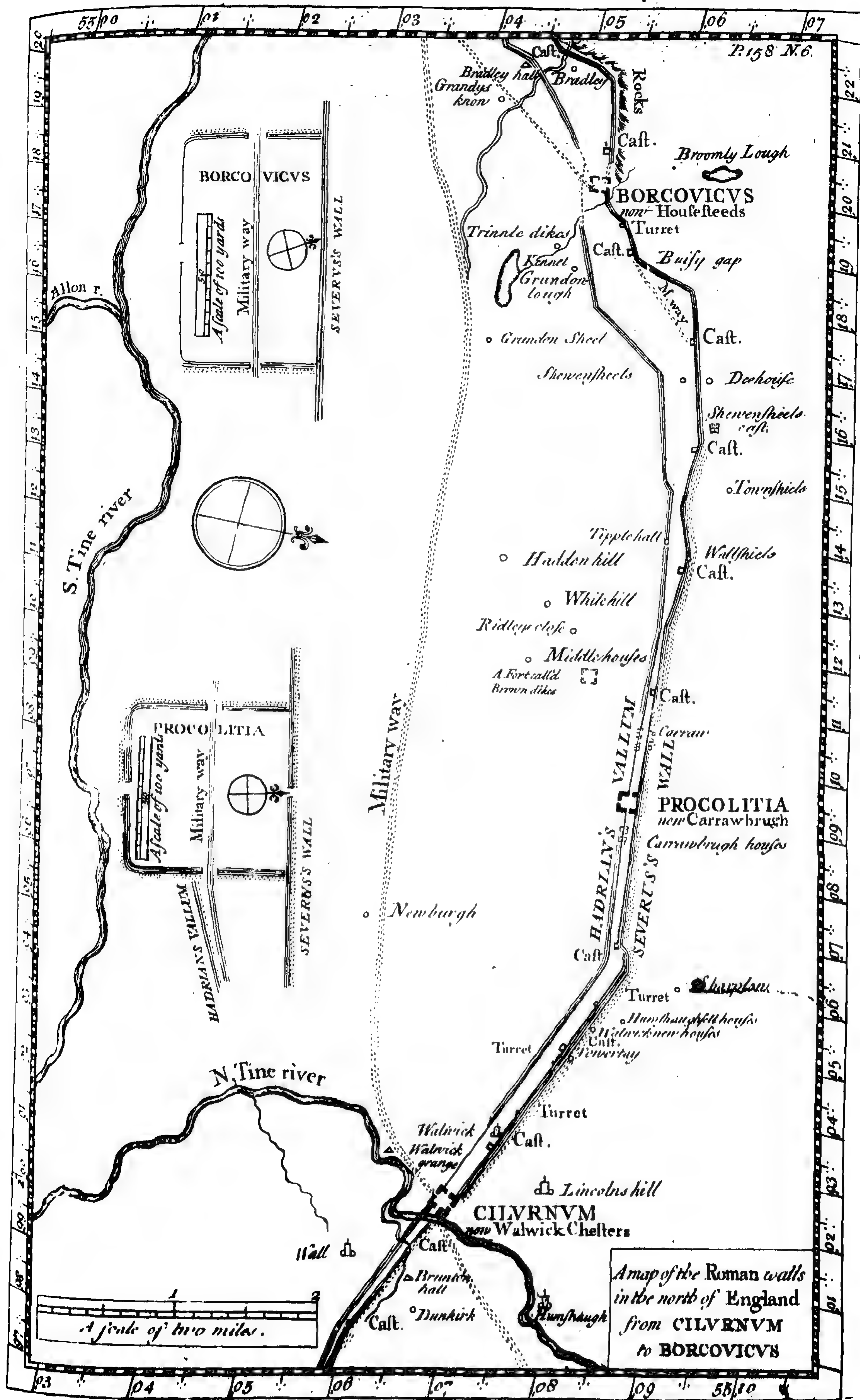


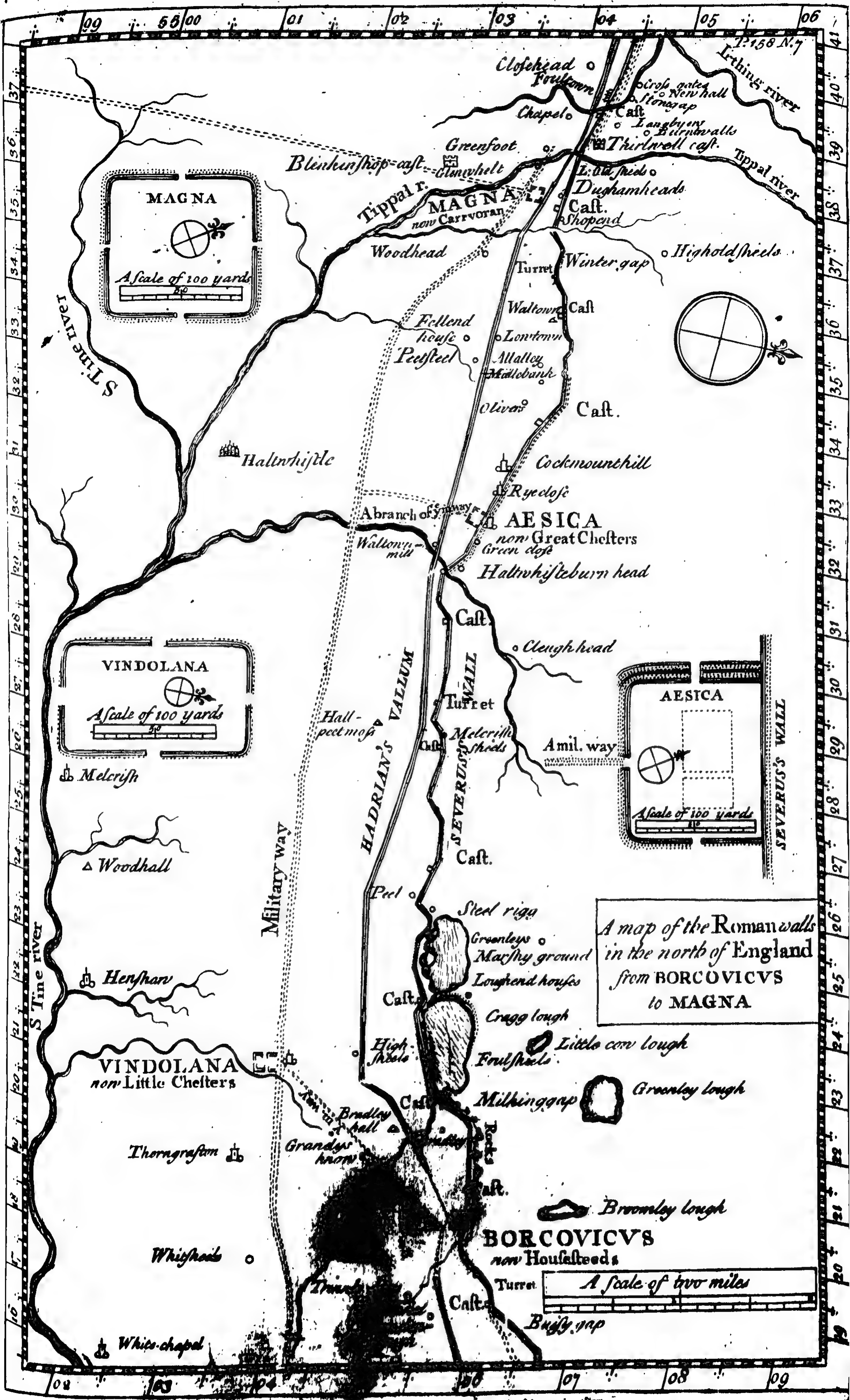
A map of the Roman walls
in the north of England
from VINDOBALA
to HVNNVM.

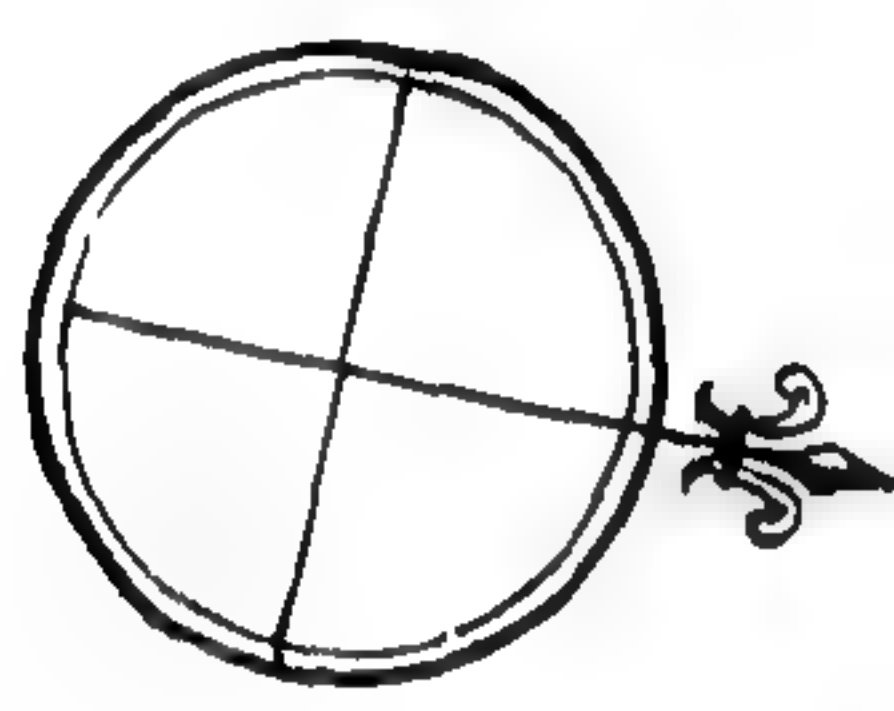
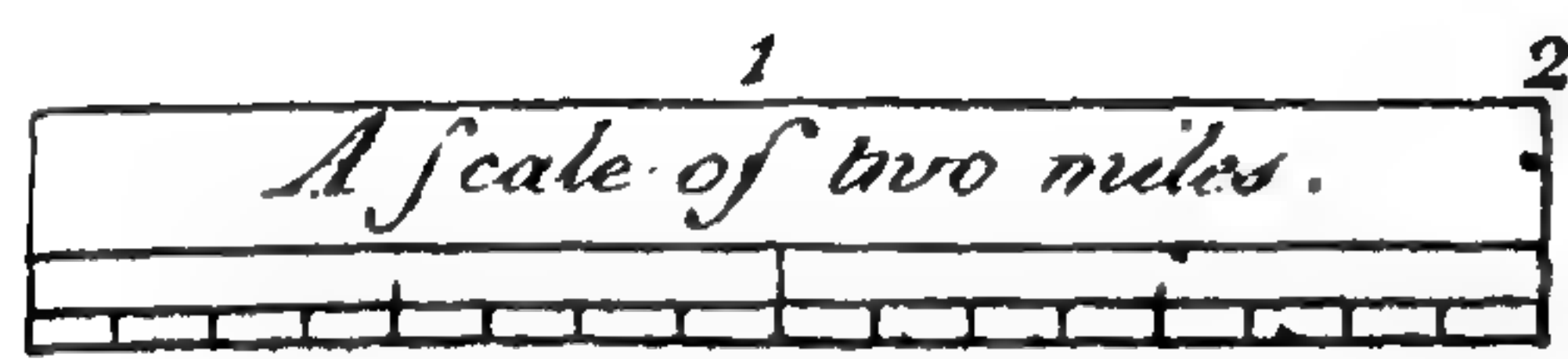
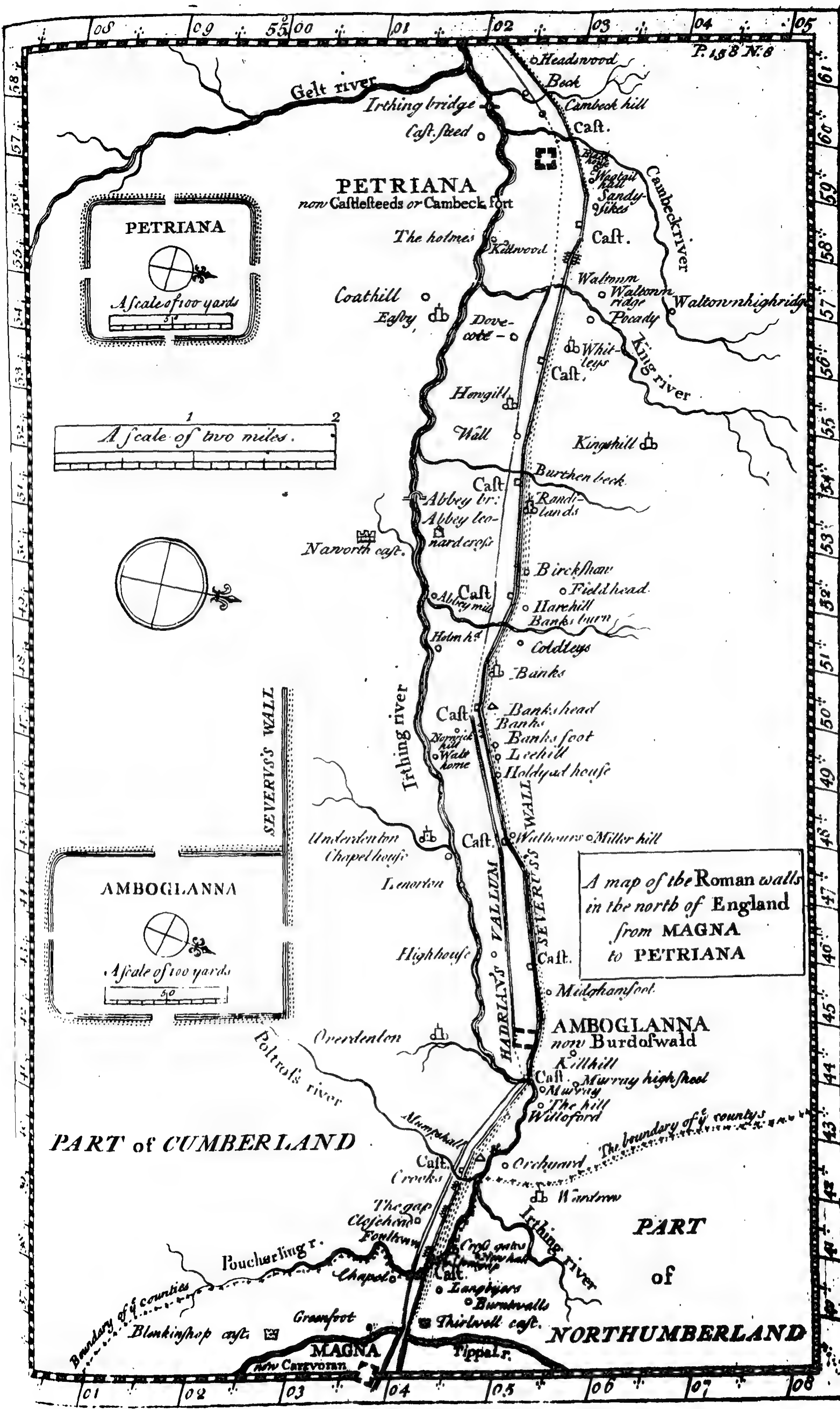
A scale of two miles

A scale of 100 yards







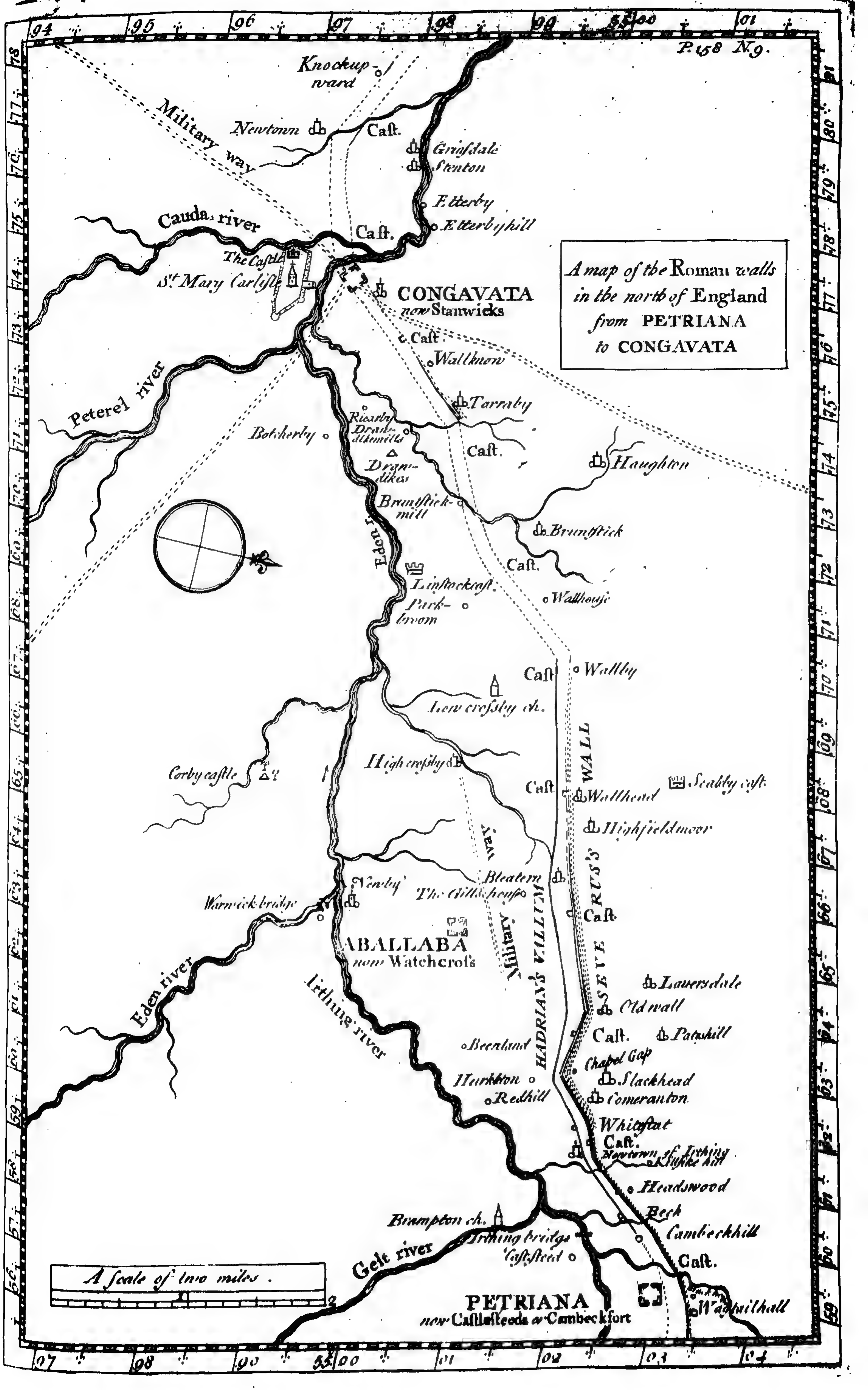


A map of the Roman walls
in the north of England
from MAGNA
to PETRIANA

PART of CUMBERLAND

PART
of
NORTHUMBERLAND

MAGNA
now Carvorn



P. 158 N. 9.

A map of the Roman walls
in the north of England
from PETRIANA
to CONGAVATA

A scale of two miles.

Knockup-ward

Military way

Cauda river

Peterel river

Eden river

Gelt river

The Castle
St. Mary Carlisle

CONGAVATA
now Stanwicks

ABALLABA
now Watchcross

PETRIANA
now Castlesteads or Cambeckfort

Grinsdale
Stenton

E. tterby
E. tterby hill

Wallknow

Tarraby

Botcherby

Ricaby
Drain
dikemills

Drain
dikas

Brumstick
mill

Linstock
Park-
broom

Haughton

Brumstick

Wallhouse

Wallby

New crossby ch.

High crossby

Corby castle

Wallhead

Scabby cast.

Highfieldmoor

Bleatarn
The Gills house

Warrick bridge

Lithing river

Beentland

Hurkton

Redhill

Cast.

Chapel Gap

Slackhead

Comeranton

Whitstat

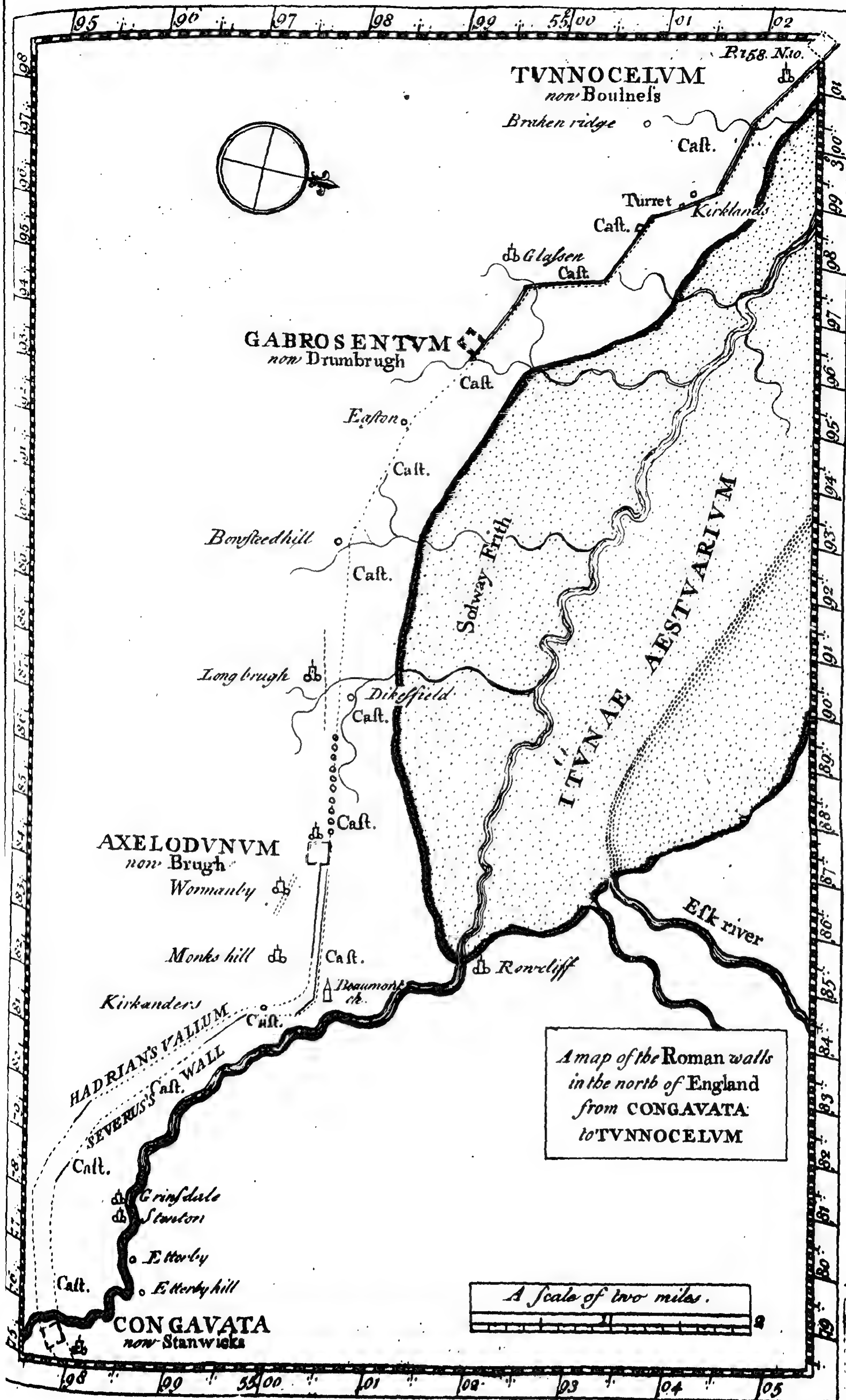
Cast.
Newtown of Irthing

Headswood

Beck
Cambeckhill

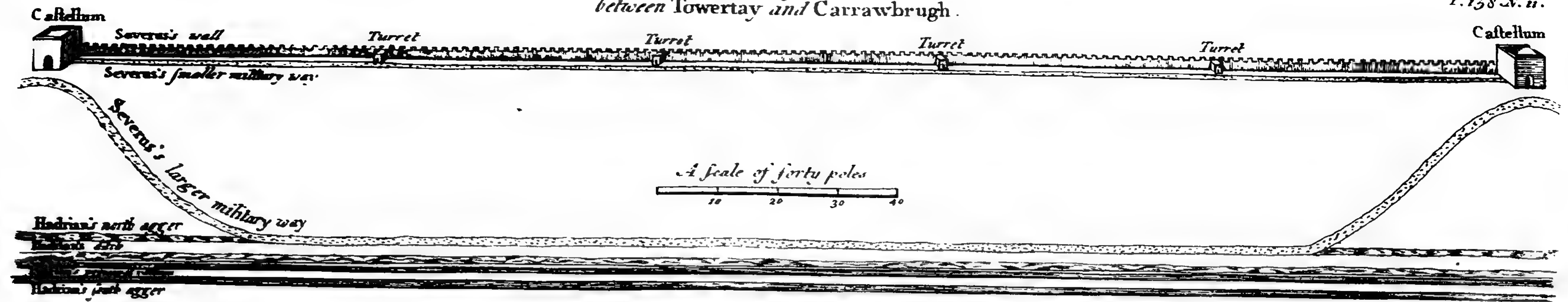
Cast.

Wadwilhall



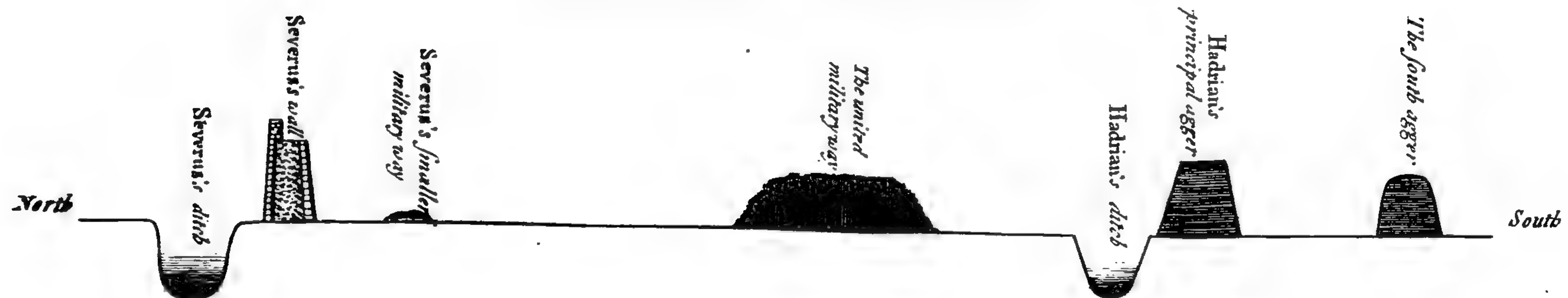
*A draught of part of the walls from one castellum to another
between Towertay and Carrawbrugh.*

P. 158 N. u.



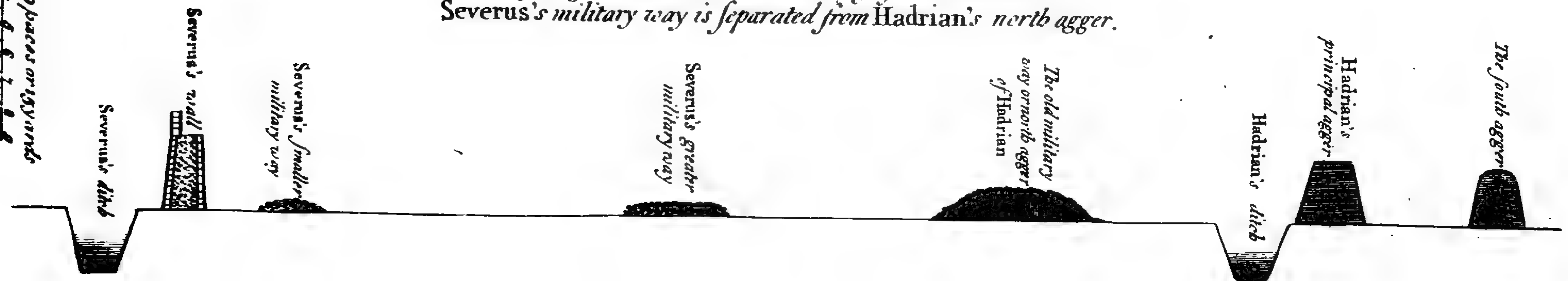
A scale of forty poles
10 20 30 40

*The profile of the Roman walls in Northumberland
about half a mile west from Carraw.*



*The profile of the walls about a mile west from Carraw, where
Severus's military way is separated from Hadrian's north agger.*

A scale of 90 paces or 135 yards



quits ground rather more advantageous than that in which it proceeds, as I shew in the following account. I therefore think it most probable, that these are the principal part of those forts which *Julius Agricola* erected cross this *isthmus*, in the fourth summer after he came over legate to *Britain*^a.

I CAN'T venture to affirm, that the *Romans* carried on this wall from west to east, as I think I have sufficiently proved they did in building that of *Severus*^b.

BEFORE we can determine the exact length of this wall, we must enquire where it has ended both on the east and the west. Mr. *Gordon* supposes *Caër-ridden* (usually called *Carinn*) to be the eastern limit of the wall, and *Old Kirkpatrick* the western^c. Others think it has reached farther west, and not so far east; supposing *Dunglass* to be the western limit, and *Kinniel* the eastern. The common opinion and tradition of the people there is in favour of *Dunglass*. They talk of striking sometimes upon the foundation of the *Roman* wall at the *Close*, not half a mile north-east from *Old Kirkpatrick*; and then if the wall has proceeded nearly in the same line, it must have gone as far as *Dunglass* before it reached the frith. At *Dunglass* there is a sort of promontory, and the land juts out into the frith, which is deep here close to the shore; whereas near *Old Kirkpatrick* the bottom is flat, and the river shallow, so that at low water there would be room enough to pass by the end of the wall. Besides, the military way has certainly been continued as far as *Dunglass*, for it is still very visible at *Dunnerbuck* within half a mile or little more of *Dunglass*. This at least makes it evident that there has been a station at *Dunglass*, whether we suppose the wall to have been so far continued or not. The principal arguments against the opinion of the wall's being continued so far as *Dunglass*, are these; that there are no certain visible remains of it farther west than *Old Kirkpatrick*, the seeming faint appearance of the ditch near *Dunnerbuck* not being such as can be depended on; and that the mountains on the north side, along the skirts of which it must have been carried on to *Dunglass*, would render the continuation of it almost entirely useless. To these may be added the authority of *Bede*^d, who says "it ended at the town " of *Alcluith*;" near *Old Kirkpatrick*.

As to the eastern limit; that the military way has been continued as far as *Caër-ridden*, and that a station has been there, is confessed by those who would have the wall to end at *Kinniel*. This takes off from the force of Mr. *Gordon*'s argument^e, drawn from the antiquities found at *Caër-ridden*. And the authority of *Bede*, who says it begun two miles west from *Abercorn* (as *Caër-ridden* is in fact) will scarce be admitted as decisive. The ditch is visible as far as *Kinniel*, so that the wall must have come to this place; whereas what has been taken for remains of the wall between *Kinniel* and *Caër-ridden*, are rather the remains of the military way which has gone not only to *Caër-ridden*, but probably to *Cramond* and *Edinburgh*. For the ditch which is every where else the most visible part of the work, and always appears where any thing is visible, does not appear at all in this space; and the remains, near the *Grange* house, make a turn, and quit the most advantageous ground for a rampart, tho' the ground it lies along is proper enough for a military way. The water of the frith is deep near *Kinniel*; and the banks and rocks on the side of it, steep and inaccessible. At *Caër-ridden* it is just the reverse; and there are at *Kinniel* some faint vestiges of a fort, as well as there are evidences of one at *Caër-ridden*.

ON this occasion it may not be improper to recollect what has been said concerning the wall of *Severus* in the north of *England*, and especially with
respect

^a Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 23.

^b Chap. viii. pag. 124.

^c Itiner. Septent. p. 50, 60.

^d Hist. Eccl. l. i. cap. 12.

^e Itiner. Sept. p. 60.

respect to the western limit of it. The *Solway* frith at low water is at present fordable where this wall terminates, and leaves the land almost dry for a long way, so as that a body of men might easily march by the end of the wall. And yet, tho' the wall has been continued no farther, the shore of the frith lower down is thought to have been guarded by some *castella* at proper distances from one another. It does not seem improbable to me, that the case may have been the same here in *Scotland*. The wall perhaps has been no farther extended than from *Kinniel* or *Caër-ridden* to *Old Kirkpatrick*, tho' stations at proper distances have been continued farther along the shore of the frith. There is indeed good reason to think that both the *Solway* frith, and the friths of *Clyde* and *Forth*, were formerly deeper, and that the tide has flowed farther up than it does now. But as this is equally applicable to both cases, it does not hinder their being parallel to each other, either in their present or antiënt state. The land seems to have gained here, tho' 'tis observed to have lost on the *Kentish* and eastern coast of *England*.

MR. GORDON, who measured from *Caër-ridden* to *Old Kirkpatrick*, makes the length of the wall to be thirty six *English* miles and eight hundred and eighty seven paces, which he supposes to be equal to thirty nine *Roman* miles, and nine hundred and sixty nine paces^a. According to the survey that was taken by my order, it was nearly thirty four *English* miles and three quarters between *Old Kirkpatrick* and *Caër-ridden*, taking only the right lines which were made the bases of the several off-sets. But if allowance be made for the bendings and curves, which, I doubt not, Mr. *Gordon* comprehends in his measure, there will be little or no difference between his measure and mine. From *Dunglass* to *Old Kirkpatrick* is above a mile and three quarters, and between *Kinniel* and *Caër-ridden* is above two miles and a half; so that every one may easily from hence judge of the length of the wall, according to the several terminations of it, and may chuse which of these are most agreeable to his own opinion. An *English* statute mile, allowing for the difference between the *English* and the *Roman* foot, according to the exactest computation I have met with, will contain nearly one *Roman* mile and a thirteenth part, or thirteen *English* miles will make fourteen *Roman*. According to this proportion, Mr. *Gordon's* measure falls farther short of forty *Roman* miles than he makes it to do. His proportion therefore seems to have been that of twelve to thirteen, that is, he makes twelve *English* miles equal to thirteen *Roman*. I am strongly inclined to believe that near forty *Roman* miles has been the true length of the wall. If thirty six *English* miles and eight hundred and eighty seven paces be admitted for the true measured length of the wall (which I believe to be very exact) and thirteen *English* miles be also supposed to answer to fourteen *Roman*, then the length of this wall in *Roman* measure will be accurately thirty nine miles and seven hundred and seventeen paces. According to *Xiphiline* from *Dion*, the least breadth of the island of *Britain* is about three hundred furlongs, or thirty seven and a half *Roman* miles^b. 'Tis very probable, that measure relates to this very *isthmus*. If we should suppose the wall to have terminated at *Kinniel* and *Old Kirkpatrick*, the length of it would very nearly agree to *Dion's* account; but it seems to answer with the greatest exactness between *Old Kirkpatrick* and *Caër-ridden*, when that distance is measured after the same manner as in my survey, along the right lines that are the bases of the several off-sets. For thirty four *English* miles and three quarters will be very nearly equal to thirty seven and a half *Roman*.

BUT tho' *Dion* might make his computation after some such manner; yet 'tis very probable, that when the work of the wall was measured out to the soldiers that built it, every bending would then be taken into the account.

I

Now

^a Itin. Septent. pag. 64.

^b See this passage from *Xiphiline* quoted before in chap. IV. pag. 59.

Now on closely examining all the inscriptions which have been found on this wall, the following observations readily offer themselves.

I FIND that the whole *legio secunda Augusta* was concerned in building this wall, but the vexillations only of the twentieth and sixth. For each of the inscriptions which mentions the *legio vicesima valens victrix*, and the *legio sexta victrix*, take notice only of the vexillations of these legions as imployed in the work; whereas all those inscriptions which take notice of the *legio secunda Augusta*, as having performed any part of the work, always mention the whole legion. According to *Hyginus* the vexillation of a legion should have no greater share in any work than a cohort^a. But in this case (which seems to be very remarkable) the quantity of work performed by the vexillation manifestly appears to have nearly equalled that of the whole legion. A bare inspection of the several inscriptions might be sufficient to evince the truth of this observation. However I shall give a more distinct account of the matter.

THERE are three inscriptions which distinctly and clearly mention the *legio secunda Augusta*, and the number of paces built by it :

At Cochnoch house	3271 ^b	}	paces.
Glasgow	4666 ^c		
Calder house	3666 ^d		
In all		11603	

By the difference in each number of paces it is evident, that no two of these inscriptions relate to the same piece of work.

THERE are four inscriptions of this same kind, which have been erected by the *vexillatio leg. xx. v. v.* three at *Glasgow*, and one at *Aberdeen*. One of these at *Glasgow*^e is deficient, the stone being broke, and part of the inscription broken off with it; but, as I have shewn in my observations on that inscription, it clearly appears from the vacant space, and the tenor of the inscription, that the word *vexillatio* is lost in the breach. Two of these distinctly contain the number of paces that were built :

At Aberdeen	3000 ^f	}	paces.
Glasgow	4411 ^g		
Together		7411	

In the other two the number of paces is effaced, either wholly or in part. In one of them^h, namely that on the broken stone, the numerals *DXI* still remain very visible. I think it most probable they have been *CDXI*, the same odd numbers with those in the other inscription. Among the monuments erected by the *legio secunda Augusta* two of them contain the same odd numbers 666; but the one has four thousand, the other three: so possibly in this case as one was 4411, this other has been 3411. If this conjecture be admitted, and this number be added to the sum of the other two, it will make in all 10822 paces from these three monuments. But there is, as I have said, a fourth monumentⁱ of the same kind, and erected by the same vexillation, which is now at *Glasgow*, and in all other respects sufficiently plain and distinct, only the number of paces is intirely wanting. Let us suppose it to be in a round number 3500, and then the whole amount of paces built by this vexillation will be 14322. I have assigned the number 3500 to this last monument, because it is easy to observe

^a Vexillarii legionum eandem pedaturam debent accipere quam cohortes legionariae, quia ad sexcentos homines computantur. In gromat.

^b Scotland, N. II.

^c N. III.

^d N. x.

^e N. VI.

^f N. I.

^g N. XXVI.

^h N. VI.

ⁱ N. v.

observe that three, or four thousand, are the common round numbers; and as I know of nothing to guide us in the determination of the odd number here, I thought the best way was to take the medium between the two round numbers.

OUR inscriptions fail us most with respect to the vexillation of the *legio sexta victrix*; and yet we have two monuments very complete and express relating to this vexillation, both which are at *Glasgow*.

One mentions	4141 ^a	} paces.
The other	3660 ^b	
<hr/>		
Together		7801

There is another inscription^c found at *Barhill* fort, and now in Baron *Clerk's* collection, which by the tenor and form of it seems to have been of the same kind with these I have just now described; but no number of paces has ever been on this stone, and the legion is not named to which the vexillation belonged that erected the monument. It is most likely to have been that of the *legio sexta victrix*. But this can only be looked on as a doubtful voucher for three thousand paces more. I pitch on the number of three thousand, because I observe that the other vexillation of the twentieth legion, and the *cohors prima Cugernorum* (as will appear presently) had each of them allotments of three thousand paces exactly. This if admitted raises the sum belonging to this vexillation to 10801.

BUT besides these, there is also at *Edinburgh* a monument^d erected by the *cohors prima Cugernorum*, which by the contents and tenor of the inscription seems to refer to this same work. How they came to be employed in it, and no other auxiliary cohort, is a difficulty I have considered in my observations on that inscription. This gives us an authority for three thousand paces more.

LET us see now how much we may look upon as tolerably well vouched for in the whole.

<i>Leg. II. Aug. built</i>	11603	
<i>Vexillat. leg. XX. V. V.</i>	7411	
<i>Vexillat. leg. VI. VIC.</i>	7801	
	<hr/>	26815 all certain.
<i>Vexillat leg. XX. V. V.</i> The monument certain, and the number very probable	3411	
The same vexillation on a plain monument, but no number visible, suppose at a medium	3500	
<i>Leg. VI. VIC.</i> a monument, but no number, sup- pose for the reason before mentioned	3000	
<i>Cohors prima Cugernorum</i>	3000	
	<hr/>	
In all	39726	paces, or thirty nine miles and seven hundred twenty six paces. This amount comes very near to the measures; according to which, as I have shewn, the length of the wall is thirty nine <i>Roman</i> miles and seven hundred and seventeen paces.

IN dwelling so long and particularly on this head, I have anticipated what was necessary to be said with respect to the persons who built this wall; which sufficiently appears from the foregoing calculation, so that nothing more needs be added to it.

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^a Scotland, N. VII.
^b N. IV.

^c N. XVI.
^d N. XXV.

As to the nature and structure of this wall, *Capitolinus* tells us it was made of turf, where he says, *alio muro cespititio ducto*, as I have had occasion to shew already ^a. But Mr. *Gordon* concluded from his own observations that the foundation was of stone ^b, tho' the superstructure might be only of turf. And since that gentleman made his survey, this foundation of stone has been laid open and dug up for near a mile together, from the middle of *Ferguson* moor east of *New Kirkpatrick* almost to the village of *Simmerston*. The Laird of *Douglaston* has used the stones for building a park wall. Some conduits were also discovered in the foundation of the wall for the passage of water through it, either to keep the work dry, or perhaps to bring water into the ditch. The thickness of it may also be known exactly, and is about four yards.

IN building this wall they have followed some of the same rules which have been observed in *Severus's* wall in the north of *England*. Particularly it has been carried as much as could be on the brow of the hill, where there was any, or at least on the declivity, so as to have a descent on the north. And this, like the wall of *Severus*, does not take the directest course from sea to sea, but fetches a compass for the sake of the higher grounds. Some suppose this to have been done partly to avoid inundations, which the lower grounds might be liable to. But I could see no sufficient reason to conclude that there ever had been such a regular series both of square *castella*, and of smaller turrets on this wall, as I have shewn there was on *Severus's*. 'Tis true, that besides the larger forts on this wall, which seem to have stood at regular distances, there are a smaller kind of exploratory turrets, or mounts yet visible here and there; but they are so few and so situated, that one cannot conclude from what now appears, that the series of them has been so regular and uniform, as I have shewn that was on the wall of *Severus*. These in *Scotland* have, as the wall itself, consisted of earth or turf, and so were more liable to be demolished than the *castella* of *Severus's* wall, which were built with stone strongly cemented.

THERE belongs to this work a great ditch, much larger than that of *Severus*, on the south side of which has been the main *agger*, *vallum*, or rampart; and south again from the rampart a large military way well paved, but not very high raised. The proportions of these, as near as I could judge, are represented in the profile. Besides these Mr. *Gordon* is of opinion that there has been an *agger* on the north side of the ditch. But I can't say that I am satisfied as to this matter. I saw indeed in some places somewhat that looked like a north rampart, but it was just on the edge of the ditch, and no where like the north *agger* of *Hadrian's vallum*. At one or two parts I observed a mixture of stones among the earth on the north side of the ditch, as if there had been somewhat of a pavement or military way there: But the appearance is too uncertain to be depended on. I have said before, that this wall kept as much as possible on the brow of a hill, or on a declivity, so as to overlook the plain below, that lies north from it. The rubbish thrown out of the ditch seemed in some parts to have been designedly leveled or plained, so as to form somewhat like a terrace; on the north of which again is sometimes a gradual descent, almost like a modern *glacis*, which appears in other places where there is no such terrace. This I believe was mostly natural, tho' I imagined that in some places it had been improved by art. At one place this elevation on the north side of the ditch appeared just like a heap of rubbish thrown out of the ditch. But it is not for any considerable space, or in many places, that there is any appearance at all of this kind.

THE military way is indeed very magnificent and beautiful in several places. It has been, as I observed before, paved mostly with large stones, where the ground

^a Chap. iv. pag. 50.

^b Itin. Septent. p. 63.

ground was low or watry ; but where the ground was higher and dryer the stones were smaller. It appeared to me much of the same make and nature with the grand military way that crosses the wall not far from *Falkirk*, running north and south. As far as I could judge, the military way has gone as directly as it well could from fort to fort, and so sometimes leaves the wall a little, but never very far, not (except in one particular instance) above an hundred and forty yards at the most. This with other considerations confirmed me in my opinion that the military way, as well as some of the forts, was prior to the wall. *Julius Agricola* is supposed to have laid most of our military ways in *Britain* ; but whether he laid this among others, I shall not venture to determine. I could not however discover any other military way that run cross the *isthmus*. Did it appear evident that a north *agger* had been continued originally from one end to the other, I should have suspected it might have been an old military way in this case, as well as *Hadrian's* in the other. But I don't think there has been any such *agger* belonging to this wall.

HAVING premised thus much in the general, I shall now proceed to a more particular description of this wall, and shew the course it takes, the rivulets it crosses, and the villages through or near which it passes, with its different degrees of appearance ; as also give a more particular account of the several forts that have been upon it : in the same manner as I have before described *Hadrian's vallum*, and the wall of *Severus*, in the north of *England*. I shall begin at the western limit, where my survey was begun, as well as Mr. *Gordon's*.

Dunglass.

I HAVE already said, that it has been made a question, whether the wall began at *Dunglass* or at *Old Kirkpatrick* ; and have hinted at the reasons on both sides. *Old Kirkpatrick* and *Caër-ridden* are made the *termini* by Mr. *Gordon*, and upon the whole I rather incline to his sentiment. However there has been in all probability a *Roman* fort at *Dunglass*, the ruins of which might easily be buried in the modern fort erected there by *Oliver Cromwell*, which also is now become ruinous. From *Dunglass* to *Old Kirkpatrick* is near two miles. And this, if I am not mistaken, has been for the most part observed as the regular distance between the forts in this series ; in which respect it differs from that on the wall of *Severus*, the forts in general also standing closer on this wall, than on that in the north of *England*.

Old Kirkpatrick.

It is generally supposed that there has been a *Roman* station at *Old Kirkpatrick*, which is confirmed by the *Roman* stones and inscriptions found at that place ; but the ditch and ramparts are now leveled, or lost in the town. All the parts of the work are very obscure near the town. But a little farther east, after the wall has crossed *Sandyford-burn*, the ditch and military way begin to appear ; the military way at *Caër-leith*, and the ditch at the *Gate-side* of *Auchintoshen*. Near this *Gate-side*, and about three chains north from the wall, is a small *tumulus*, and a pond, which when almost drained by Mr. *Buchanan*, the owner of the estate, was found to be lined with hewn stone ; and 'tis that gentleman's opinion it may have been a *Roman* bath. All the way from hence to *Duntocher* the military way is in the second degree, the ditch and *vallum* each in the first. But after it has passed the mill and water of *Duntocher*, the *vallum* and ditch, both very faint, ascend the hill directly, and fall in with the north rampart and ditch of the fort. The military way is here very grand in the third degree at least, and fetching a compass goes on the south side of the fort. The distance between *Old Kirkpatrick* and the fort at *Duntocher* is very little more than two miles.

Duntocher.

THE fort of *Duntocher* is situated at the top of the rising ground, that ascends from the water ; and by reason of its high situation has a large prospect. The north rampart, or that part of the wall which forms it, runs along the very top of the hill ; and the fort stands upon a gentle declivity open to the south ;

south; a situation I have frequently observed to be much liked and chosen by the *Romans*. A small branch of the military way enters the east gate of the fort, but the grand way goes round it. The figure and dimensions of the fort appear from the draught of it. Some curious *Roman* antiquities, stones and medals, have been found here. Before I leave this place, I must farther observe, that about a furlong to the north, on the east side of *Duntocher* water, there is a hill supposed to be artificial, pretty plain at the top, and with somewhat like terrasses about it; as also a bridge near the mill, one arch of which is supposed by some to be *Roman*.

THE wall having left *Duntocher*, crosses a small brook that runs into *Duntocher* water, and goes on to *Cladden*, passing on the north side of the village. And for this space the *vallum* is in the first degree, the military way and ditch each in the second, except that the ditch passing through some plowed ground, is fainter for about a furlong before it comes to *Cladden*. After the wall has crossed *Cladden-burn*, where the military way is about three chains distant from the ditch, it ascends *Hutchison* hill, where the *vallum* is lost, and the ditch itself appears only in the first degree. The military way soon after crossing the water, leaves the wall, and in order to avoid climbing the hill goes round the southern skirt of it. But it is here very faint and obscure, the ground through which it passes being in tillage. About three furlongs east of *Cladden*, the military way is twenty chains from the ditch, and both become more visible than they were before, being now in the second degree, tho' the *vallum* itself is not yet to be discerned. This circumstance of the military way fetching such a compass is pretty remarkable, and brings to my mind the case of *Hadrian's* north *agger*, which frequently runs along the southern skirts of the hills, and sometimes, as near *Halton* in *Northumberland*, makes a sudden turn to go about one; which perhaps may confirm my conjecture as to its being a military way, from this circumstance of the military way here in *Scotland*. But I return to the wall, which, all things continuing in much the same state, comes next to the *Peel-glen*. And where the military way crosses the brook, there probably has been a bridge; some part of the foundation being thought by some to be yet remaining, and several *Roman* stones well dressed, and some of them chequered, are still to be seen. There is also some appearance of the ruins of a small fort or *castellum*, just at the village, which very probably has robbed both it and the neighbouring bridge of most of their materials. This fort must have stood low, and between two hills, *Hutchison* hill on the one side, and *Castle* hill on the other, by which the prospect is intercepted. The enemy might indeed march under cover and out of sight of all the other forts on the wall, along a winding hollow space, from the mountains on the north side of the wall to this very part of it. And possibly this *castellum* was erected here for the security of the pass, and the defence of this part of the wall. 'Tis plain it has not been one of the principal forts in the series, for it is too near to that of *Castle-hill*. The *vallum* and military way are lost in plowed ground, as they ascend this hill. The ditch is visible in the first or second degree, till it comes near the fort, and then it also disappears. The distance between *Duntocher* fort and *Castle-hill* is about two miles, which, as I observed before, has been the regular mean interval between the forts on this wall. It is sometimes indeed enlarged or contracted a quarter of a mile or more for the benefit of a river, and the convenience of a high situation; but when this is done, two intervals added together seldom fail of making four miles very nearly.

CASTLE-HILL fort is not of the largest sort, but has the most extensive prospect of any, *Bar-hill* only excepted. It reaches as far west as the end of the wall, and as far east as *Bar-hill*. A great part of the shires of *Renfrew*, *Lenox*, and *Clydesdale* are within view. The nearness of the small fort at *Peel-glen* may be one reason why this was no larger. The rivulet at *Peel-glen* is the nearest water to it, and this is above a quarter of a mile distant.

Castle-hill,

The military way, that was lost before, is very visible as it passes the south side of the fort, and the *vallum* itself has formed the north rampart. But now both this and the other ramparts of this fort are almost leveled, the stones having been used in building the neighbouring villages. Thorns grow round the ramparts, which make it more visible at a great distance, and gave an opportunity of making frequent observations on it, and so of ascertaining its situation with the greatest exactness in the survey. I only farther add, that this fort, as usual, stands on a gentle declivity exposed to the meridian sun, and that some curious *Roman* antiquities have been found here.

THE wall leaving *Castle-hill* and running east, about one point nearly to the south, passes on the north side of a little house called the *Moss head of Ledcamrock*, ascending *Camrock* hill, and afterwards running down towards the village of *New Kirkpatrick*. The *vallum* is scarce to be discerned all this way, but the ditch is visible in the first or second degree, mostly in the second. The military way is the most remarkable for this whole space, and therefore I shall give a more particular account of it. It is generally about two or three chains distant from the ditch, and in the second or third degree all the way. At less than a quarter of a mile's distance from *Castle-hill*, the military way makes a turn towards the ditch, with no other view that I could discern but to avoid a little wet ground that is to the south. About a quarter of a mile farther east the military way comes up near the ditch. The wall, before it comes to *New Kirkpatrick*, in order to secure some rising ground, and come up to the fort, turns first almost south-east, and then again runs pretty much easterly, the military way running parallel to it. Near *New Kirkpatrick* the wall and ditch disappear. The *crofts* (as they call them) have been in tillage time immemorial, so that it is the less to be wondered at, that all is leveled there; and the ground so called lies on both sides (east and west) of *New Kirkpatrick*; yet the military way, being here the same with the highway, is no where in the whole track more conspicuous and magnificent, than near this village. Here the ridge of hills on the north side, that had all along kept pretty near to the wall, and never above a mile and a half from it, goes farther off. The sight is still bounded on the north by a ridge of hills, but now at a much greater distance. I can't but think, that when the *Romans* built this wall, they must have been possessed of these mountains, and the enemy driven farther off, or else they would have been liable to frequent assaults and interruptions as they were building. I have already shewn that when the *Romans* built the walls in the north of *England*, they were probably possessed of a good part of the country beyond the *isthmus*, across which they built the walls^a; and this is most likely also to have been the case here. But to return; the distance between *Castle-hill* and *New Kirkpatrick* is only a mile and a quarter, which is the least interval of any, tho' it is balanced in some measure by the greater distance between the two next, I mean *New Kirkpatrick* and *Bemulie*. These forts particularly seem to have been prior to the wall, which here quits its straight line, and the more advantageous ground, in order to come up to them. The turns it makes for this purpose appear best from the map.

New Kirkpatrick. THE fort at *New Kirkpatrick* is in the east part of the village, and of an oblong figure. The wall has very probably fallen in with the north rampart, and the military way passes through it. The gates at which the military way enters and goes out, are nearly in the middle of the east and west ramparts. There is a rivulet that runs on the north side of the fort, for the sake of which this situation seems to have been chosen, which in other respects is not so convenient; for it is both low, without any considerable prospect or strength, and too near the fort of *Castle-hill*.

THE wall, after it has left *New Kirkpatrick*, takes its course nearly east-south-east, and crosses a small rivulet called *Ferguson-burn*. Here the wall

^a See above, chap. VIII. pag. 123, 124.

and

and ditch are entirely lost, tho' the military way be in the third degree. In ascending *Ferguson* hill (or moor) the ditch becomes again very conspicuous. About a mile east from *New Kirkpatrick*, the wall changes its course, and runs nearly east-north-east, the ditch and military way being both very distinct, but the *vallum* not to be discerned. It is here that Mr. *Graham* of *Douglaston* has dug up the foundations of the wall, as I said before. The stones of this foundation are much of the same shape and size with those of the wall of *Severus*, square and dressed, and several of them chequered, but they did not appear to have been cemented with lime. What they called the conduits were not only carried through the wall, but also under the military way. They consisted of two erect stones facing each other, and one at the top that rested upon them; the passage was large enough for a man to creep through it. I can scarce think of any other use this could be for, but either for conveying or draining of water, and yet there does not appear at this part any great occasion for drains. This therefore has given occasion to a conjecture that the ditch has been originally a wet ditch, and that the use of these conduits has been to convey water into it, which might be done from some higher ground that lies a little to the south. Near *East Boglair* the wall makes two remarkable turns, fetching a compass in order to avoid some marshy ground, inclining to the south in its descent towards that part of the wall over-against *Boglair*, and then turning again to the north in its ascent from it. At the head of this rising ground it bends its course again more towards the south, and passes between *Temple* which is on the north, and *Millochin* which lies to the south of it; and then goes directly through *Simmerston* to *Bemulie*. The foundation of the wall being laid bare, makes the line of it at present visible and certain as far as this is the case. The ditch here appears almost all the way in the second degree. The military way is quite sunk and lost in the soft ground over-against *Boglair*. But at *Simmerston* there is some appearance of it again. From *New Kirkpatrick* to *Bemulie* is above two miles and a quarter in a straight line; but if the turns and compass the wall here fetches be taken into the computation, it will be considerably more.

THE fort at *Bemulie* stands on the south side of the river *Kelvin*, and at the west end of the village. And here the ruins of the *Roman* town or out-buildings are very remarkable. Several subterraneous vaults have been discovered, and *Roman* antiquities found here. The west side of the fort is still very visible, and appears to have had a fourfold rampart and ditch. The wall seems to have come up to the north rampart of this fort, without forming the whole of it; and the situation has somewhat peculiar in it. For it stands upon a gentle declivity exposed to the north, and is as I have said on the south side of the river. The ground on which it stands is wet, and the prospect every way is but inconsiderable; so that a fort on the north side of the *Kelvin* would seem to have had a more advantageous situation in many respects. Perhaps the river might be looked upon as an additional security to the fort, running on the north or enemies side. For it is a large river, and they say not often fordable for any time together, being frequently on a sudden increased by the torrents that run from the neighbouring mountains; where the rain falls in greater plenty, and the snow lies much longer than in the lower parts of the country. It is hard to know with certainty where the wall has crossed this river; but as far as can be judged by the last appearance and tendency of it, on each side the river, it seems to have been nearly as it is represented in the draught of the fort, and in the particular map of this part of the wall.

Bemulie.

FROM *Bemulie* the wall bends its course nearly east-north-east; and the ditch being here very wide and deep, appears in its greatest perfection, and may be reckoned in the fourth degree. There is also some faint appearance of the *vallum*. The military way is in the second degree about two or three chains from the ditch, and runs parallel to it. Thus they proceed for above half a mile, and
the

the ditch is full of water great part of the way. The wall then enters *Calder* parks, the ditch still continuing in much the same state. The walls of these parks have probably been built with the stones of the military way, which is not so visible now, as when Mr. *Gordon* made his survey. The wall next enters *Calder* wood, the military way and ditch being both very grand, but especially the ditch. Thus they continue till they come near *Calder-burn* (which is about a quarter of a mile east from the place where the wall entered the wood) where all disappear. A little to the east of this rivulet is an exploratory mount, in the figure of the lower part of a pyramid, having a rectangular parallelogram for its base. On the north side is a ditch yet visible, which turns round the two corners. The top is flat, and the figure of it is a regular oblong. The distance between *Bemulie* and *Calder* church is near two miles, and the bearing about east-north-east, a little more easterly.

Calder.

THE distance, situation, and some faint appearance of remains, plead for a station near *Calder* church. But if there has been a *Roman* fort or town here, it has been much plundered by the village, and leveled by the plough; for what remains there are now, are but doubtful and faint. The station is most likely to have been in the grounds called the *crofts*, and these have been in tillage time immemorial^a.

THE wall leaves the church-town of *Calder*, and proceeds in the same course as before, that is, a little more easterly than east-north-east; tho' scarce any certain vestiges are to be discovered, till we come half a mile east from this village, where the ditch begins to appear more distinctly. As for the military way, it has possibly fallen in with the present high road to *Kirkintilloch*, which is but about three chains from the ditch where it appears. After this the ditch and military way appear in the second degree, still keeping the same distance, but the *vallum* does not distinctly appear. The wall next passes to *East Calder*, which lies to the north of it, there being a peat-moss or morass between the village and the wall. Close to the north side of the wall the ditch and military way are here visible in the second degree, and nearer than before to each other. A little farther the wall crosses a rivulet which runs into the *Kelvin*, where every thing by reason of the softness of the ground is more obscure. But soon after the ditch begins to appear, and runs along the brow of a hill, from whence there is a pretty steep descent to the *Kelvin*, which is not far from it. Half a mile farther the wall crosses *East Calder-burn*, the ditch continuing in the same state, but the military way does not appear. Half a mile farther brings us to the crofts of *Kirkintilloch*, where nothing is visible. Nor is there any certain appearance between this and *Kirkintilloch*, except that the military way seems to appear for about a chain near a little house called the *Calf-moor-house*. From *Calder* church to the west end of *Kirkintilloch* is above two miles and a half, and the main course of the wall all the way is east-north-east.

Kirkintilloch.

AT the west end of *Kirkintilloch* (which some suppose to have been formerly called *Caer-pentalloch*) stands another *Roman* fort, called the *Peel*, small but very strong, and the best preserved of any. It has had a double rampart of hewn stone, strongly cemented with lime. They were just at the time of the survey working stones out of it, and it was surprizing to see how fresh both they and the lime seemed to be, and some of them were chequered. The east entry only is visible. On the north side is a considerable descent, and the prospect from it is pretty good. According to the common opinion and tradition the wall has passed on the south side of this fort; which, if true, might account for the extraordinary

^a I have sometimes suspected that the exploratory
mounts have frequently been placed near the stations,
especially when there was a more advantageous pro-
spect from these mounts than from the stations them-
selves; and that the use of them has been for a
centinel to stand on or run up to, on any occasion.
This affords us another evidence of a station here.

ordinary strength of it. But perhaps the military way has been mistaken for the wall, which notwithstanding this common opinion, may have formed the north rampart of the station. When it first appears again, the line seems to point towards it. This first appearance of the wall is above half a mile from the station, tho' not far from the east end of the town of *Kirkintilloch*, after it has passed a small river called the *Logy*, which flows through a part of this town, and soon after empties itself into the *Kelvin*. At this place there is some faint appearance of the ditch, but the military way is lost in the plowed ground. The bearing of the wall from hence to the next fort at *Auchindavy* is all the way nearly east-north-east. Where the military way appears in this interval, it is about three chains distant from the ditch. The wall and ditch are for the most part in the first and second degree, and cross only one rivulet not a mile from *Auchindavy*. From the *Peel* at *Kirkintilloch* to the fort at *Auchindavy* is near a mile and three quarters.

THE dimensions and state of the fort at the village of *Auchindavy* may be judged of by the draught. It has been encompassed with a triple rampart and ditch. The ground on which it stands is marshy, no descent from it but to the north, and but little there; so that the trenches are for the most part filled with water. The military way is very visible, passing by the south rampart of the fort, where there is a visible entry into it. *Roman* antiquities have been found here, and some altars may be seen in the walls of the houses of the village, but no inscriptions on them.

Auchindavy.

FROM *Auchindavy* to *Skirvay*, the *vallum* is sometimes to be seen in the first degree, and the ditch in the second, but the military way is sometimes quite sunk in the watry grounds. After the wall has crossed a rivulet, it ascends to the mansion-house of *Skirvay*, and seems to have passed through the gardens, tho' not now to be discerned. About a furlong more to the east the ditch begins to appear, but the military way not till a furlong farther. Here the military way is within half a chain of the ditch, and is in the second degree. Another furlong brings the wall to a few houses called the *Queich*, and then to a few more a little to the south, called the *Bar*, which seems to have given name to *Barhill*, which the wall now begins to ascend. In ascending this hill the ditch appears more grand than before, in the second and third degree; the military way is here also very visible, and still continues very near the ditch: and thus they proceed to *Barhill* fort. The distance between *Auchindavy* fort, and this of *Barhill* is exactly two miles, and the main course of the wall from the one to the other is still east-north-east, very nearly.

BARHILL fort deserves a particular regard and description. Its situation and strength, and the ruins of buildings within it are very remarkable. The hill has, as it were, two summits, opposite to each other. The wall and ditch pass over the more northerly summit, but the more southerly is the higher. To build a fort upon either of these was neither convenient nor practicable: it is therefore erected upon the most convenient spot of ground that could have been chosen; a little south from the wall, and about a furlong west from the summit of the hill, on the usual gentle declivity facing the southern or south-west sun, and under cover from the east and north-east winds. From the top of this hill is a most extensive prospect. Both the friths of *Clyde* and *Forth* may be seen hence, and it is supposed to be equidistant from them. There are some springs of water a little south from the fort. On the north side of the north rampart, the ground falls pretty suddenly, and the descent that way is very steep. For this reason perhaps the fort has had a triple rampart and ditch on all sides but the north. The *praetorium* is visible, and of a similar figure with the fort itself. And three rows of ruins resembling ramparts and ditches appear within the *praetorium*, which are represented in the draught. There is a branch goes off from the principal military way to the north entry

Barhill.

of this fort, and goes out again at the east entry, and then passing round the south side of the southern summit, comes up again to the main way.

FROM *Barhill* the wall bends its course more to the east, bearing nearly east and by north. It leaves, about six chains to the south, a single house, which bears the name of *Barhill*, about half a mile east from the fort. Soon after the military way approaches very near to the ditch, both being in the second degree, the ditch sometimes more; the *vallum* also appearing, tho' not very large. Here the wall enters on a ridge of rocks, near the bottom of which the ditch is cut, but not very deep, and sometimes through a part of the rocks themselves. The northern face of the rocks here (as at *Severus's* wall^a) seems to have been cut and smoothed artificially, in order to render them more inaccessible; the pieces that probably have been struck off for this purpose, are lying sometimes at the bottom of the precipices. The wall runs along the top of the precipice within five or six yards of the very brink, and is scarce any where more conspicuous than at this part. About a quarter of a mile more to the east the wall passes a single house called *Ashy-bench*, and another called *Over-Crowy*. The former is near the wall, and the latter a furlong south from it. Here the military way, which appears only in the first degree, is near the ditch, which is in the first or second. All continues in much the same state for near half a mile farther, where the wall makes a turn or two, bearing afterwards nearly east-north-east again. The ditch here is very large and deep, and in the highest degree. It next passes to the north of *Crowy-hill*, where probably there has been a station. Half a mile farther to the east the wall comes to a village called *Dillater*, through which it passes, and then crosses a rivulet, which seems to be a branch of the *Kelvin* near to its rise. In ascending the hill, east from this village, the ditch and military way are both in great perfection, and are near and parallel one to the other. Thus they proceed, till, about a mile farther, the wall comes to *Westerwood*, where there is another visible fort. Between *Barhill* and *Westerwood* is three miles and a half, the main bearing being east-north-east. This large interval would incline one to think that there has been another fort between *Barhill* and *Westerwood*. And Mr. *Gordon* expressly says that there has been one at *Crowy-hill*, tho' now very much leveled. And some stones with inscriptions on them have been found there^b.

AT *Westerwood* are the distinct vestiges of a *Roman* fort, a draught of which I have given. This fort has been situated on ground that's level and low, only there is a descent from it on the north side. The military way passes close by the wall, on the north side of the fort; and has not, I think, gone round the ramparts, as Mr. *Gordon* supposes. The ground about it is now wet and marshy, and has formerly been covered over with wood. Both the name and tradition confirm this; and besides, vast large fir-trees are dug out of the moss. From *Westerwood* and the more easterly houses, called I think *Netherwood*, the wall takes its course again nearly east-north-east; the ditch and military way, which are about five chains distant, being each in the second degree, or more. Thus they continue for above half a mile. In some parts of this space the military way seems to be almost entire. It goes on a mile and a half farther, and then crossing the *Red-burn*, ascends a rising ground, and reaches *Castlecary* fort. Between *Westerwood* fort and *Castlecary* fort is a mile and three quarters, and the general bearing again east-north-east.

AS *Castlecary* fort may be reckoned among the larger fort, so it is one of the best preserved in the whole series. The wall here, as usual, makes the north rampart, and the other sides have each a triple rampart and ditch. It's situation is pretty high, and it has a good prospect, and seems to have been well provided with water. The ramparts have been built with free-stone and mortar. The state and dimensions of

^a See before, chap. ix. pag. 146.

^b Itin. Septent. pag. 56.

of the fort may be seen in the draught ; and therefore I shall only add, that there is a round *tumulus* consisting of earth and stone about a furlong east from the fort, near a house or two called *Booneck*. It stands just on the wall, and therefore one would think must rather have been an exploratory mount, than a barrow. The wall east from *Castlecary* fort leaves the ridge of hills, and passes through some low and watry places, with no other apparent view, but that of coming up to the more easterly stations. The *vallum* is visible, the ditch large, and the military way in the highest degree, and about two chains from the wall. About a quarter of a mile's distance from the fort there is a row of little houses standing on the wall, called the *Dike*; and on the south side of the wall, about six chains distant, a mansion house called *Woodend*. A little farther east the military way and ditch appear in great perfection, at the same distance of two chains, and continue so to the *Nether-town* of *Seabeg*, which is about a mile east from *Castlecary* fort. In the plowed land between the two *Seabegs*, the military way is sometimes obscure. The ditch, which is very large and deep, is for the most part hereabout filled with water. About a quarter of a mile from the *Nether-town* the wall crosses a brook, and a little farther on enters *Seabeg* wood. The *vallum* is very visible in this wood, as well as the ditch and military way. After the wall has left this wood, it passes by the mansion-house of *Seabeg*, where the ditch still appears very deep, and full of water. The military way seems to have gone through the gardens on the south side of the house, tho' not visible now. It is not a quarter of a mile from hence to a village called *Dick's house*, near which is a beautiful exploratory mount, not unlike that near *Calder* church. It is situated on the south brink of the ditch of the wall, and has itself a ditch round it, except on the south side. It consists only of earth, but seems to be more regular and beautiful than that at *Calder*. Here are also some ruins, that possibly may be the remains of a station. And Mr. *Gordon* says that abundance of iron and lead ore is dug up at this place, from whence it is conjectured that there has been a *Roman* foundary here^a. From *Castlecary* to *Dick's house* is little more than two miles. The bearing in the general continues much the same still, east-north-east.

Dick's house.

IF there has been a fort near *Dick's house*, no draught or farther description of it can be expected, seeing the remains are so doubtful and obscure. I therefore proceed with my account of the wall. From *Dick's house* the wall begins its course nearer than before to the east point, and at almost a quarter of a mile's distance crosses a brook called *Bonny-mill-dam*, which runs into the river *Bonny*. For the space before-mentioned the ditch only is visible, and that in the second degree. After this the ditch appears very great, and the *vallum* and military way become visible. A little farther the wall crosses another brook, which is also a part of the same *mill-dam*. There are two hills nigh this part of the wall, called *Elf-hills*, both on the south side of the wall. There is also on the north side of it, a little more to the west, another hill, where *Grime* the nephew of *Eugenius* encamped when he broke through the wall. Some suspect the two former hills to be artificial, but none think so of this; nor are there any works or entrenchments on it. The wall and its appurtenances, taken all together, make as grand an appearance here as any where. A little farther to the east there appear the vestiges of an exploratory turret on the south side of the ditch, not unlike, either in shape or dimensions, to those on the wall of *Severus*. The wall proceeds in much the same state, the military way being about two chains and an half from the ditch; and a little farther to the east is a square *castellum* of the same dimensions with those on the wall of *Severus*, that is, sixty six foot square. The wall continuing very grand, crosses *Rowin-tree-burn*, the western bank of which is now a very frightful precipice. Five chains more brings us to *Rough-castle* fort, which is not much more than a mile from *Dick's house*.

Mr.

^a Itin. Sept. p. 57.

Rough-castle.

MR. GORDON calls *Rough-castle* fort the most magnificent and entire of any upon the whole track of the wall ^a. The prospect from this fort is good, especially towards the north. On the west side is a gentle descent towards *Rowin-tree-burn*. The ground is now wet, and the fort overgrown with heath. No ruins of buildings are visible, either within or without the ramparts; which are lower than I should have expected from Mr. Gordon's account: but I have endeavoured to give the best notion of the works and contrivance in the draught.

Camelon.

THE wall and ditch continuing very large, and the military way very visible, running parallel to the wall, and about two chains from it, at above half a mile's distance from *Rough-castle*, come up to *Camelon*, where there are the manifest remains of a considerable town; but there are not at present any distinct vestiges of ramparts or a fortification remaining. Some conjecture that *Rough-castle* has only been a kind of appendage or summer encampment to *Camelon*, and that the fort in the series on the wall should be reckoned here, where the distance is more suitable to the rest of the intervals. The prospect and situation at *Camelon* are both of them good; and the grand military way crosses the wall at this place, and goes towards *Stirling*; tho' it is now faint and obscure near the wall, but at a little distance, on the moor, it appears more distinctly. It points towards *Torwood-head*, which stands near the direct road to *Stirling*. *Camelon* is distant from *Dick's house* above a mile and three quarters, and lies almost east from it, a little to the north. The wall proceeds in much the same course, inclining rather more to the north, and continues still very large, the *vallum* in the second degree or more, and the ditch in the third or fourth; but the military way is more faint, tho' still parallel to the wall. The wall next crosses *Tamfure-burn*, and then for a little space is very obscure; but the ditch soon begins again to appear pretty considerable, and grows still larger, after it has crossed *Stockbridge-burn*, where the military way also appears, tho' but faintly. It next passes the mansion house of *Bentasken*, situated on the south bank of the ditch, and then crosses the *West-burn* of *Falkirk*, where it seems to incline a little to the south, but is quickly lost in the town. The military way seems to have passed on the south side of the town, along a rising ground now planted with trees. And as the wall itself, so probably a station too, lies buried in the large town of *Falkirk*: For the distance on each side will be very suitable.

*Falkirk.**Mumrils.*

As soon as the wall has got well clear of the town of *Falkirk*, the ditch begins to shew itself again pretty grand. It crosses the north avenue of *Calender* house, which leads from the highway to the house, and then enters the parks or inclosures, that are to the east of it, through which the south bank of the ditch appears very great. After it has crossed a brook, it leaves the parks, and passes by a village called *Langton*, which stands about three chains south from it, and next by another village called *Swine's-dike*, where the track of the ditch is clearly discernible. From hence it comes to the *Mumrils*, where in all probability there has been a station; and Mr. Gordon observes that some *Roman* vessels, urns, and pieces of conduits have been found there ^b. The distance from *Falkirk* to the *Mumrils* is just about two miles.

FROM the *Mumrils* the wall goes on, but very obscurely except that the ditch appears very grand at about five chains west from the village of *Bencrofts*, which village it passes, and then crosses *Wedding's-burn*. The military way becomes pretty visible, as it passes along a rising ground called *Cadger-brae*. After this it passes by *Carfy-bank* and *Mill hall*, which stand on the north side of it, and then crossing *Little Carse-burn*, it approaches towards the river *Evon*, passing by *Northfit* and *Small-burn*, which are on the north side, and the

^a Itin. Septent. p. 59.^b Ibid. p. 60.

the *Hill* which is on the south side of it. The ditch is pretty visible part of this way. And according to the usual distance, there should have been a station near the river *Evon*; but I have met with no certain remains, or proofs of one there. *Evon.*

AFTER it has crossed the *Evon* (which perhaps is the same name with *Avon* in *England*) the wall passes through the village of *Inner-evon*, and so proceeds, tho' but obscure, to *Kinniel*, and from thence as is most likely to *Caër-ridden*. But the state and course of the wall at this end have been already considered in the beginning of this chapter. *Kinniel.*
Caër-ridden.

BEFORE I conclude the chapter I shall add a few more remarks.

IF we compute the length of the wall to be forty *Roman* miles, and make two miles the mean distance between the forts; then we must suppose twenty one forts in all, in order to have twenty such intervals. Now the following stations or forts (exclusive of *Dunglass*) I take to be certain, namely, *Old Kirkpatrick*, *Duntocher*, *Castle-hill*, *New Kirkpatrick*, *Bemulie*, *Kirkintilloch*, *Auchindavy*, *Barhill*, *Westerwood*, *Castle-cary*, *Rough-castle* or *Camelon*, *Kinniel*, *Caër-ridden*, in all thirteen. There are some probable reasons for supposing stations at the church town of *Calder*, *Crowy-hill*, *Dick's house* near *Sea-beg*, *Falkirk*, and the *Mumrils*, in all five; which added to the other thirteen, amount to eighteen: Besides, I suspect there may have been one at the river *Evon*, tho' there is no other proof of this, but the distance and the river. All these make up but nineteen stations and eighteen intervals; so that the mean distance or intervals between the forts must be reckoned a little more than two miles. However it deserves a remark, that the forts on this wall have been as close again as those on the wall of *Severus*.

I HAVE not offered to give any *Latin* names to the forts on this wall, because no *Roman* author has assigned them any, either in general or particular. We have not such a series of *Roman* names in this case, as the *Notitia* furnishes, with respect to the series of stations on the wall of *Severus*, under the title of *stationes per lineam valli*.

As for the wall itself, I have given it the name of *Antoninus Pius's* wall, or the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*. But it will no doubt be expected here, that I take notice of the modern name, which is *Grime's dike* or *Graham's dike*, tho' I must confess I have little that is satisfactory to offer concerning it. I find there is a trench in *Oxfordshire*, as well as a military way near *Silchester* in *Hampshire*, which bears the same name of *Grime's dike*^a; but it is hard to know, whether this name in both cases be of the same original, or one may have been borrowed from the other. I have elsewhere observed, that several of the military ways in the north bear the name of *Watling street*; but whether for one common reason, or because the person who first took notice of these ways in the north, had known the southern *Watling street* before, and so gave these the same name, I cannot determine. The case is much the same here. I have been told that *Graham* in the *Highland* tongue signifies black; but I cannot say that on farther enquiry I have received any certain proof as to this matter. This made me inclinable to think that *Grime dike* might mean the *black dike*; the very name that is given to a large ditch and rampart that has passed through a great part of the county of *Northumberland*, running from west to east, and tending toward the sea not far from the town of *Morpeth*; which no doubt has had the name from the black appearance of the *agger* on the moors: and the wall I am speaking of in *Scotland* has in several places much the same appearance. I know it is usually called *Grime's dike*, with

an

^a Dr. Plot's *natural history* of *Oxfordshire*.

an *s* annexed to the end of the first word, which must be owing to the opinion of its being the name of a man. And not only *Graham* but *Grime* is a *Scottish* name, and this latter the name of one of their kings. The common story is, that one of this name broke through the wall, and so gave his own name to it. But I confess I can lay no great weight on such a tradition.

THERE is another remarkable piece of antiquity, a more particular account of which will perhaps be expected from me on this occasion. What I mean is the antient building which usually goes by the name of *Arthur's oon*, or *oven*. And I make no great doubt, but the appearance of this building, when viewed at a distance, is the true reason of the name. It is within sight of the wall, and stands about two miles north from *Falkirk*, and not a quarter of a mile north of the river *Carron*. It is a round building, with an aperture at the top, resembling the famous *Pantheon* at *Rome*. The perpendicular height from the bottom to the aperture at the top is about two and twenty foot. The diameter of the aperture is eleven foot and a half; the internal diameter of the building nineteen foot and a half. It has only one window above three foot high, the breadth of the upper part of which is two foot within, and of the lowest part above three. This window is over the door, and reaches almost within two foot of the aperture. It is built with regular courses of hewn stone. The stones are just laid level and smooth, one upon another, without any cramps of metal or cement that now appear, or being inserted one into another, by having one stone concave and the other convex, as some (who seem to have followed *Buchanan*^a) have affirmed. The weight of the stones, and the skill of the architect, have been the security of the building. Antiquaries differ much in their sentiments about the design and use of this building. *Buchanan*^b hints at three opinions, namely, that it was either a temple, a trophy, or a sepulchre of some great man. He inclines most to the first opinion, I should rather chuse the last. The second I think is now given up by most antiquaries. *Buchanan* would have it a temple of the god *Terminus*^c. Another very learned antiquary^d affirms, that the *Romans* never built temples to *Terminus*, who was no more than a stone or square post set up to direct travellers on the road. And it is denied that *Numa* built a temple to *Terminus*. This gentleman therefore supposes it was a temple, but dedicated to *Romulus* the parent and primitive deity of the *Romans*. Mr. *Gordon* thinks "it was never designed for a temple of worship; but was "only a *facellum*, or little chapel, contiguous to the camp, in which the " *vexilla* or ensigns of the legions were kept." He adds, "It may perhaps "have been also used as a *mausoleum*, or depository for holding, within its "hollow basement, the ashes of some illustrious *Roman* who may have died "in that country^e." And he thinks it may have been dedicated to *Mars signifer*, or *ultor*. But it is not so likely that the *Romans* would build any sort of a temple without the wall, and so far from a station. Nor does the building seem large and magnificent enough for a temple. I therefore look upon it as a funeral monument^f; which is the more probable, because it stands

^a Saxa asperis ita conformatis, ut superioris lapidis pars in inferiorem se inferat. Hist. Scot. Lib. i.

^b Ibid. et Lib. iv.

^c Quantum conjectura possumus assequi, aedem Termini fuisse credimus. Ibid. Lib. iv.

^d Dr. Stukeley's treatise on Arthur's Oon.

^e Itin. Septent, p. 28.

^f I find in Mr. Wright's Travels an account of a sepulchre near Rome, which seems very much to confirm this conjecture. That curious gentleman has given the following description of it. "We saw the noble monument of Caccilia Metella, the daughter of Q. Creticus, as the inscription, still plain upon it, shows: CACCILIAE Q. CRETICI. F. METELLAE CRASSI. It is a rotunda, as several of the an-

tiens mausolea were. One side is much ruined, "and there we had an opportunity of observing, "that the vast stones whereof it is built, were "laid together without mortar, or any other cement. There is a frieze toward the top, adorned "with heads of oxen, from whence the whole structure is commonly called capo di bove. There is "a fine sarcophagus in the court of the Farnese "palace, which they say was brought from hence, "and is supposed to have contained this lady's remains. She was wife to the rich Marcus Crassus, "who fell in the wars against the Parthians." Wright's Travels, pag. 355. The inscription has been published before, both by Ant. Augustin. and Gruter, but we are indebted to this gentleman for so particular a description of the building.

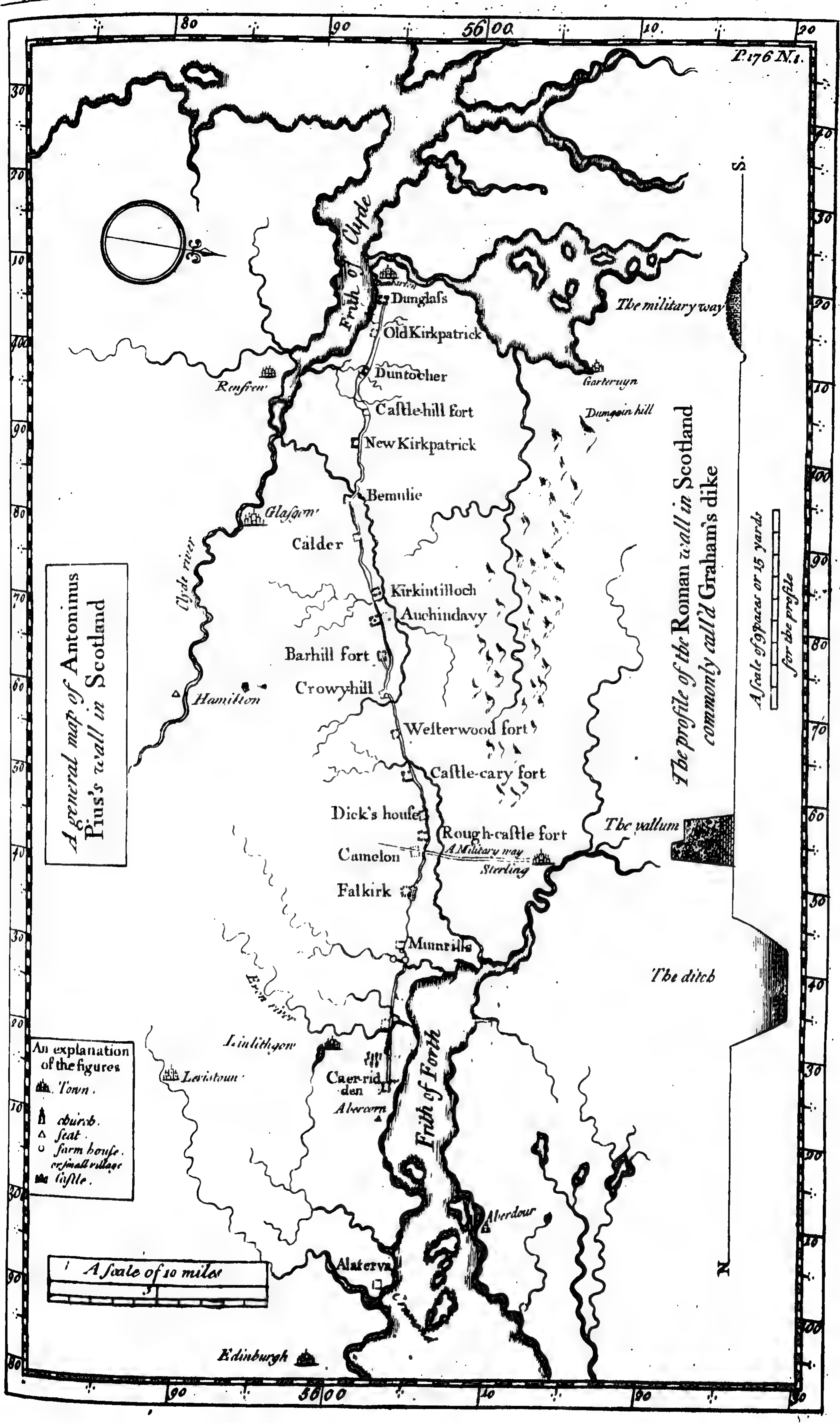
stands not very far from the wall and the great military way. If the person for whom it was erected was considerable, it is by no means too grand or pompous for such a purpose. It's being situated on the north side of the wall will create no difficulty, because it is easy to produce many parallel instances of sepulchral monuments that have the same situation. There are several *tumuli* on the north side of our wall in *Northumberland*, and some other sepulchral monuments north from the wall in *Scotland*. If *Arthur's oven* was built by *Julius Agricola*, and long before the wall; this argument from its situation must (it is confessed) lose much of its force: but still one would have expected a temple rather in or near a *Roman* station or town, than remote from both. Mr. *Gordon* thinks this building might be partly a *facellum*, and partly a *mausoleum*, but these two purposes seem not to agree very well to the same building; and therefore I would rather chuse to call it only a *mausoleum*.

ABOVE two miles west from *Arthur's oven*, and above a mile north from *Rough-castle*, and the antient ruinous city of *Camelon*, stand the famous *duni pacis*, another piece of antiquity that cannot well be passed over in silence. They stand on the north side of the river *Bonny*, and are thought to have been erected as the boundaries, at some peace concluded between the *Romans* and the *Britons*. But this opinion, no doubt, owes its rise partly to the present name *Dunipace*, and partly perhaps to the opinion that *Arthur's oven* is a temple of *Terminus*. If I believed these to be *Roman*, I should rather incline to Mr. *Gordon's* opinion^a, that they are exploratory mounts, of the same kind with the rest that appear on this *isthmus*. The figure and appearance of these is much the same with the others, but the situation is by no means proper for exploration. One of them is thought to be artificial, and the other natural.

THIS wall and ditch are represented in the particular maps according to their several degrees of appearance, in the same manner as *Hadrian's vallum*, and the wall and ditch of *Severus* in the north of *England*^b.

^a Itin. Sept. pag. 23, 24.

^b See before, pag. 135, 158.



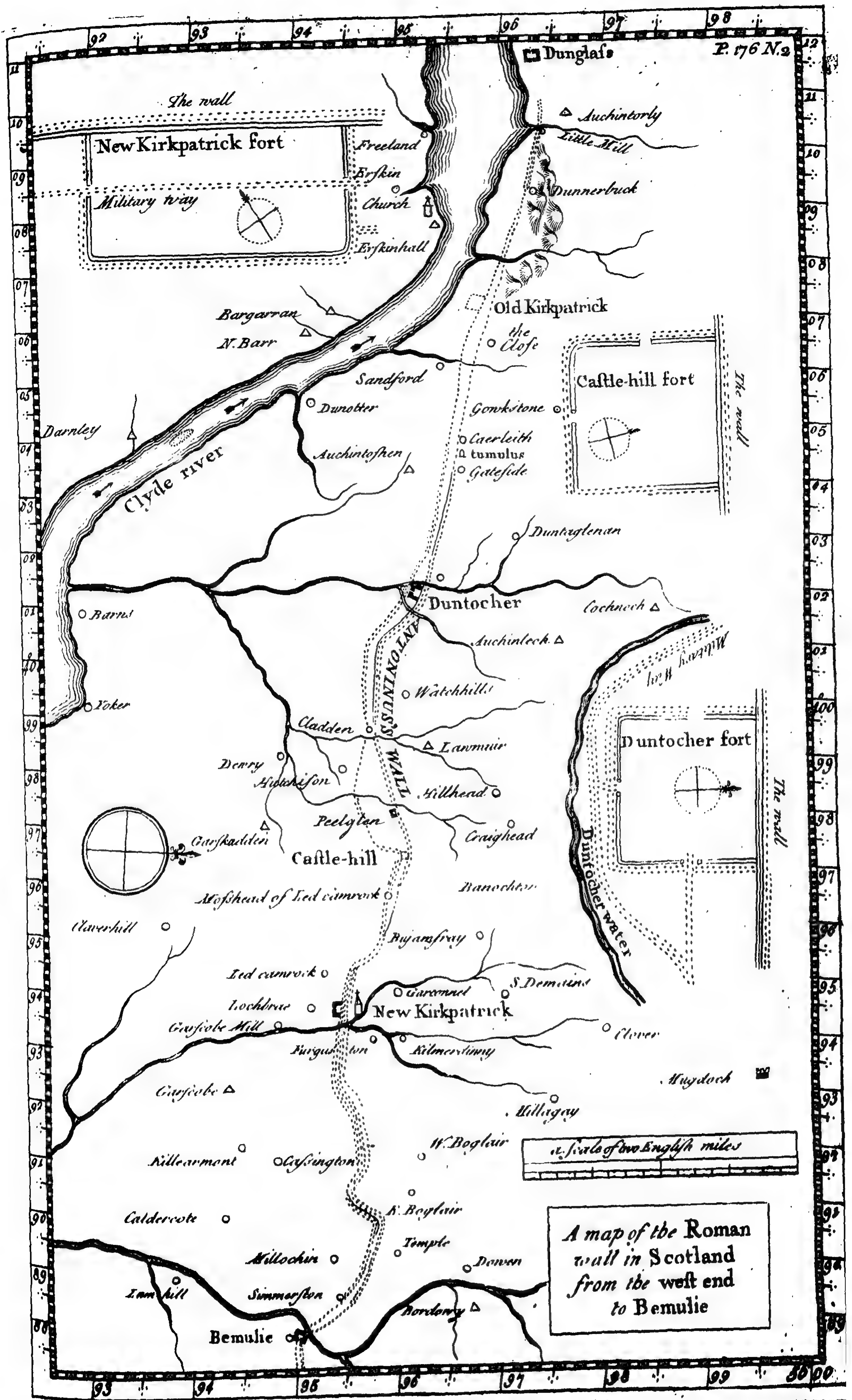
A general map of Antoninus Pius's wall in Scotland

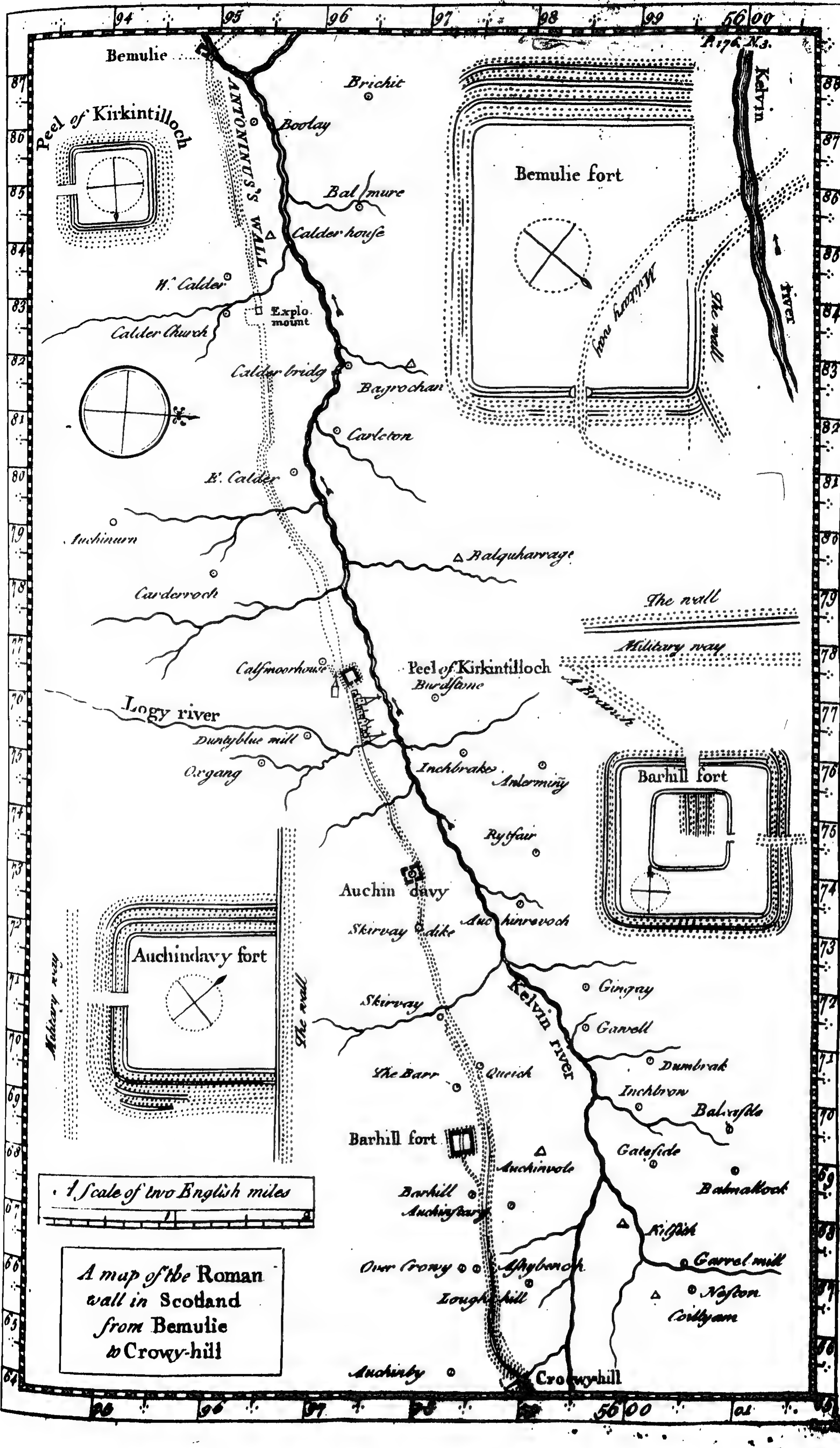
- An explanation of the figures
- Town.
 - church.
 - seat.
 - farm house, or small village.
 - castle.

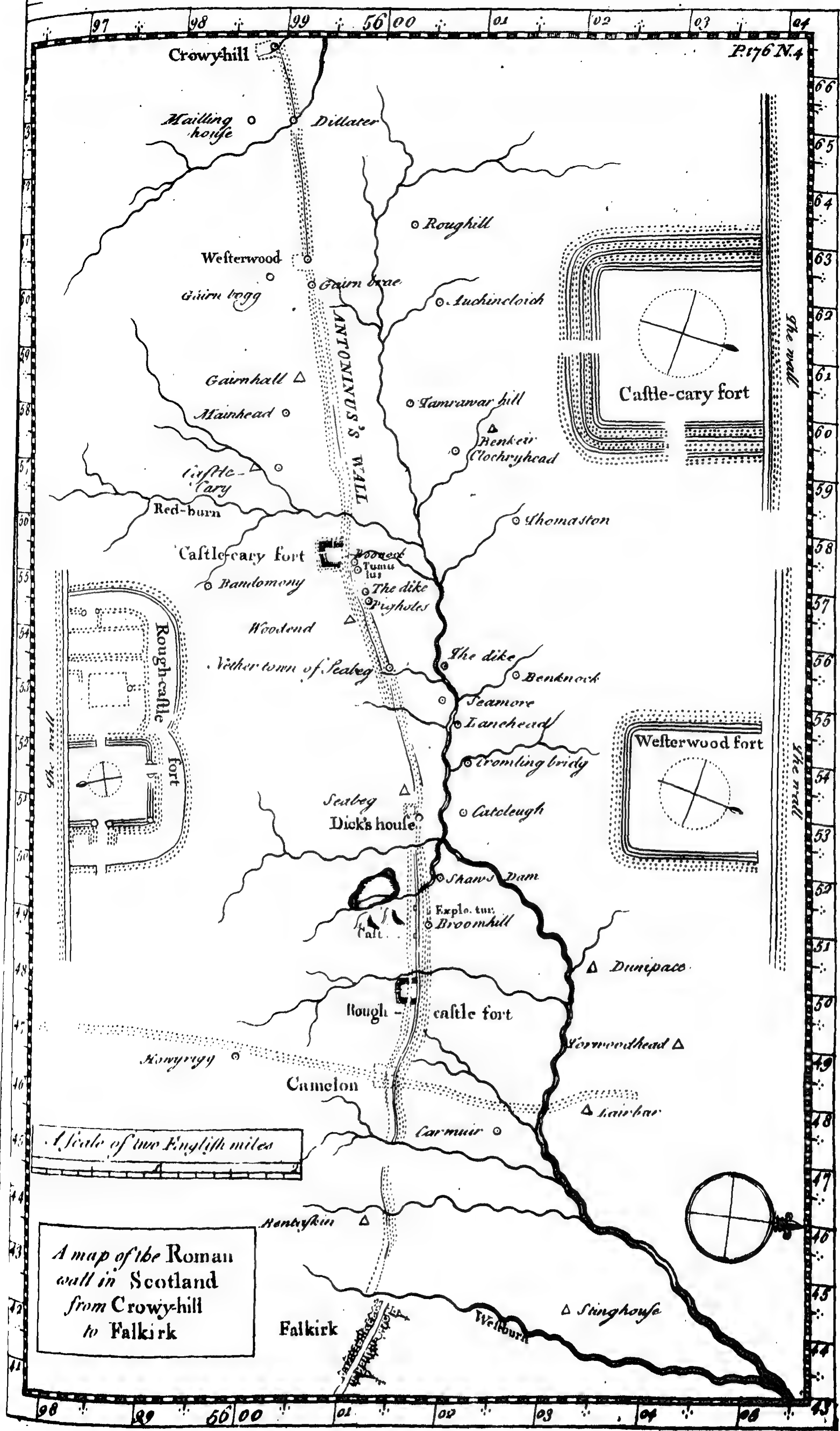
The profile of the Roman wall in Scotland commonly call'd Graham's dike

A scale of 9 paces or 15 yards for the profile

A scale of 10 miles







Crowyhill

P.176 N.4

Mailling hoife

Dillater

Roughhill

Westerwood

Gairn bogg

Gairn brae

Luchincloich

Gairnhall

Mainhead

Castle-cary

Red-burn

Castle-cary fort

Bamlomony

Woodend

The dike

Pigholes

Vether town of Seabeg

The dike

Benknock

Seamore

Lanchhead

Cromling bridge

Seabeg

Dick's house

Catcleugh

Shaws Dam

Explo. tun.

Broomhill

Rough-castle fort

Dunipace

Honyrigg

Camelon

Wormwoodhead

hairbar

Carmuir

Hentykin

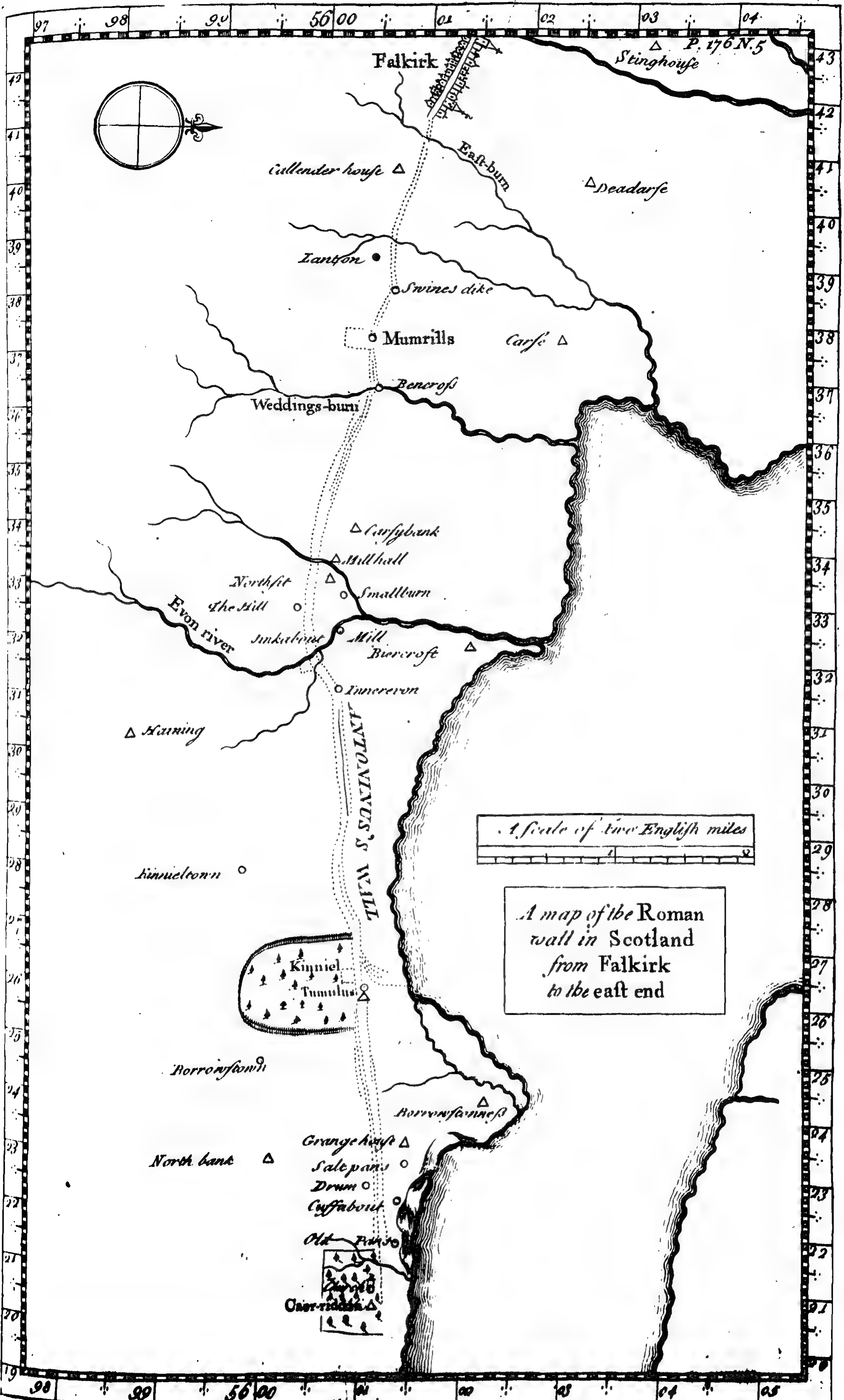
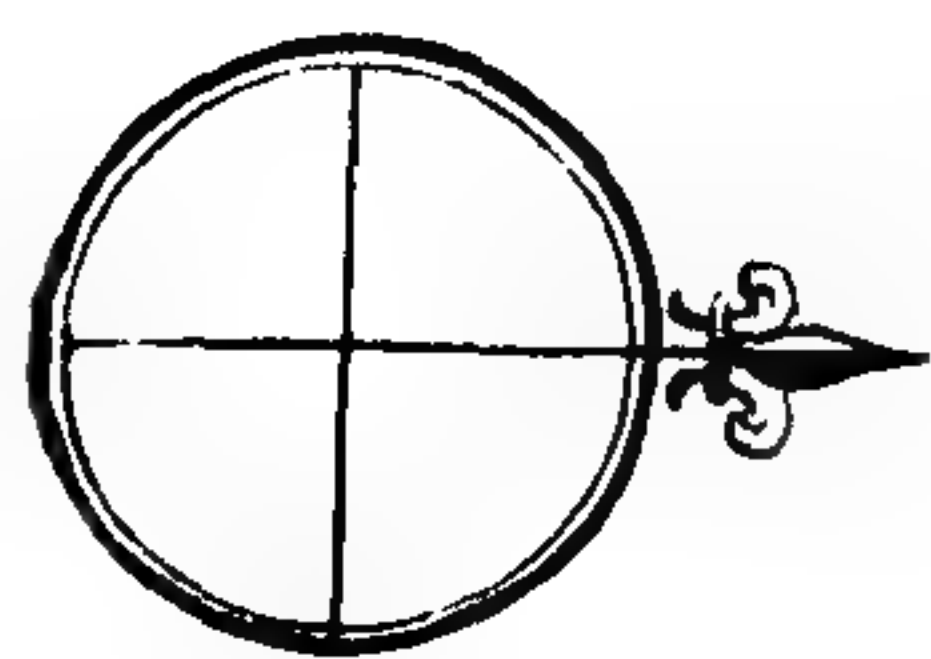
Falkirk

Wellburn

Singhouse

A scale of two English miles

A map of the Roman wall in Scotland from Crowy-hill to Falkirk



1 scale of two English miles

A map of the Roman wall in Scotland from Falkirk to the east end

BRITANNIA ROMANA.

BOOK THE SECOND:

In which is contained an account of all the
Roman inscriptions and sculptures found
in *Britain*.

The Introduction.

IN the following collection will be found a great number of original inscriptions, and sculptures, never before published; some of which are very curious. I thought it worth while to insert some fragments of inscriptions, which may have their value and use, tho' not so great, as if they had been compleat and entire. And I am persuaded that fragments of *Roman* inscriptions will in time be as much esteemed, and as carefully searched for, as fragments of antient authors. I have found those few, which are here intermixed, serviceable to good purposes on many occasions. And in such a general collection, or *Thesaurus*, designed to be as compleat as possible, it was necessary that all should be inserted, tho' all cannot be equally important or useful.

THE whole number of originals cut upon the plates, amount to about three hundred and forty, above one hundred and forty of which were never before published. I have allowed every original a place in the plates; but where the originals could not be recovered, and there appeared nothing remarkable either in the sculptures or letters, I have only inserted them in the chapter of observations from the best copies. The greatest care has been taken to have the draughts exactly done according to the originals; and therefore I have diligently revised and compared every copy with its original, and often repeated the comparison, when any doubt or difficulty seemed to remain. I am the more sensible how necessary this was, from the disagreement in many copies taken by the best hands, which I have often found not only to differ very much from one another, but all of them from the originals, and that too in

some things the most material : so that a considerable number of the inscriptions in the following collection are as good as new, tho' extant before, because not published in an intelligible manner ; not to take notice of the explications I have added in such cases, where tho' the reading in the main might be right, yet either the sense of the inscription was much mistaken, or none given to it. In several of the inscriptions (particularly those which *Cambden* had published) the letters were printed only in common capitals ; and where we had a draught of the altars or other stones, and the letters upon them, yet little or no regard was had to the size of either, or the proportion which the several stones or letters bore to one another. Mr. *Gordon* has expressed the comparative magnitude of the stones, but has not given us either the true cut or dimensions of the letters. But now both the letters and stones were measured in the originals ; and I have taken all possible care to have them expressed upon the plates in their due proportion and figure, and have laid down every thing by one and the same scale, whereby every line in the draught is just one eighth of the length contained in the original : except in some few instances, where I'm obliged to alter the scale ; but whenever this is done, notice is given of it in the observations. By this means the proportion that one thing bears to another, may be discerned and judged of at once. And this method is likewise attended with this farther advantage, that all the inscriptions here mentioned will be easily known, and distinguished from others, should the stones happen to be removed hereafter to other places.

I HAVE now and then (tho' but rarely and never without some proper distinction) thought fit to supply the present defect in an original inscription by the help of the best or most antient copy. There is no doubt but, in like circumstances, originals ought always to be preferred to copies : but yet an antient copy taken by a skilful and faithful hand may in some cases be more depended upon, than the original can be at present ; as when the original has been much damaged by being neglected and exposed to the weather, which is too often the case. And without question many inscriptions, which were very legible and distinct, when first dug up, are now almost entirely effaced. In such cases the most antient copy, if taken with equal care and skill, must be of the greatest service. Tho' we must always distinguish between the bare reading of an inscription, and any conjecture about the explication or meaning of it ; for the antiquity of this makes it rather of less weight, because other monuments may have been since discovered, which may help us now to form a judgment with greater certainty. And this remark may be applied to the account of the *Roman* walls, and several other things of the same nature. I know persons have often been deceived by some ornaments and flourishes made in a stone, or by an accidental flaw, or a stroke made by the plough, before the stone was quite thrown up, mistaking these for letters. But as a little attention is sufficient to distinguish the one from the other, where the original is to be seen ; so an error in a copy occasioned by this may often without much difficulty be discovered.

GRUTER is the grand treasury and standard of this part of antiquity ; and yet there is comparatively but a few (I believe not above one eighth) of the originals relating to *Britain*, to be found in that large collection ; and those which are there, are frequently incorrect. This fate has too often attended such as have been published by others, or, as I may call it, at second hand ; so that few have escaped without some material errors, either in the reading, or explication where this has been given : for many of them have remained hitherto without any explication. All that are in *Gruter* were communicated by Sir *Robert Cotton* and Mr. *Cambden* ; so that he has but a part of what are to be found in the later editions of *Cambden's Britannia*, especially the last ; and those generally more incorrect. Most of those in *Gruter* belong to *Cumberland* ; but he has ascribed sometimes to that county an inscription that belonged to another ; and at other times has repeated the same inscription as if it was different.

different. Nor are such mistakes peculiar to *Gruter*. I shall mention one remarkable instance of the latter kind, relating to an inscription now at *Rookby* near *Gretabridge* in *Yorkshire*, where it is said to have been found in the year 1702^a. This inscription has been published in the late edition of *Cambden's Britannia*, as if it was in reality two different inscriptions. I shall transcribe both the copies as we find them printed there.

DEAI NIMPHAI
NE INBRICA X ET
IANVARIA X ET
IBINVS MV
IOSONIRVN

DEÆ NYM
ERLÆ NV
MINI BR
IG ET
IAN.....

The former of these copies has been several times published by the best hands; the other, I suppose, was taken and transcribed by one whose skill was not equal to his honest intention. Nor could the learned editor, without inspecting the original itself, avoid publishing them as the copies of two inscriptions, being so very different from each other. But 'tis somewhat strange to observe the variation even of the better copy from the original, which is as follows:

DEAE NYMP ELAV
NE INEBRICA X ET
IANVARIA: FIL
LIBENTES EX VO
TO SOLVERVNT.

That both the former are only faulty copies of this inscription, I think, I have fully shewn in my observations upon it^b. And I have some jealousy that the inscription *DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG*, said by *Dr. Gale*^c to have been found at *Chester*, is in reality no other than a part of this very inscription: for *Selden*, from whom both *Dr. Prideaux*^d and *Dr. Gale* must have had it, says no more than that it was found among the *Brigantes*, and it is immediately joined to one that is referred to *Thornburgh*, or the station near *Cataraet* bridge, which lies about ten miles from *Gretabridge*; both of them in *Yorkshire*. Nor is it to be wondered at, that only a part of it was printed by *Selden*, since he has also published no more than a part of another inscription just before it; tho' the whole of it is still extant and very legible^e. What he has published is, *FORTVNAE CONSERVATRICI*; but the whole may be seen in this collection^f.

I HAVE designedly avoided, as much as possible, referring to any foreign inscriptions (such I mean as are found abroad and relate to *Britain*) for the explication or proof of any thing in this collection. When there were any parallel instances in this *Thesaurus*, I looked upon that as sufficient, and was unwilling the reader should be obliged to have recourse to any other authority for the meaning of a *Brito-Roman* inscription. He will therefore not meet with above four or five such foreign inscriptions, which are inserted in the observations. But as to the names of persons, places, and some particular forms of expression, found upon the inscriptions of different countries, when any of these occur in our collection, that might seem to require farther proof or illustration from other examples, I have generally fetched them from *Gruter* or *Reinesius*, as books of the best authority, and most general use.

^a Gale. Anton. Itin. p. 42. Cambd. p. 925.

^b Yorkshire, N. 14.

^c Antonin. Itiner. p. 53.

^d Marmora Oxoniensia in append.

^e See Seldeni Opera, vol. II. p. 1477. and the observations on the Cheshire inscriptions, after N. 111.

^f Lancashire, N. 1.

CHAPTER I.

In which an account is given, I. Of the places where, and persons by whom inscriptions were erected in Britain. II. Of the places in which most of them are now to be met with. III. Upon what occasions, and to whom they were usually erected. IV. Of the times in which they were erected, with the number belonging to each emperor's reign. V. How to know the date of inscriptions, or the time when they were erected; with a table of the different shape of the letters and stops, and another of the ligatures. VI. A draught of the sacrificing instruments and vessels usually cut upon Roman altars, with an account of their use.

I. **I**T is certain that in the south and east, or south-east parts of this island, but few *Roman* inscriptions have yet been discovered. The main body of inscriptions which have hitherto appeared, have been found in *Monmouthshire*, the northern counties of *England*, and near the wall in *Scotland*^a. The reasons of this I shall now endeavour to account for. The *Romans* first made their descent in the county of *Kent*, marched cross the country, and so advanced northward chiefly on the western side of *England*; and while they were in a great measure unsettled, or still marching, fighting, and conquering, they might not perhaps concern themselves so much about erecting inscriptions. Or else (which I rather take to be the case) the humour of erecting inscriptions did not prevail so much then as it did afterwards. In the later reigns the *Romans* grew fonder of perpetuating their names after this manner, and were more liberal, or rather extravagant in their compliments to their superiors. But the reason why inscriptions abound in the other counties I have mentioned, seems plainly to be this; that the frontier stations, where the garrisons usually lay, were in those parts, and the great barriers, that is, the three walls, passed, one of them through *Scotland*, and the other two, forming one barrier, through *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*. In these counties too the stations are more numerous than any where else. The seat of the after-wars seems also to have been much about the walls, which would bring more forces this way, and probably occasion the erecting more inscriptions. The stations and forces in *Monmouthshire* might be to awe the *Silures*, according to what the *Roman* historian says was done upon another occasion^b; for they were a warlike people, and oft gave disturbance to the *Romans*. Tho' it must be owned, that by reason of the more frequent buildings, and greater and more early cultivation in the south, it is probable more inscriptions may have been lost in those parts, than in the north. How many may have been found at *London* and other large towns, that are now entirely lost? It is not long that inscriptions have been much regarded, or sought for; and at such places as these many may have been cast up and destroyed some ages ago. But yet I am inclined to think the principal reason has been, that the soldiers were more numerous, and continued longer in the north; and that the *Roman* stations and works were more considerable in that part of *England*, than they were in the south: for the military men were the persons, as I shall shew presently, who erected most

^a There are several also at the Bath; probably as that time the *Romans* resorted thither for the benefit of the waters, and many who came to that place with this view, ended their lives there, and had funeral monuments erected for them.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 31, 38. quoted before, pag. 42, 77.

most of the inscriptions, and the places at which they were chiefly erected, were their stations. The sepulchral inscriptions indeed, as well as the *tumuli*, are often near the military ways, and sometimes at a distance from the stations, but more frequently nigh to them. In those places where the *Roman* soldiers kept garrison for a long time together, and pretty late, we have often a multitude of inscriptions, tho' the places are small; while perhaps in much larger towns, where this was not the case, we have few or none.

As for the persons who erected these inscriptions, they were, as I have hinted already, generally military men. Sometimes indeed we meet with an inscription, especially of the funeral kind, relating to a person who was not of the army; but these are not very common: for even most of the funeral inscriptions belong to the soldiery. Nor is this to be wondered at, since there were few *Romans*, but soldiers, in this island. The garrisons of course consisted of such, and the colonies, as *Camulodunum*, were made up of veterans. And this humour of erecting inscriptions seems to have prevailed, not only among the legionary soldiers, who were *Roman* citizens, but likewise among the auxiliaries. I know some are of opinion, that none but *Roman* citizens did erect inscriptions; but it is very certain that whole cohorts of auxiliaries frequently set up such monuments; tho' indeed these cohorts were generally, if not constantly, under the command of a *Roman* tribune. Sometimes the names of those who erected them have nothing of the *Roman* sound in them; and that they were foreigners, who had gained the freedom of the city, is not intimated to us. This was practised by persons of all ranks and degrees in the army, from the highest officers down to the common soldiers. The commanders and governours of forts more especially pleased themselves with perpetuating their names by such monuments. But we have many inscriptions also by other tribunes, and several by whole legions, or their vexillations, and many others by cohorts and their centurions. There is a particular set of inscriptions erected by the legionary cohorts or their centuries, a great number of which have been upon the face of *Severus's* wall, which I call *centurial*. Of these some account has been given already in the former book*, and more will be said of them in the observations upon the inscriptions.

II. IT can't be supposed, but in the space of so many ages great numbers of inscriptions must have been removed from the places where they were first erected. Those who have been curious in such monuments of antiquity, would be desirous to get them into their own possession; and they who did not value them, would often remove the stones for other uses: I shall therefore give a brief account, of the places where most of them are now to be met with.

THE two principal collections in *Scotland* are those of the university of *Glasgow*, and of Baron *Clerk*; for I do not know of three inscriptions together in any other place in *Scotland*.

IN *Northumberland* we have no collections that are very large. The largest is at *House-steeds*, a station upon the wall, where several fine altars and inscriptions lie exposed to the injuries of the weather. There are a few at some other places, as *Cousins's house*, *Benwel*, *Corbridge*, and *Risingham*; and I have about twenty in my own possession, which belong mostly to *Northumberland*. But the most curious inscriptions have been removed out of this county. Many were carried off by Sir *Robert Cotton*, several of which are yet remaining at *Conington* near *Stilton*; but they also are going to ruin, for the summer-house where they were carefully placed by Sir *Robert* being now

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* Chap. VIII. pag. 127, 128, 129.

now uncovered and in a ruinous state, the stones and inscriptions have already suffered very much. Mr. *Warburton* had made the largest collection, who was at a great deal of pains and expence to collect the most curious *Roman* stones he could find in this county; but he unhappily broke many of them in order to make them more portable, and so carried off only that part of the stone which had the inscription. By this means it has happened that many of the stones collected by him are only faces of altars, and in several instances the inscriptions themselves have suffered damage by this unhappy frugality. What this gentleman had collected at *Hexham*, have since been removed to the library at *Durham*.

THE two largest collections in *Cumberland* are in *Naworth* gardens, and at *Elenborough* hall. There is also a handsome number in the gardens at *Scaleby* castle, and the late Mr. *Appleby* removed two or three from *Cambeck* fort to his seat at the *Cleugh*. Several places have each of them two or three; as *Netherby*, *Drumbrugh*, *Burdoswald*, *Willoford*, *Drawdikes*, and *Carlisle*. But some of the most curious inscriptions that belonged to this county have been removed as far as *Conington*, where only one or two of them remain at present.

THE only large collection in the county of *Durham* is in the Dean and chapter's library at *Durham*, for which they are indebted to Dr. *Hunter*. Many of the *Northumberland* inscriptions are also to be met with here, the doctor having procured all Mr. *Warburton's* collection at *Hexham*, from whence it was removed to this library. There are two or three inscriptions yet remaining at *Binchester*, but no number together at any other place.

THE *Yorkshire* inscriptions are scattered up and down in several places, and I believe there are not above three of them to be found any where together. There is a very curious one at *Rishston*, as also two or three fine ones at *Rookby* and *Morton*, near *Gretabridge*; and as many in the late Mr. *Thoresby's* collection, yet remaining at *Leeds*. At *Conington* indeed there is a noble collection; but Sir *Robert Cotton*, as I have said, enriched that place with the spoils of several counties. When I looked round me in that summer-house, and observed particularly the inscriptions which had been removed from our own county and neighbourhood, it gave me for some time a great deal of pleasure; tho' it was afterward much abated, by reflecting on the ruinous state both of the house and inscriptions.

THERE is no other place that I know of in *Britain*, besides those already mentioned, in which there is any number of inscriptions collected together; except at *Bath* in *Somersetshire*, most of which are in a great measure defaced. As for those of *Monmouthshire*, they are most of them lost, and the two or three that remain are at as many different places. In the observations upon the inscriptions I have endeavoured to give an account of every inscription and sculpture, of the place in which it was found, by whom published, and where it is at present.

III. THE occasions on which the *Romans* erected these inscriptions, were various. Funeral altars were erected on account of the death of some relation or friend, and inscribed to the *Dii Manes*. Other altars, with their proper inscriptions upon them, were consecrated for sacrifice. Such are the votive altars, upon many of which we meet with the words *pro salute*, that is, for the preservation or welfare of the emperor, or some other person, or of the parties themselves who dedicated these altars. And, I think, most of the inscriptions we have upon altars conclude with the words, *votum solvit*. There are other inscriptions which proceeded not from any act of devotion, but were erected upon

upon various occasions; such are honorary monuments in compliment to the emperor, or some other great person, especially after any success or victory obtained. And sometimes such inscriptions were erected upon finishing some considerable work or a part of it. Of this kind are the centurial inscriptions placed in *Severus's* wall, and those inscriptions found upon the wall in *Scotland*.

ALTARS are generally inscribed to gods and goddesses, and sometimes to the emperors. A great number of these in *Britain* are inscribed to several of the principal gods of the *Romans*; but many likewise to topical deities, who were supposed to preside over particular places. We have a *British* goddess mentioned by *Dion*^a, named *Adraste* or *Andraste*; but her name occurs not in any inscription. Funeral ones were consecrated, as I have said, to the *Dii Manes*, as also to the memory of the deceased, whose ghosts are sometimes called *Dii Manes*, as well as the greater infernal deities^b. In honorary monuments and inscriptions the emperors are often complimented in the most servile manner, and sometimes deified. But some inscriptions are only set up as memorials of finishing a considerable work or public structure, and directed to no person.

IV. DR. *FLEETWOOD* observes, “ that among the many thousand inscriptions to the following emperors, we have scarce six or seven to *Julius Caesar*; “ tho’ all their exploits put together scarce equaled those of *Julius Caesar* “ alone.” And it is evident, that the great difference with respect to the number of inscriptions yet remaining, that belong to the several emperors, is not so much owing to the different length of their reigns, as to the growing humour of erecting such monuments, which obtained much more under the later emperors, than it had done before. For this reason likewise the inscriptions under the later emperors are more magnificent and pompous, as well as more numerous. This remark, when applied to *Britain* in particular, will account for the reason why we have so few inscriptions here belonging to the higher emperors, and why the most antient are found to be the shortest, as well as the most simple and plain. Notwithstanding the descent of *Julius Caesar*, the exploits and conquests of *Claudius* and *Vespasian* in this island, and the wars that were carried on here under some others who succeeded them; yet we have not one inscription in *Britain* that undoubtedly belongs to any of the first twelve *Caesars*. *Hadrian* is the first emperor, whose name occurs in any of our *British* inscriptions, and we have but very few of his, tho’ he built a rampart quite cross the country; and the few erected to him are simple and short. I know *Claudius* and *Domitian* are mentioned in two inscriptions upon pieces of lead, found one in *Cheshire* and the other in *Somersetshire* (an account of which we have in *Cambden*^c) but I shall shew in my observations that such inscriptions as these are not directly to the purpose. Nor do I forget the celebrated inscription found at *Chichester*, but I must refer to what is offered against its being so antient^d. In the following reigns, especially under some of the *Antonines*, they become more numerous as well as more pompous; but after the reign of *Constantine* the great, when the *Roman* power begun to decline, they very much decrease again.

It may not be amiss here to give a brief account of the public inscriptions erected to the honour of each emperor, or at least that come under his reign, with the names or titles ascribed to him. As to *Hadrian*, whom I have already observed to be the first, there was a fair inscription with his name in
it

^a Lib. LXII. p. 703.

^b See Montfaucon, tom. v. par. 1. lib. xv. c. 3.

^c Dolendum certe est, quod inter tot mille epigraphas, quae sparsim ubique reperiuntur, sex aut septem tantum (quorumque de aetate juste forsitan ambigas) Divo Julio inscriptas videre licet.

Cum tamen Imperatorum omnium sequentium virtutes et praecleara gesta, vix, ac ne vix quidem, hujus singuli exaequant. Sylloge. pag. 92.

^d Pag. 83, 680.

^e Observations upon the Sussex inscriptions.

it (as it is represented in *Cambden*^a) found at *Netherby* in *Cumberland*; and another at *Bowes* in *Richmondshire*, but some part of the words of this latter was effaced in *Cambden's* time. There are two others, whose originals are yet extant, one at *Beaucaſtle*^b, and the other in the library at *Durham*^c (tho' probably found near *Carrvoran*) which I believe have been to this emperor; but they are both imperfect, and somewhat uncertain. The two first of these are short and simple; upon one of them we have, *Imperatori Caesari Trajano Hadriano Augusto*; the other adds the titles, *Pontifici maximo, consuli, patri patriae*, besides *Trajani filio et Nervae nepoti*. So that at most there have been but four inscriptions hitherto discovered in *Britain*, that can with any probability be ascribed to this emperor.

ANTONINUS PIUS has had a great number of inscriptions erected to his honour. And what is more considerable, I believe all the originals of this reign, that have ever yet been discovered in *Britain*, are still extant somewhere or other. There have been twelve or thirteen of these found upon the wall in *Scotland*^d, and almost all of them plain and distinct; nor do I remember one in *Scotland* to any other emperor. Besides these in *Scotland* there is another fair inscription upon an altar at *Benwel* in *Northumberland*^e, for the safety of this emperor. All these run very nearly in the same strain, as to his names and titles, which are, *Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano, Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae*, and in one, *consuli tertium*^f. That at *Benwel* has *Numinibus Augusti*. There is likewise another inscription among those in *Cheshire*^g, which appears by the date to belong to this emperor's reign, tho' it has not his name; the altar upon which it is, having been erected when *Commodus* and *Lateranus* were consuls, in the year 154.

As to the succeeding emperors, who assumed the name of *Antoninus* in inscriptions, as well as medals, it is sometimes not very easy to distinguish with certainty to which they belong. Nay the difficulty with respect to inscriptions must be greater, than it is in medals; because in medals the heads of the emperors, and in some cases other figures or marks will determine the matter, where the titles and names of the emperor would not have been sufficient; but in inscriptions we have commonly nothing but these to assist us, except the figure of the letters, of which I shall speak afterwards.

MARCUS AURELIUS succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, and there are two or three inscriptions which are certainly known to belong to his reign, either by his being joined in them with *Lucius Verus* his partner in the empire; or by the name of his *propraetor*, *Calpurnius Agricola*. *Antoninus* and *Verus* are jointly mentioned upon an altar at *Ilkley* in *Torkshire*^h. Upon another altar to the Syrian goddess, found, I believe, near *Little chesters* upon the wall in *Northumberland*ⁱ, this emperor's legate in *Britain*, namely *Calpurnius Agricola*, is mentioned expressly. And I am of opinion that the same legate's name has been upon the stone found at *Elfdon* in the same county^k, but this is more doubtful. This emperor with his colleague are in the inscription at *Ilkley* thus described; *Imperatores Caesares Augusti Antoninus et Verus*. And to *Verus* is also added, *Jovi dilectus*.

COMMODUS succeeded *Marcus Aurelius*. We have some inscriptions that are certainly known to belong to his reign. At *Old Carlisle* in *Cumberland*^l two altars have been erected by the *ala Augusta*, and both in this reign; the one when *Fuscianus* and *Silanus* were consuls, in the year 188; the other in the

^a Pag. 1027.

^b Cumberland, N. XLVI.

^c Northumberland, N. LXXVII.

^d N. I, &c.

^e N. VII.

^f Scotland, N. xxv.

^g N. III.

^h N. XIII.

ⁱ N. LIII.

^k N. CXVIII.

^l N. LVI, LVII.

the consulate of *Apronianus* and *Bradua*, in the year 191. At *Netherby* in *Cumberland* we are told in *Cambden*^a of an inscription with this emperor's name in it, namely, *Imperator Commodus consul*; but this appears to me a little doubtful, and the original is not now to be seen. *Cambden*^b gives us another inscription in *Yorkshire* (tho' he says it was defaced before he saw it) which according to his account can belong to none but *Commodus*; for he says it was under the statue of *Commodus* in the habit of *Hercules*, and a club in his hand. The inscription runs, if rightly taken, *Imperator Caesar Augusto Marci Aurelii filio*.

SEVERAL inscriptions belonging to *Severus* are easily distinguished by his names, and his being frequently joined with *Caracalla*, and sometimes both with him and his brother *Geta*. In an inscription in *Monmouthshire*^c we have, *Augusti nostri Severus et Antoninus et Geta Caesar*. In one in *Yorkshire*, at *Brugh*, the name of *Geta*, according to *Cambden*^d, seemed to have been designedly erased, but that of *Caracalla* remained distinct. It runs *Imperator Caesar Lucio Septimio pio Pertinaci Augusto et Imperatori Caesar Marco Aurelio Antonino pio felici Augusto*. And at *Hexham* in *Northumberland*^e is another just in the same terms; and the name of *Geta* also erased. In another *Yorkshire* inscription^f we have *Imperator Severus Augustus et Antoninus Caesar destinatus*. Besides these, there are two other *Yorkshire* inscriptions^g which appear to belong to this reign; for the one found at *Bowes*, now at *Conington*, names *Severus's* *propraetor Virius Lupus*; and the other was erected when *Antoninus* and *Geta* were consuls. I shall not take any notice here of the centurial inscriptions upon the wall, and some others which I believe have belonged to this reign, as that upon the rock on the *Gelt* in *Cumberland*^h, nor of that in the same countyⁱ, which is said to have mentioned his building the wall; for I believe this last is only imaginary. *Severus's* usual names and titles may be seen in the inscriptions above.

As for *Caracalla*, 'tis remarkable that he constantly bears the name of *Antoninus*, and usually is described, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus pius felix Augustus*. This makes it difficult to distinguish the inscriptions to *Caracalla* (when he reigned alone after the death of his father *Severus* and his brother *Geta*) from those of *Commodus*, who first assumed the titles of *pius felix* conjoined. There seems to be one of these in *Monmouthshire*^k; *Imperator Marco Aurelio Antonino Augusto Severi Lucii filio*; which last words determine the inscription to *Caracalla*. There is another inscription said to be found in *Cumberland*^l, which by the names of the emperor, and the mention of *Plautilla* his wife, appears to belong to *Caracalla*. It runs, *Dominus noster invictus imperator Marcus Severus Antoninus pius felix Caesar Augustus*. But the original of this inscription is not to be met with, and I believe it to be of doubtful authority. If it was not, the very year is determined in it, because it was erected when *Laetus* was the second time consul, that is, in the year 215, and consequently four years after the death of *Severus*. There is another found at *Whitley castle* in *Northumberland*^m, erected when this emperor was the fourth time consul, in the year 212, which was the year after the death of his father *Severus*. In this a great many titles are ascribed to him, which

run

^a Pag. 1027.

^b Pag. 919.

^c See *Cambden*, p. 720. The original is now lost.

^d Pag. 919. The original of this inscription is also lost.

^e N. CIX.

^f *Cambden*, p. 867. The original of this is not now to be found.

^g N. I, XVIII.

^h N. XLIV.

ⁱ See *Gordon's Itin. Septen.* p. 84. This gentle-

man, as well as I, made a strict enquiry about this stone, but could not find it.

^k See *Cambden*, p. 719. The original is now destroyed.

^l This was added by Dr. Holland in the former editions of *Cambden*; but is omitted in the last. See some account of it near the end of my observations on the *Cumberland* inscriptions, where my reasons are given for rejecting it.

^m N. CXIII.

run thus: *Imperator Caesar Severi filius, Antonini pii* [i. e. *Marci Aurelii*] *nepos, Antonini Pii pronepos, Hadriani abnepos, Trajani adnepos, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus pius felix Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex maximus, tribunitia potestate imperator, consul quartum, pater patriae.*

THERE are a few inscriptions more which evidently belong to some of these *Antonines*, tho' there may be a difficulty in determining to which of them they should be ascribed. Upon an altar found at *South Shields* in the county of *Durham*^a there seems to have been, *Imperator Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus*, which designation best suits *Marcus Aurelius*, usually called *philosophus*; and the circumstances of the station there are favourable to this opinion. An inscription at *Risingham* in the county of *Northumberland*^b does also mention one of the *Antonines*. What remains of the names and titles is, *Aurelius Antoninus pius Augustus*; which suits well enough with the same emperor *Marcus Aurelius*. The other sculptures and inscriptions at this place to *Hercules*, or the emperor *Commodus* in the habit or with the symbols of *Hercules*, inclined me at first to think that the *Antoninus* in this inscription might likewise be *Commodus*; but the omission of the word *felix*, and the form of the inscription and letters rather favour the former opinion. That at *Elenborough* in *Cumberland*^c appears by the addition of the words *pius felix* conjoined to belong either to *Commodus* or *Caracalla*; but rather the former, as it has no other titles annexed. As for that at *Corbridge* in *Northumberland*^d, it is scarce possible to determine to which of these three emperors it belongs, because the distinguishing names or titles are entirely broken off. There seems to have been *tribunitia potestate* among them, which is found in foreign inscriptions belonging to all these emperors^e; but I think only among *Caracalla's* in those of *Britain*: but the figure and cut of the letters answer better to the former reign.

THE silence of the *Roman* historians, with respect to any transactions in *Britain*, is further extended than the entire want of inscriptions; for we have one remarkable and curious inscription, not published before that I know of, to the emperor *Alexander Severus* and the whole family, found at *Great Salkeld* in *Cumberland*^f. In this inscription the emperor is designed by *Numeri imperatoris Alexandri Augusti*; *Julia Mammea*, his mother, is called *mater castrorum*; and the whole family, *tota domus divina*.

THERE is one inscription that has probably been erected under the reign of *Maximinus*. It is now in *Naworth* garden, and belongs to *Burdoswald*^g. It was erected when *Perpetuus* was consul, in the year 237.

UNDER *Gordian III.* we have several inscriptions in *Britain*. There are two remarkable ones found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*^h, mentioning the propractors under this emperor; and another is named in an inscription to the same emperor found at *Old Carlisle*, and now at *Conington*ⁱ. This last was erected when *Atticus* and *Praetextatus* were consuls, in the year 242. The inscription belonging to *Burdoswald* in *Cumberland*^k, wherein the *cohors Aelia Dacorum* is called *Gordiana*, must probably be referred to this reign. The titles of this emperor are, *Imperator Caesar Marcus Antoninus Gordianus pius felix invictus Augustus*. And his empress, *Sabinia Furia Tranquilla*, is mentioned in one, but without any titles; and his whole family is called *domus divina*.

W E.

^a N. 17.

^b N. LXXXVII.

^c N. LXIV.

^d N. C.

^e See Gruter, Goltius, &c. in these emperors.

^f N. 1.1.

^g See Cumberland, N. ix.

^h N. xi, xii.

ⁱ See Cumberland, N. i.v.

^k N. viii.

WE have some inscriptions also under the reign of *Philip*; at least there is one very plain and distinct found at *Old Carlisle*, and now in *Naworth* gardens^a, which I believe was set up in the year 247. In this his son, who is stiled *nobilissimus Caesar*, is joined with him; the emperor himself being called *Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus pius felix Augustus*.

I FOUND at *Rookby* near *Gretabridge* in *Yorkshire*^b an inscription upon a milliary pillar to *Gallus* and *Volusianus*. These two emperors were consuls together in the year 252. Their titles are, *Domini nostri imperatores Caesares Augusti*. They seem to be the first who have this title of *domini* ascribed to them; which makes it doubtful whether or no some more of the inscriptions which have *domini nostri* in the plural may not belong to these emperors, as well as others of them to *Maximian* and *Diocletian*^c.

THERE is also an inscription found either at *Great* or *Little chesters*^d upon the wall, and now at *Conington*, which appears from the date to belong to the reign of *Valerian* and *Gallienus*; for the altar was erected when *Tuscus* and *Bassus* were consuls in the year 258.

THERE are many which evidently belong to *Maximian* and *Diocletian* either apart or jointly. No doubt they are meant by the *domini nostri invictissimi Augusti* on the altar at *Chester*^e. I believe the same are intended at *Elenborough*^f by the *Victoriae Augustorum dominorum nostrorum*. These same emperors with the two *Caesars* which they chose, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, must likewise be intended by *Domini Augusti et Caesares nostri* in the inscription at *Ribchester* in *Lancashire*, mentioned by *Cambden*^g. The inscription at *Corby* in *Cumberland*^h mentions *Maximian* apart, with the titles, *maximi ac fortissimi imperatoris Caesaris Marci Aurelii Maximiani*.

CONSTANTINE the great is mentioned in two inscriptions in *Britain*, one found upon the wall near *Thirlwel* castle in *Northumberland*ⁱ; and another at or near *Brougham* in the county of *Westmoreland*, the original of which cannot now be recovered^k.

THERE is a singular inscription to *Flavius Julius Crispus Caesar*, the son of *Constantine* the great. This is upon a very rude stone, now built up in the wall of the summer-house at *Conington*^l. The letters are likewise rude and obscure; and this obscurity, I imagine, has been the reason why no notice has been taken of it before.

I CAN'T find that there is any *Roman* inscription in *Britain* under a later reign, whose time or date can be ascertained. This I look upon as remarkable, because the reign of *Constantine* was in the beginning of the fourth century, and the writing of the *Notitia*, according to the usual supposition, was in the beginning or near the middle of the fifth. However tho' no emperors names are mentioned in any inscriptions lower than *Constantine* the great, nor the names of consuls, or any other determinate dates; yet there are other inscriptions in this collection which by other marks may be known in the general to be late, and some of them perhaps later than *Constantine*. Thus the inscription lately discovered at *Cambeck* fort in *Cumberland*^m is in all probability lower

^a See Cumberland, N. LVIII.

^b N. III.

^c There is indeed Genio D. N. Severi Alexandri in Grut. cxxi. 1. as Spanheim reads it, De usu &c. numm. tom. 1. p. 147. But this inscription belongs not to Britain.

^d See Northumberland, N. LIV.

^e See Cheshire, N. II.

^f See Cumberland, N. LXX.

^g Pag. 972.

^h N. XVI.

ⁱ N. LXXI.

^k See Cambden, p. 998.

^l See Cumberland, N. LIX.

^m Numb. xxxiv.

lower than *Constantine*, because the principal officer does not appear in it to be *legatus Augustalis* or *propraetor* (who ceased before or under this emperor's reign) but, if my conjecture as to the reading be true, a *Provinciae praeses*, who governed after the other office was laid aside.

V. IT is oftentimes of great use and importance to fix the dates of antient inscriptions; for many of them help us to determine both the time and place of historical events, where medals tho' much valued for this purpose, are not so certain or useful. Coins may be easily conveyed to very distant places, and be either dispersed or lost by those, who lived a great many ages after they were struck. But inscriptions are usually found near the place in which they were first erected. Or if they happen to be removed, they are more easily traced from whence they first came. And when this is known, together with the date, 'tis a sure argument that the persons who set up the inscription were at that very place at that time. Now the date of an inscription may be known principally two ways; either by the matter of it, or by the form of the letters. As to the matter, some inscriptions are dated by naming the consuls; in some the emperor's name occurs, and often that of the *propraetor*; and in others some titles, or other forms of expression are used, or some reference made to a matter of fact recorded in history, by means of which we may ascertain the date. But where all these fail, we may have recourse to the different shape of the letters, and variety of ligatures, by which they are sometimes connected.

THAT there was a difference in the form and cut of the letters in different ages is very evident; tho' it must be owned that this *criterion* is in many instances very difficult, and in some perhaps scarce possible, to be adjusted with certainty. However I hope to shew that somewhat may be done this way. Besides, the more early inscriptions are much freer from those ligatures and complications of letters, which afterwards grew much into fashion; those of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus Pius* are not perplexed with many of them, tho' here and there one of the easier sort may be found. But under the reign of *Commodus* such connections began to be very much used, as appears from the inscriptions now at *Drumbrugh* in *Cumberland*^a. And we find some strange implications in the centurial inscriptions, and others, belonging to the reign of *Severus*; and many of them occur in the inscription now at *Great Salkeld* in the same county^b, erected under *Alexander Severus*. I scarce think they were altogether so great, or so frequent, even in the following reigns. Again, in earlier times we have either no stops, or usually the more plain ones; but afterwards we find many of very different forms, and often very oddly applied. Nor is there any thing wherein these artists have been more fanciful and arbitrary, both 'as to the invention and use of them. Their strange caprice appears no less in the position of the stops, than in their figure. Sometimes they are set after every word, at other times in the middle of it; sometimes they are set where they seem to be useless, and are at other times omitted where proper or necessary. It must be acknowledged, that not only in the same reign, but even in the same inscription, there is sometimes a good deal of difference, not only with respect to the beauty, but also the proportion and shape of the letters. Nor is it to be imagined, that one cut or figure of a letter universally obtained or ceased immediately, or indeed that any considerable alteration could be generally introduced on a sudden. No doubt the different beauty or figure is sometimes owing to the humour or skill of the workman, as well as to the different times or ages of the inscriptions. But yet in the main it appears that such a formed figure or manner obtained in one age or reign, and such in another; so that one may argue with probability from one to another, and in some particular cases with a good deal of certainty. In a word, as we find it to be in fact with respect to our modern times

and

^a N LVII.^b N. LI.

**A TABLE of the different shapes of the letters
and points in the INSCRIPTIONS .**

<i>Letters</i>	A	Λ	Α	Λ	Α	Α	Α	Λ	Λ
	B	B							
	C	C	C	C					
	D	D	D						
	E	E	E	E					
	F	F	F						
	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	
	H	H							
	I	I	I	I	I				
	K								
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	
	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	
	N	N	N	N					
	O	O	O	O					
	P	P							
	Q								
	R	R	R	R	R				
	S	S	S	S	S				
	T	T	T	T					
	V	V	V	V	V				
	X	X	X						
	Y	Y							

Centuria/
marks: 3 2 1 0 > > 7 3

Points

The *Italic* letters in the last column refer to the counties, and are to be thus read.

Ch. Cheshire. M. Middlesex. S. Scotland. W. Westmorland.
C. Cumberland. Ma. Monmouthshire. So. Somersetshire. Y. Yorkshire.
D. Durham. N. Northumberland. Su. Sussex. L. Lancashire.

and writing, so we may suppose it to have been with regard to these antient *Roman* inscriptions.

THE different form of the letters, stops, and ligatures may be seen by the two annexed tables; to which I shall subjoin some short remarks relating to the different ages, in which they seem to have been introduced.

A. THIS letter is found with and without a transverse from first to last, and sometimes in the same inscription. And this stroke being omitted in several medals of the high empire, and added in most of those in the lower, farther confirms to us that no great stress can be laid on it, tho' it is certain that in inscriptions the omission was more frequent in the later times. The oblique transverse, I believe, has been the latest. These with the top line bending to the left were used frequently about the reign of *Severus* and after it, as also that with the right line cross the top. The last is found in an inscription upon an antient cup now in the possession of the right honourable the Earl of *Hertford*.

B. No particular form of this letter appears peculiar to any age or time.

C. THE two first of these forms have been promiscuously used from first *Æ in two words.* to last. The two next are not so common, and were probably later, tho' the time is not exactly determined by any inscription.

D. THESE several shapes are common to all ages, only the last is more frequently used in the lower times.

E. THE two first of these are common: the two last are used in the lower *Æ in two words.* empire, tho' not very frequently; but there is one plain instance of it under the reign of *Philip* *.

F. THE two former shapes are not peculiar to any time. The third is not used, that I can find, in the higher empire. It continued to the last, and is of the *Gothic* make.

G. THE first four of these have been used all along; for the third occurs sometimes in the inscriptions of *Antoninus Pius* ^b, and in some of the latest times, particularly in that to *Gallus* and *Volusianus* in *Yorkshire* ^c, and in the rude inscriptions at *Cambeck* and *Drawdikes* in *Cumberland* ^d. The fifth is found upon several inscriptions. But the three last are not used in the more antient inscriptions, tho' frequently in those which are latest and rudest, as upon the rock in *Westmoreland* ^e, and at *Old Penreth* in *Cumberland* ^f; they are of the *Gothic* form.

H. THERE is nothing remarkable with respect to this letter.

I. THIS letter has nothing in it observable.

K. THIS letter is in some few instances used for C, but without any remarkable difference in its form.

L. THE first four continued to the later times, but were some or other of them constantly used in the more antient inscriptions, for there seems in these to be sometimes a small obliquity in the horizontal stroke, which generally was very short. The fifth was introduced about the time of *Severus*. It occurs oftneft in the inscriptions of *Cumberland*. The sixth is found only in one inscription to the emperors *Gallus* and *Volusianus* ^g. The seventh is the latest

* Cumberland, N. LVIII.

^b Northumberland, N. VII.

^c N. III.

^d N. XXXIV, XXXIX.

^e N. LIII.

^f N. IV.

^g Yorkshire, N. III.

latest, or most frequent in the later times. The three last of these seem to resemble the *Gothic* form. The eighth is upon the Earl of *Hertford's* cup.

M. Last letter serves two words.

M. THE first four are frequent in the most ancient times. The fifth began to be much in use in the reign of *Severus*, and continued afterwards. The sixth occurs but seldom, and in no inscriptions with any date; but they most probably were erected about the middle of the third century. The seventh is *Gothic*, but is not in any original inscriptions now extant. The eighth is upon the Earl of *Hertford's* cup.

N. in two words.

N. THERE is little remarkable in this letter, except that the two first are more common in the ancient times, and the other two in the later; tho' some of each sort appear in all the different ages.

O. THE round form was used in all ages, and so was the oval; but I have observed the oval to be more frequent in the inscriptions of *Antoninus Pius*, than any other. The horizontal oval (if I may so call it) very seldom appears, and it is without any certain date.

P. THERE is nothing peculiar or remarkable with regard to this letter.

Q. THERE is no variety here that deserves observation.

R. I DON'T find any shape of this letter peculiar to any particular age. The stronger and fuller was most common in the ancient times, and the smaller in the later. The fifth very seldom appears, and resembles the *Gothic* or *Runic* kind.

S. THE top of this letter is generally, but not always, less than the bottom. The last two are of the ruder sort, tho' as old as the reign of *Severus*.

T. in two words.

T. Last letter serves two words. See iv.

T. THERE is nothing in this letter peculiar to any particular time.

V. I REMEMBER not to have seen the round U in any inscription; tho' in one or two of the centurial kind the bottom is rounded a little, as in the third here, which was probably in the reign of *Severus*. The fourth is upon the Earl of *Hertford's* cup. The last is in the inscription at *Boroughbridge*^a, and is of the *Gothic* or *Runic* sort.

X. THE second of these is rather later than the first, but the last, which is the rudest of the three, occurs in the time of *Severus*.

Y. THE second is found in an inscription at *Rookby*^b, but the date is uncertain.

Z. THIS character stands both for *centurio* and *centuria*. I have given it in all its different forms, and in the order wherein one would think they must have succeeded each other. The first seems plainly designed for CE inverted; afterwards a point only remained for the E; then nothing but an inverted C, which in foreign inscriptions is often put for *Caia*; after this it was changed into a sharper curve, with a point in the belly; then into an obtuse angle; and next into an acute; and thence into a form resembling the figure of seven. However, the use of these several characters does not always agree to this order in their variation; for the sixth is as ancient as *Antoninus Pius*, as appears from the *Bewick* inscriptions^c; and the same mark continued very late, if not to the last, as is evident from many inscriptions. On the other hand, some of the other forms which I suppose have been first in the natural order, were used also in later times, especially the inverted C. The eighth is very remarkable, and occurs but in one inscription found in *Lancashire*^d.

As

^a Yorkshire, N. vi.

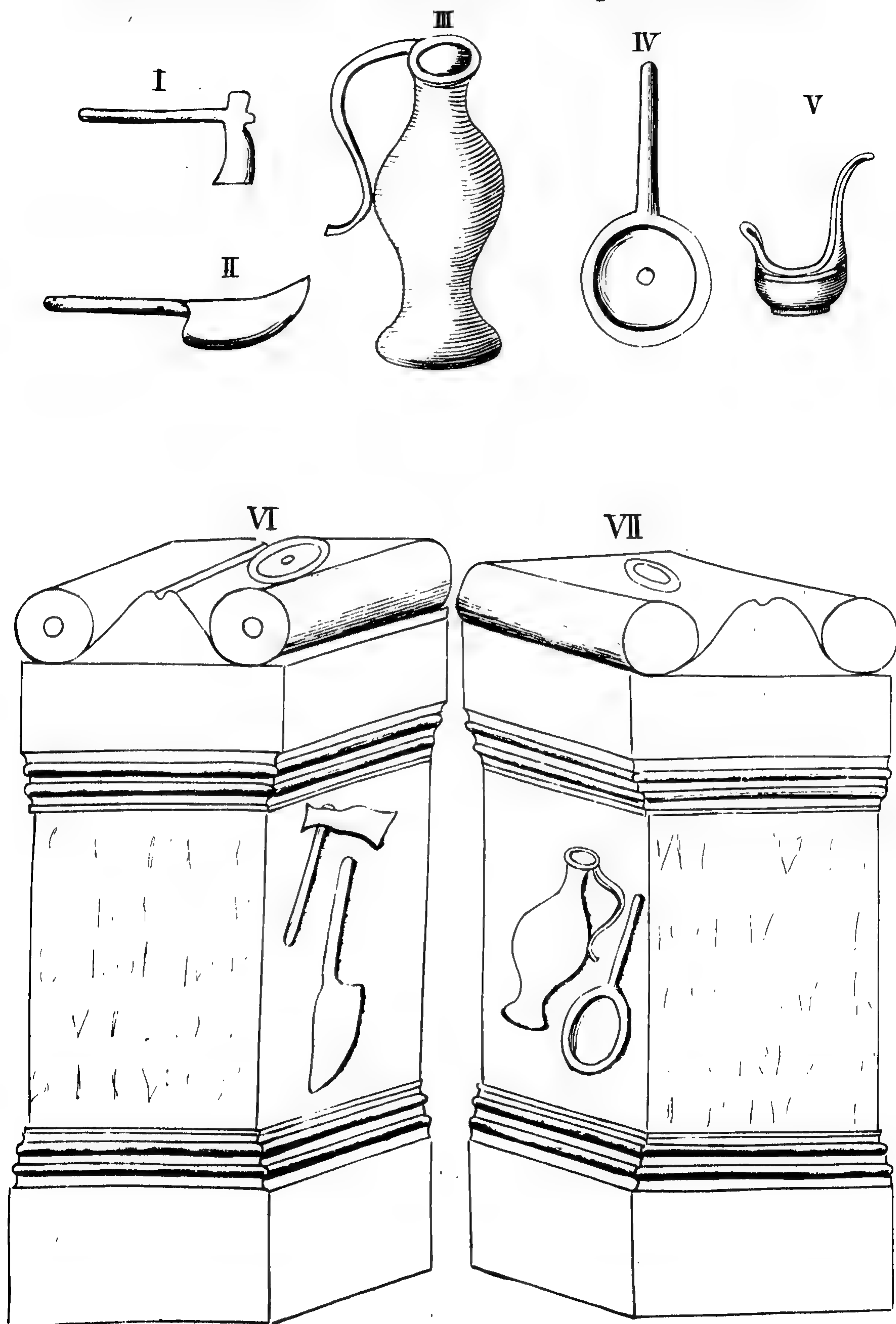
^b Ibid. N. iv.

^c Northumberland, N. vii.

^d N. i.

Pl. 191.

Sacrificing instruments and vessels cut upon ROMAN altars.



As to the stops, or points; the smallest and most simple are (as was hinted before) generally the most antient. Tho' indeed some of those in the shape of a leaf are found to be as old as *Antoninus Pius*^a. The third, or triangular, as I may call it, is usually in those inscriptions where the letters are best cut in square *Roman* capitals. The ninth and the six last, as they are most remarkable for their figure, so they occur but once each^b. The two last are both upon one stone, and the two next before them upon another; nor is it unusual to meet with several points of a very different shape in the same inscription.

THE table of ligatures is divided into three columns; in the last of which I have referred to some inscriptions, wherein each ligature expressed in the table may be found. This gives an opportunity to the curious of satisfying themselves, with regard to my reading of such of them as are most complicated and obscure. What judgment may be formed of them in general, with respect to the different ages in which this fanciful way of cutting their letters more or less prevailed, has been observed already.

VI. I SHALL add to this chapter the draughts of such sacrificing instruments and vessels as are frequently represented upon the sides, and sometimes on the back of *Roman* altars, with a brief account of the uses to which they were applied. Such as are more uncommon will be cut upon the altars where they are found, and explained in the chapter of observations.

I. THIS figure represents the *securis*, or sacrificing ax, with which the victim was slain. There is some difference in the shape of this instrument, but it is always easily distinguished from the *culter*, or knife, which comes next.

II. THE manifest use of this instrument, called *secespita* or *culter*, was to carve out or cut the sacrifice in pieces. The shape of it upon the several altars is pretty constant and uniform. These two instruments having so near a relation in their use, are most commonly placed on the same side of the altar.

III. THIS figure represents the *praefericulum*^c, or jug.⁶ The wine was first brought in the jug, and being poured out of that into the *patera* or bowl, was from thence cast upon the altar. This is evident from the figures of persons sacrificing, which are very frequent upon coins.

IV. THE next vessel is the *patera*, which was a broad and shallow bowl, rising in the middle, very proper for throwing out the wine upon the top of the altar. I can't omit to observe, that all the *paterae* which I have seen upon any altars in *Britain* have handles to them, tho' of different sizes and shapes. And these seem to have been very convenient to secure the hand from the flames. Indeed in sacrificing figures the handle does not appear; nor would it if it were supposed to be there; for in the posture they usually held this vessel, the handle must be covered by the arm. The late incomparable Mr. *Addison* has observed in his travels^d, that it is not so common to find *paterae* with handles to them abroad; but a *patera* without a handle would be as singular here, as one with it at *Rome*. The *patera* and *praefericulum* are often found upon the same side of the altar.

V. THIS vessel is usually taken for the *simpulum* or *simpuvium*, which the *Romans* made use of for libations; in which respect it agreed pretty much with the *patera*: tho' there might probably be this difference, that all the wine was thrown out of the *patera* upon the altar; whereas only a part was poured out of the *simpuvium*, and the rest was drank by the priests. Whence the old scholiast

upon

^a Scotland, N. III, v.

^b Northumb. N. LIII. Durham, xxxii. Westmorl. I. Northumb. LXIV 6. Cumberl. xxxiv.

^c Antiquaries are not agreed in the name of this

vessel; for some call it *urceus*, and others again *guttus*. See *Begeri annot. in numism. duclis Croylae* Tab. II. n. 2.

^d Pag. 115, in his works.

Mr. C. J. Wol-
low in London
saw a patera
at Rome a
without any
in the middle
other with a
as Macrobi-
it: tho' this
contrary to
have been se-
in marble
Have of patera
never with handle
What is true
M. C. J. Wol-
low in this great many
paterae as having any
but the car-
L. V. C. 21. Which passage
pleased by Casanov. &c.

upon *Juvenal* derives the name *a simul bibendo* *. This vessel is not found upon any altar in *Britain*, but in medals is sometimes joined both with the *patera* and *aspergillum*; which gives room to suspect it is not really the *simpurium*, but rather a vessel that held the water with which the people were sprinkled. The *aspergillum* was a long brush made of horse-hair, fixed into a handle.

VI and VII. THESE are the figures of two altars, with the instruments above-mentioned upon the former, and the vessels upon the latter, in the same situation wherein we often find them.

WHEN I speak of the *Roman* altars, I consider them as divided into three parts; the capital, the square or plane, and the base. The inscription is usually upon the square or plane of the altar, tho' sometimes part of it is on the capital or base. The cavity at the top of the altar, where the fire was placed, is usually round or spherical, but sometimes of a very different figure. And because the frankincense, as well as the wine, was put on the fire contained in this cavity, the name *thuribulum* has been given it by some, and by others *focus*, which latter I have generally followed; tho' it is well known, that both these words are commonly used by antient writers in a different sense. However I can't think it amiss to observe here, that this cavity is wanting upon some altars found in *Britain*.

It is taken by
small portable
with they bring to
Lanc. Mus. 14 (12).
4.

CHAPTER II.

In which is contained, a collection of all the originals of Roman inscriptions and sculptures hitherto discovered and yet remaining in Britain.

IN ranging the inscriptions and sculptures contained in the following collection, I was willing to observe that method which appeared the most natural. With respect to the island in general I have begun at the north, and advanced southward; because the inscriptions and sculptures are more numerous in the north, and more rare in the southern counties of *England*. The inscriptions therefore and sculptures belonging to *Scotland* have the first place in the collection, the second place I have assigned to those of *Northumberland*, and so on.

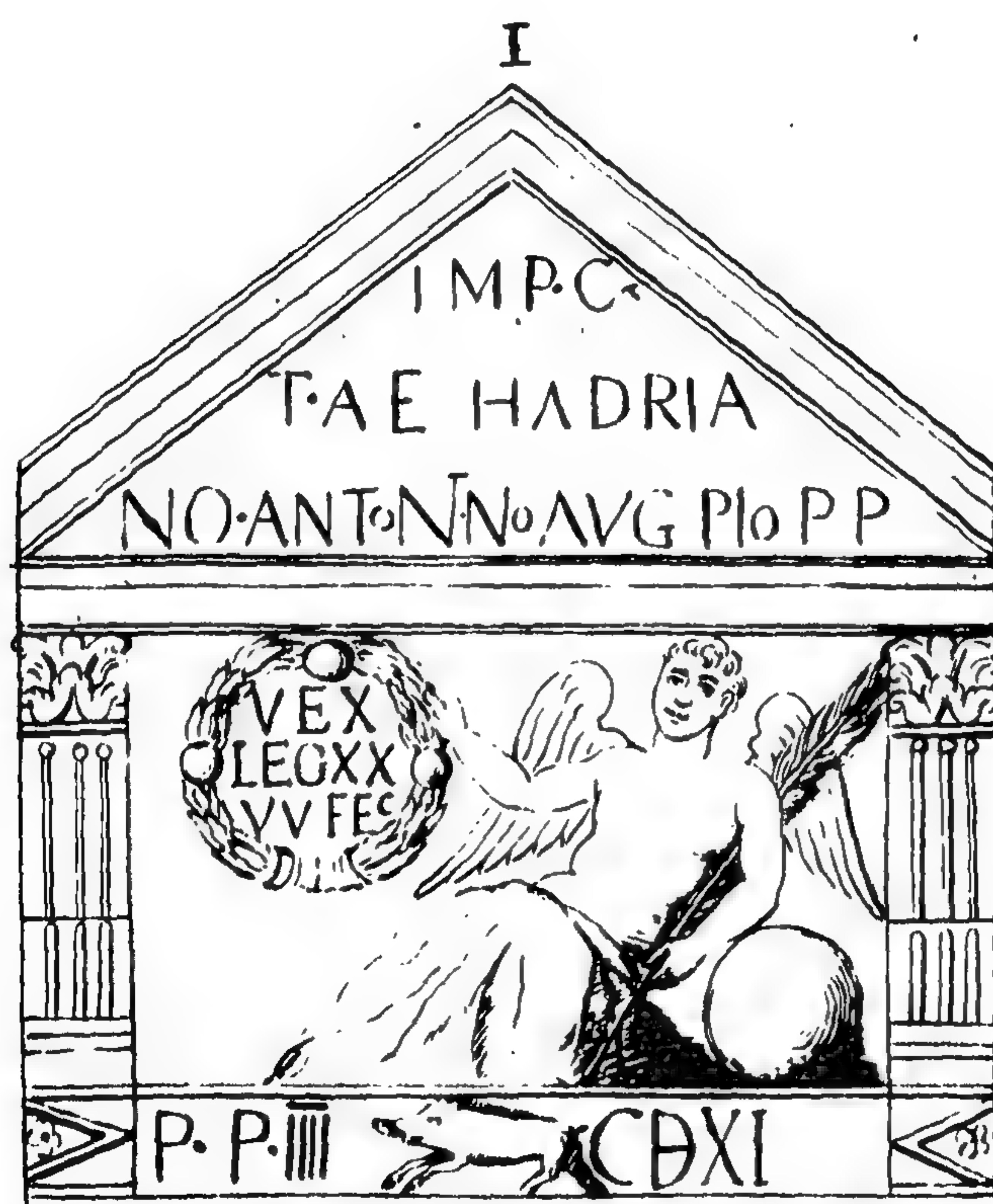
As for the method observed in the several particular counties, I have always chose the *Roman* walls and ways for my guides, where I had these to pursue. In *Scotland* I begin at the western limit, and advance eastward to the eastern end of the wall, and after this take in the few inscriptions that belong to places lying either north or south from the wall. In *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* I found it more easy to proceed along the wall from east to west, and then to pursue the military ways. In *Durham*, *Yorkshire*, *Westmoreland*, and the other northern counties, I have followed the military ways in the best order I could. But when once we have got to the south of *Yorkshire*, we have no such number as either to require or admit of much order. For in each county what inscriptions there are, generally belong all to the same place. As to the readings, they are always set directly under their several respective inscriptions, so that it appears at first sight to what inscription each reading belongs. Some few readings are imperfect, because the inscriptions are so themselves. But in so large a collection I hope there will be few inscriptions to which a satisfactory or at least a plausible reading is not annexed. And where there is but an imperfect reading or none, the observations in the following chapter must be consulted, for there perhaps in some cases a conjecture may be found that will not be disagreeable.

I

A

* Ad lat. vi. v. 342.

A
COLLECTION
OF
ROMAN Inscriptions & Sculptures
found in
BRITAIN.
SCOTLAND



Imperator i Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino
Augusto Pio patri patriae vexillatio legionis vice-
simae valentis victricis fecit per palsus quater
mille quadringentos undecim.

SCOTLAND

P. 192 N. 2.

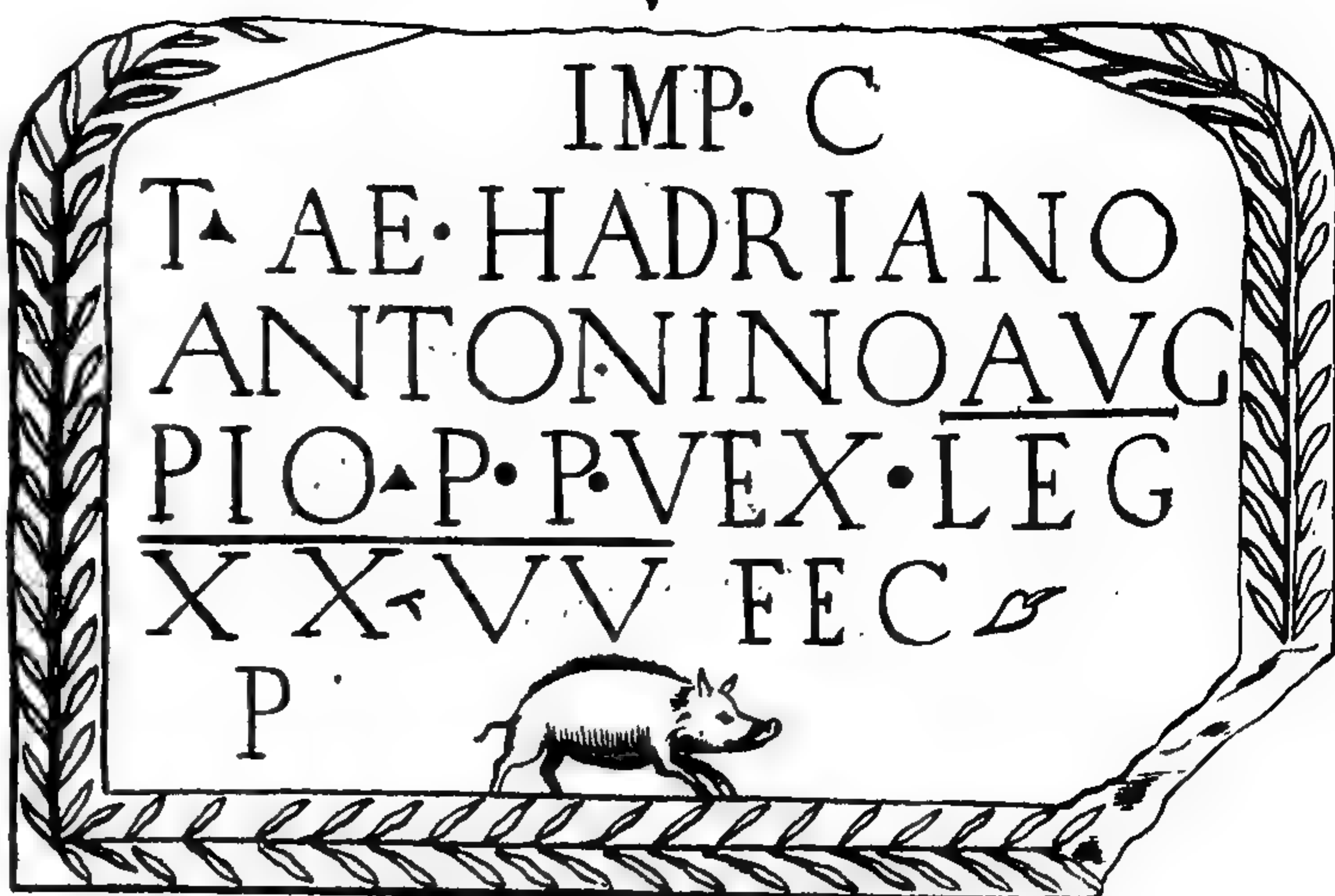
II α

Δ Ε Ρ Ο

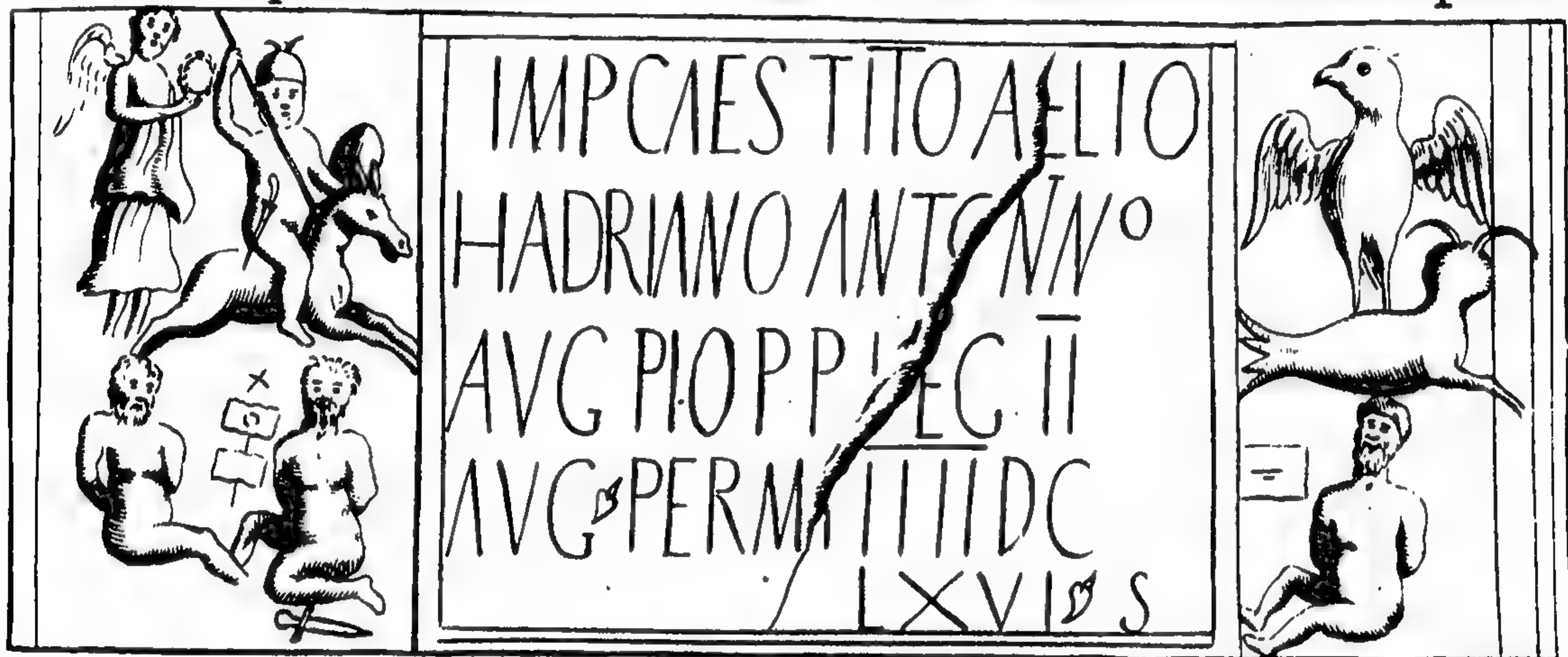
V



Imperatori Antonino Augusto Pio patri
patriae legio secunda Augusta fecit passus
ter mille ducentos septuaginta unum

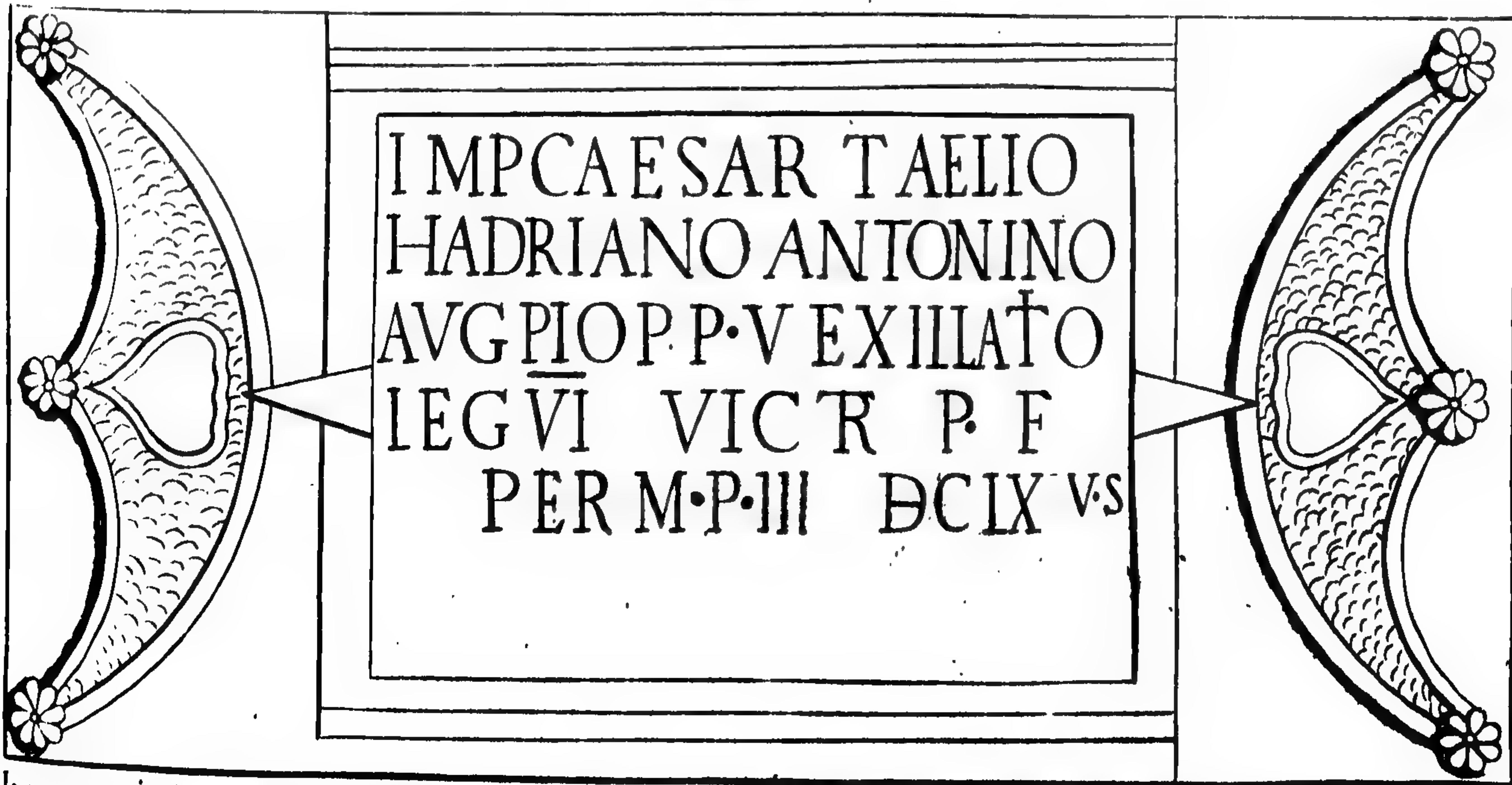


Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino
Augusto Pio patri patriae vexillatio legionis vi-
III cesimae valentis victricis fecit passus.....



Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae legio
secunda Augusta per mille passus quater sexcentos sexaginta sex, solvit votum

IV

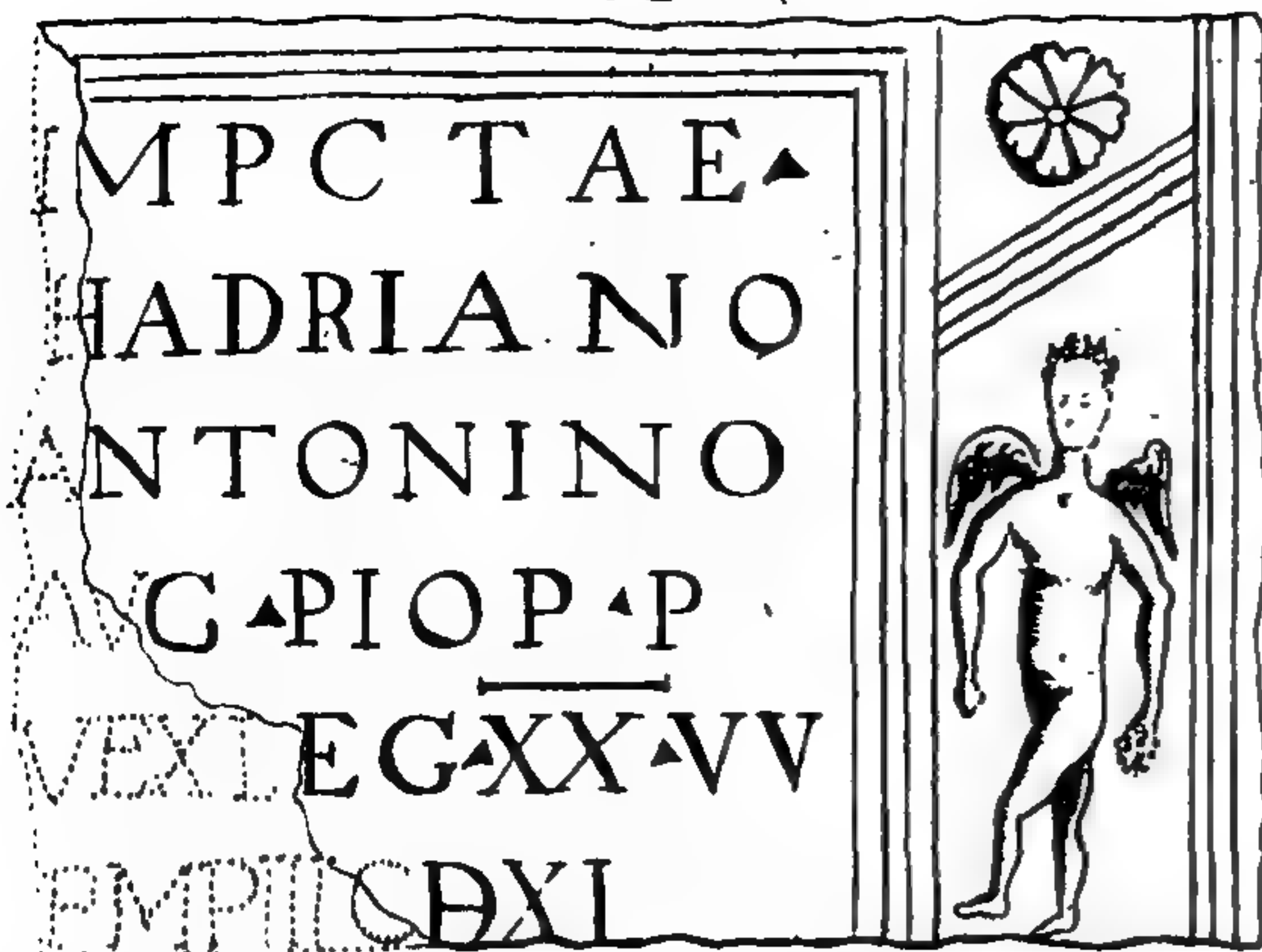


Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae vexillatio legionis
sextae victricis piaefidelis per mille passus ter sexcentos sexaginta votum solvit

SCOTLAND

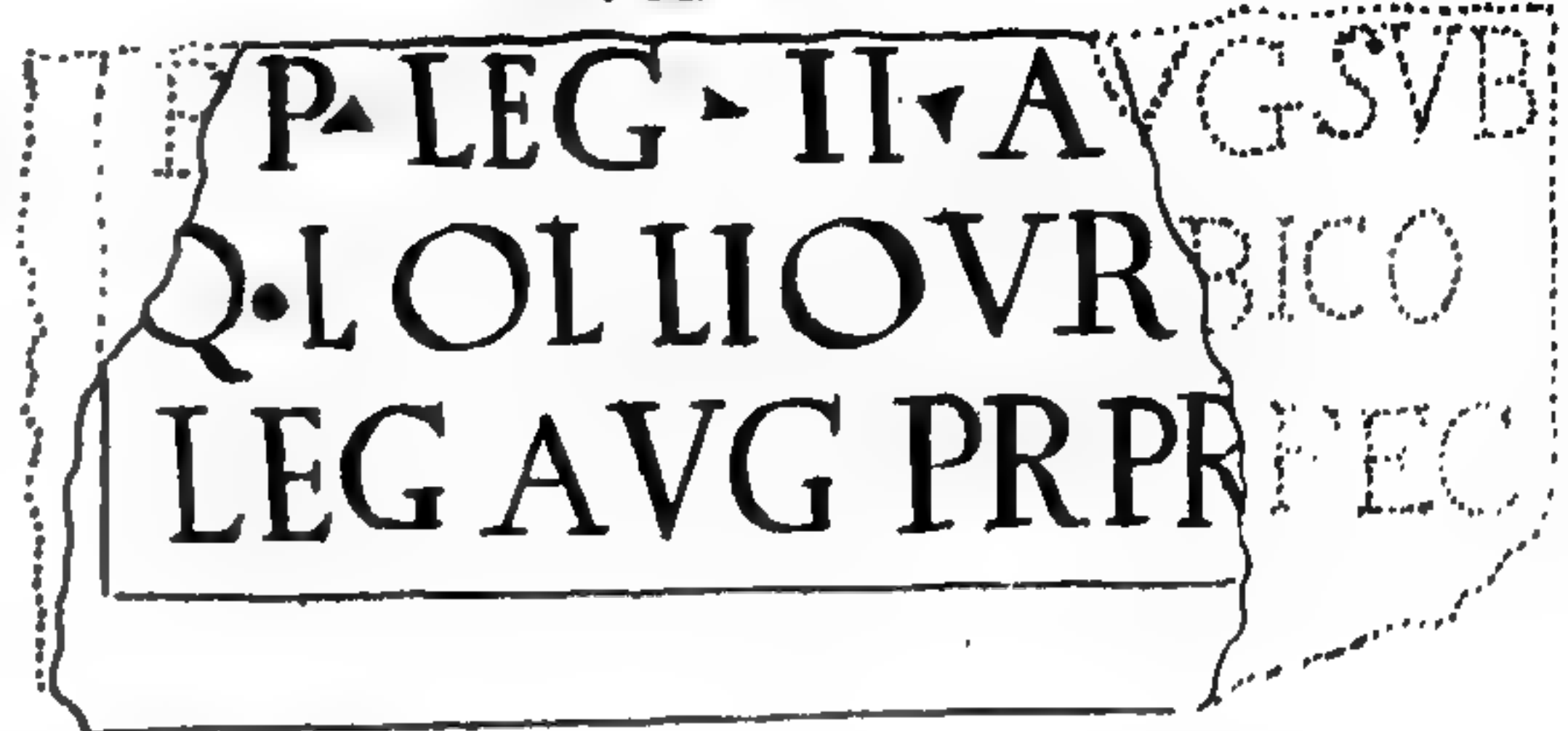
P. 102 N. 3.

VI



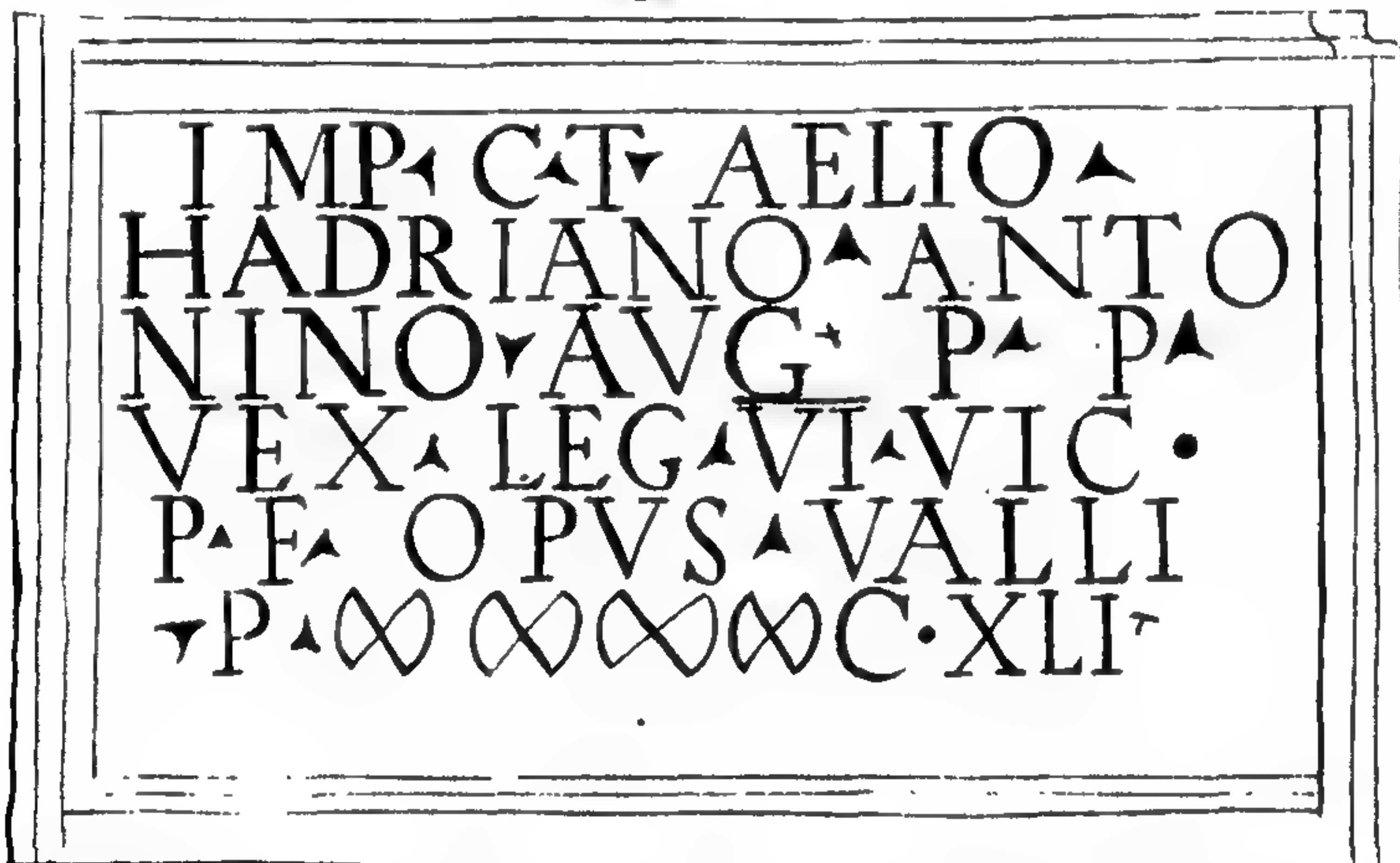
Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano
Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae vex-
illatio legionis vicesima e valentis victricis
per mille passus ter[et] quater] quadringentos
undecim

VIII



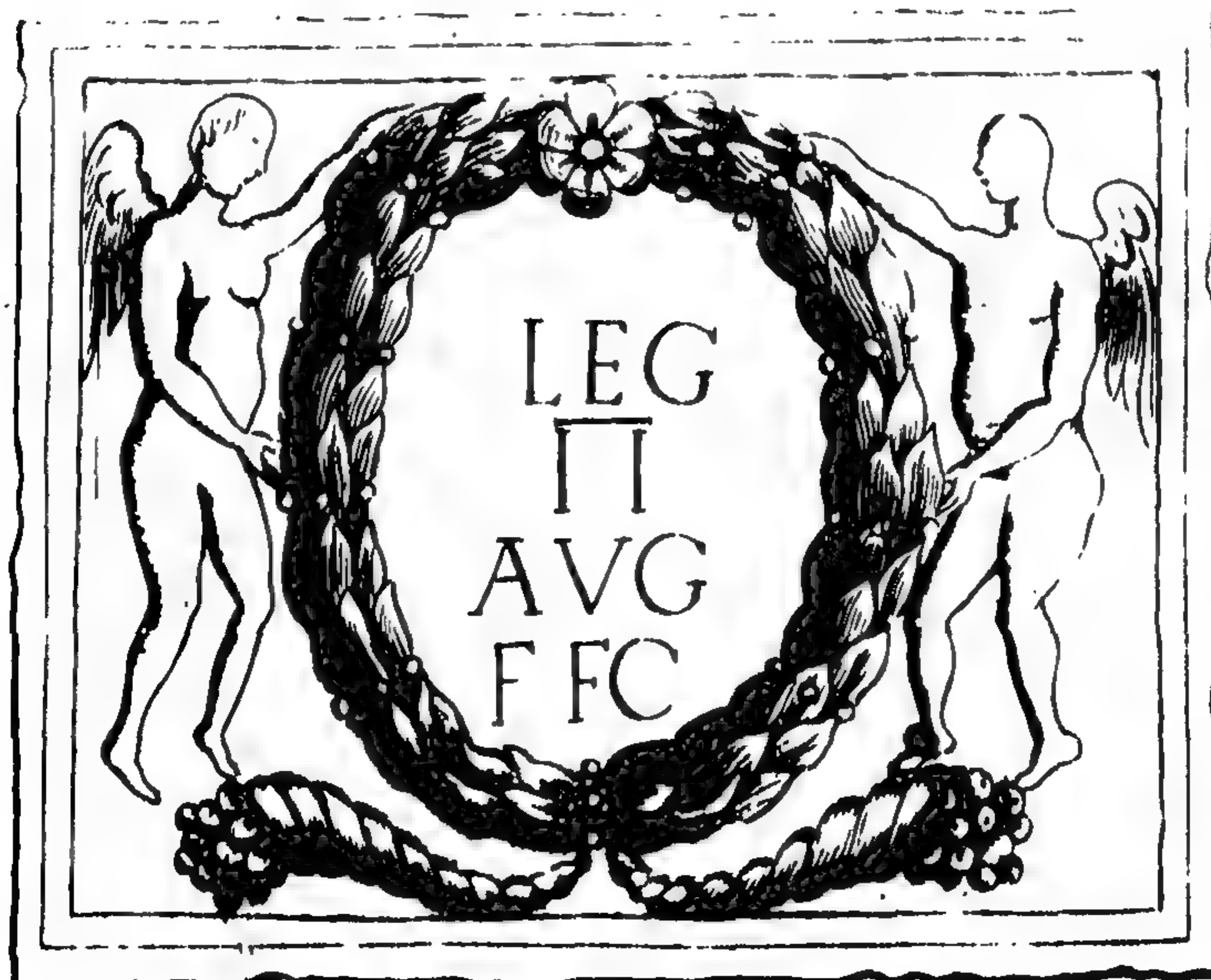
Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano
Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae legio
secunda Augusta sub Quinto Lollio
Urbico legato Augusti pro praetore fecit

VII



Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto
patri patriae vexillatio legionis sextae victricis perfecit
opus valli palsus quater mille centum quadraginta unum

IX

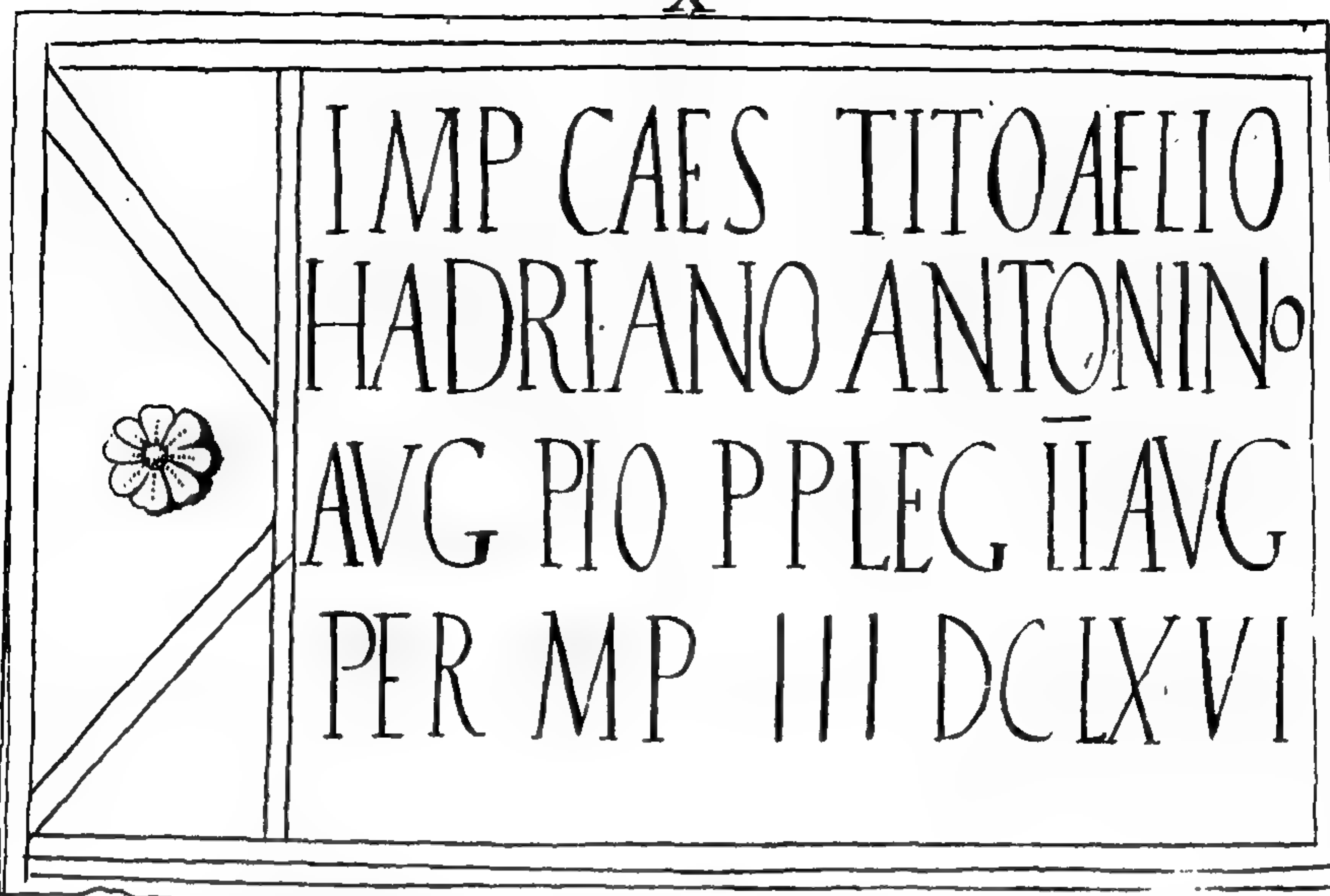


Legio secunda Augusta fecit

SCOTLAND

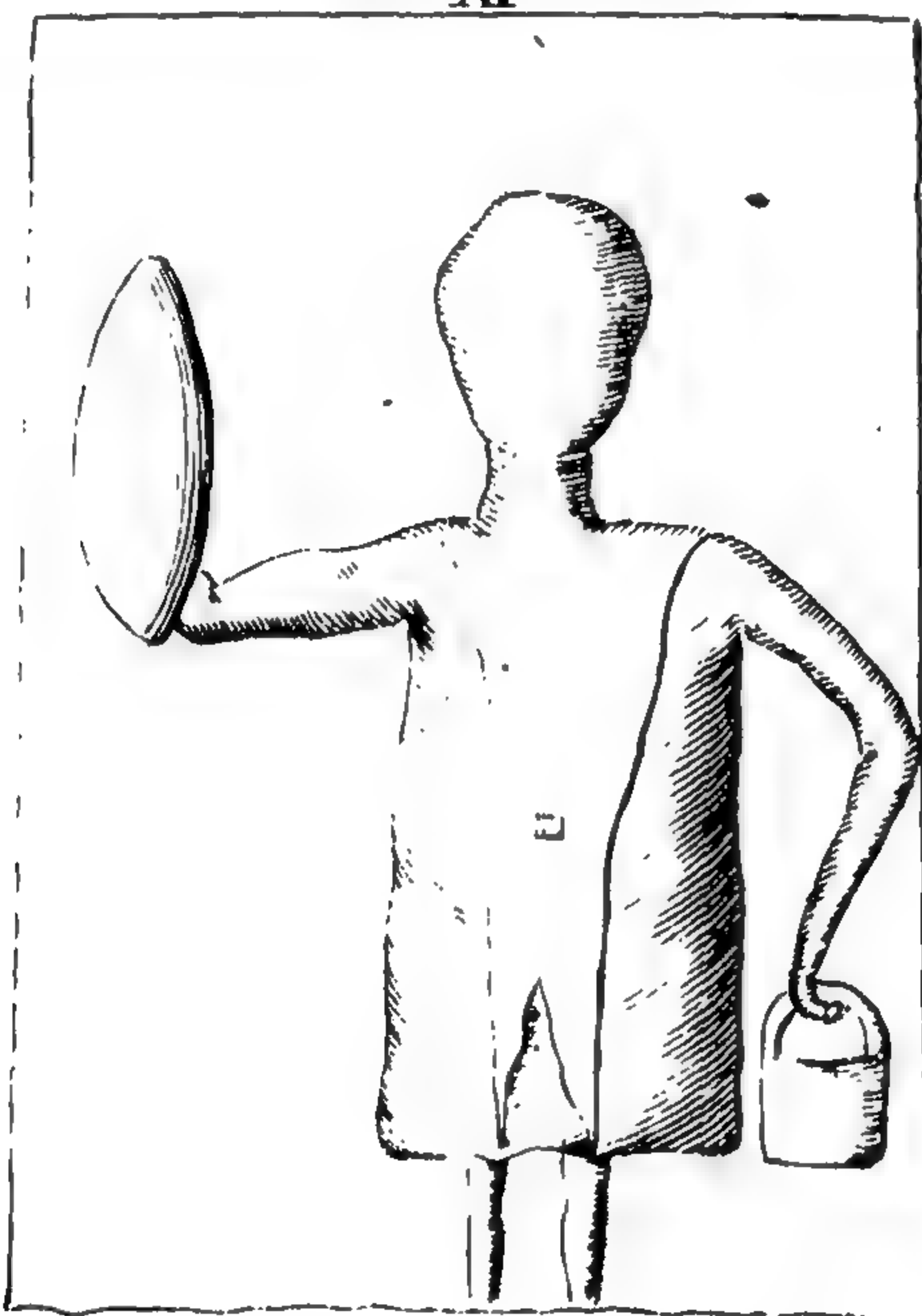
P. 192 N. 4.

X



Imperator Caesar Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae legio secunda Augusta per mille passus ter sexcentos sexaginta sex

XI



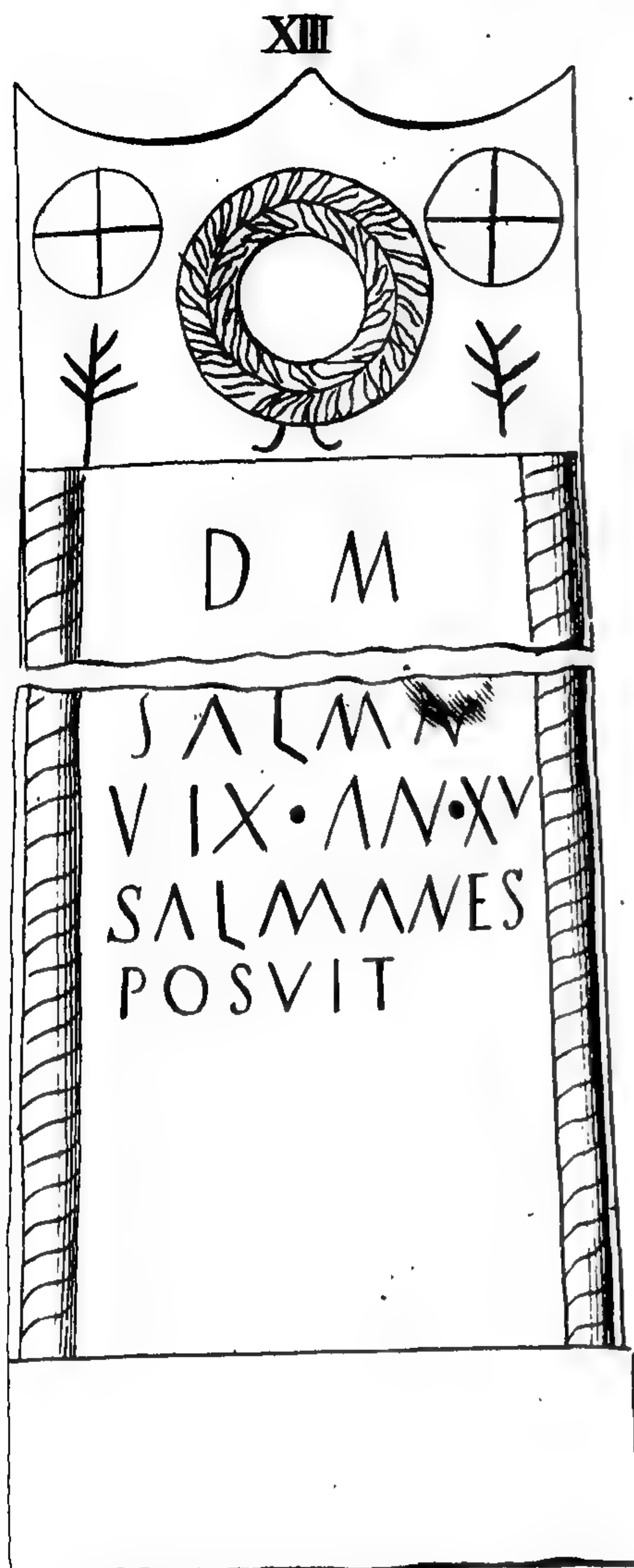
XII



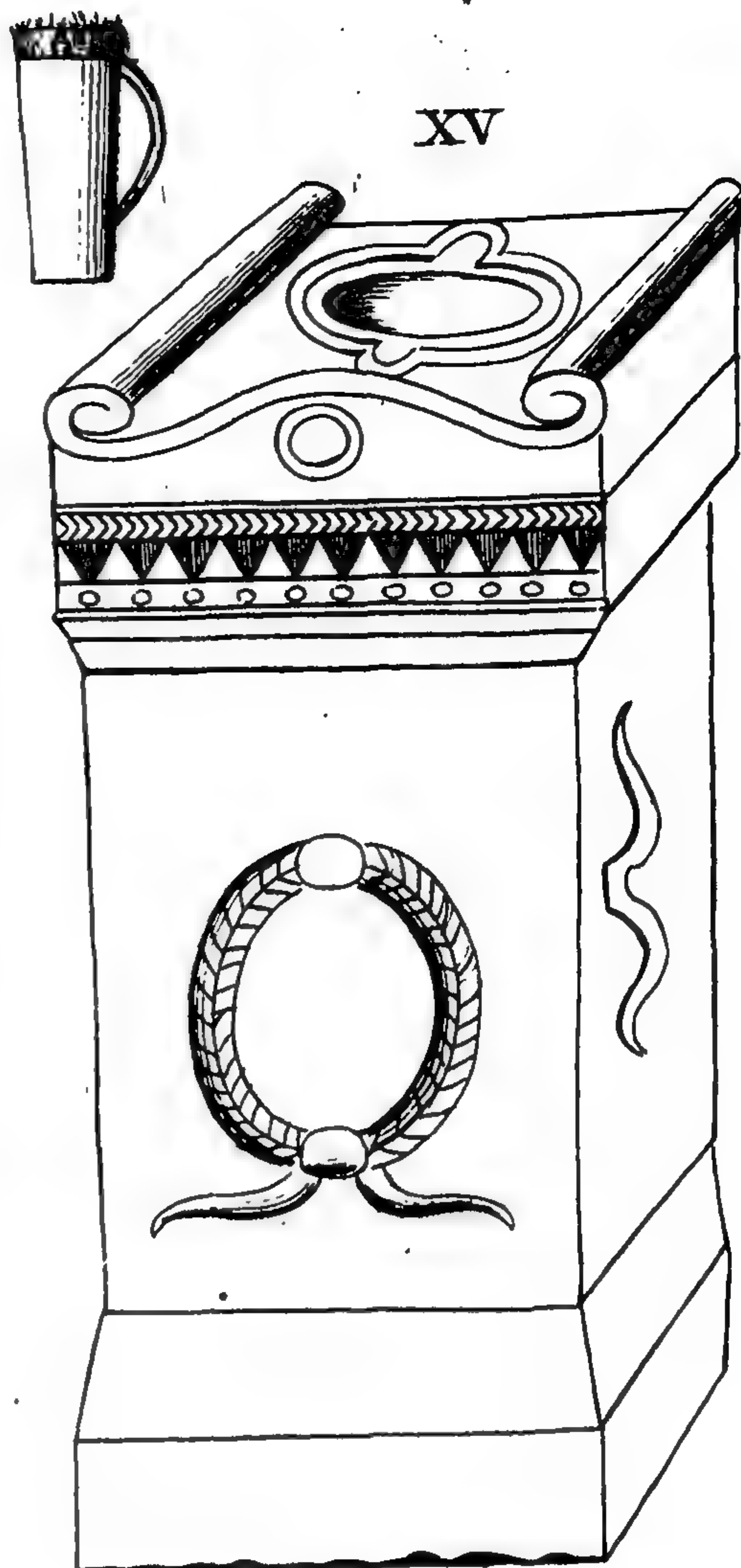
Vexillatio legionis secundae Augustae

SCOTLAND

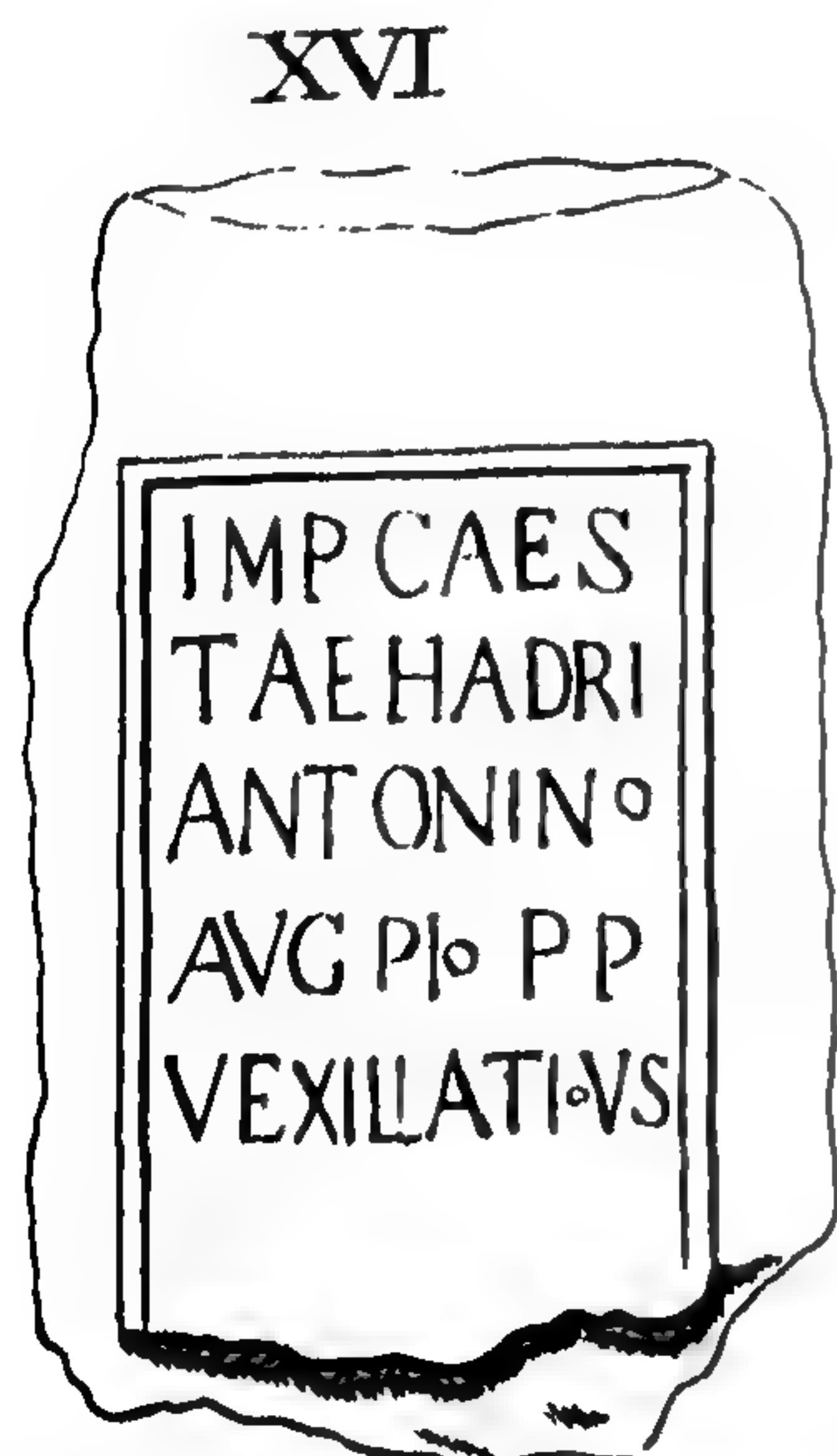
P. 198 N. 5



Dis Manibus Salmani vixit annos quindecim Salmene soror posuit



XIV



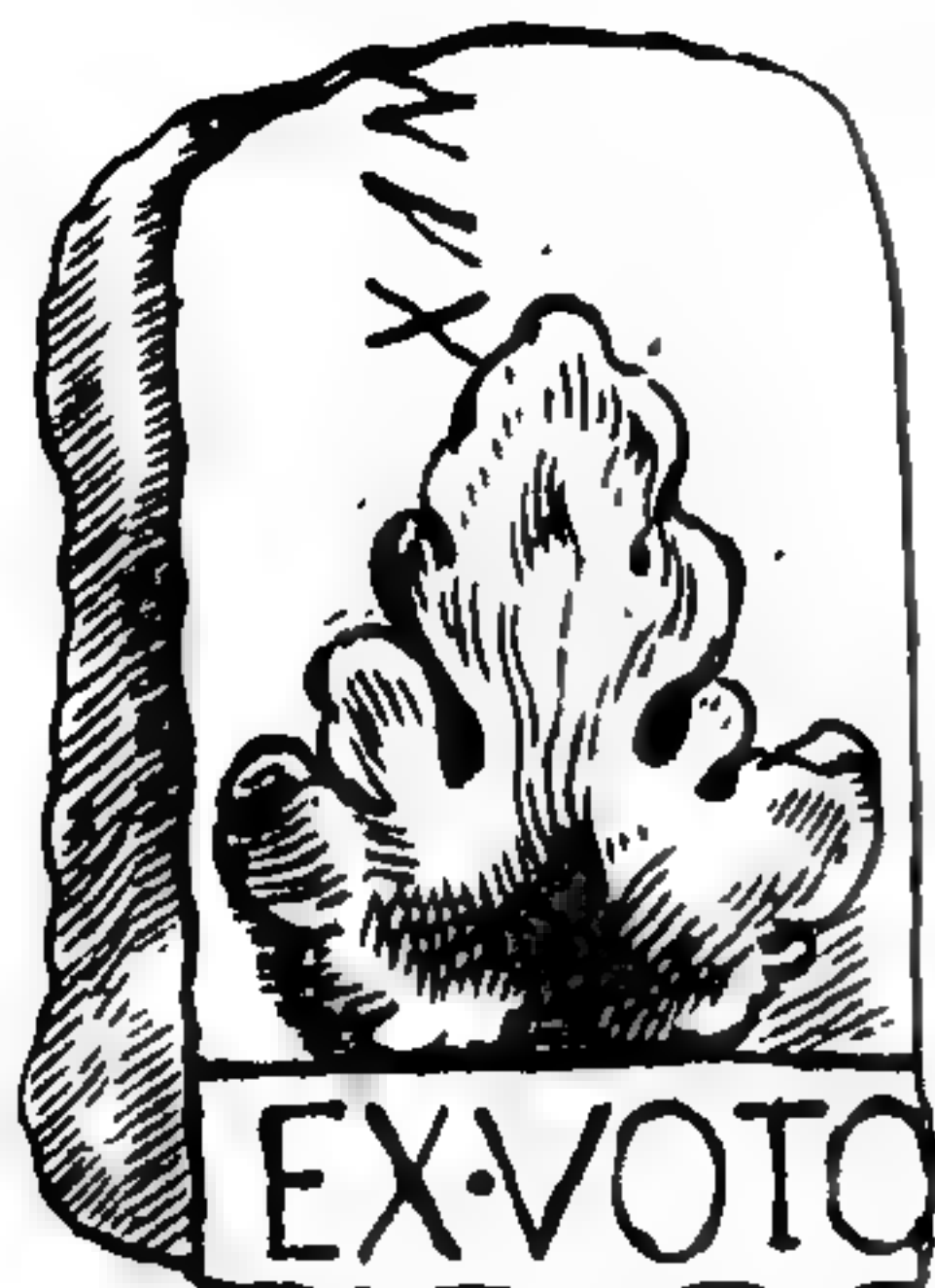
Imperatori Caesari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae vexillatio votum solvit



Dis Manibus Verecundi

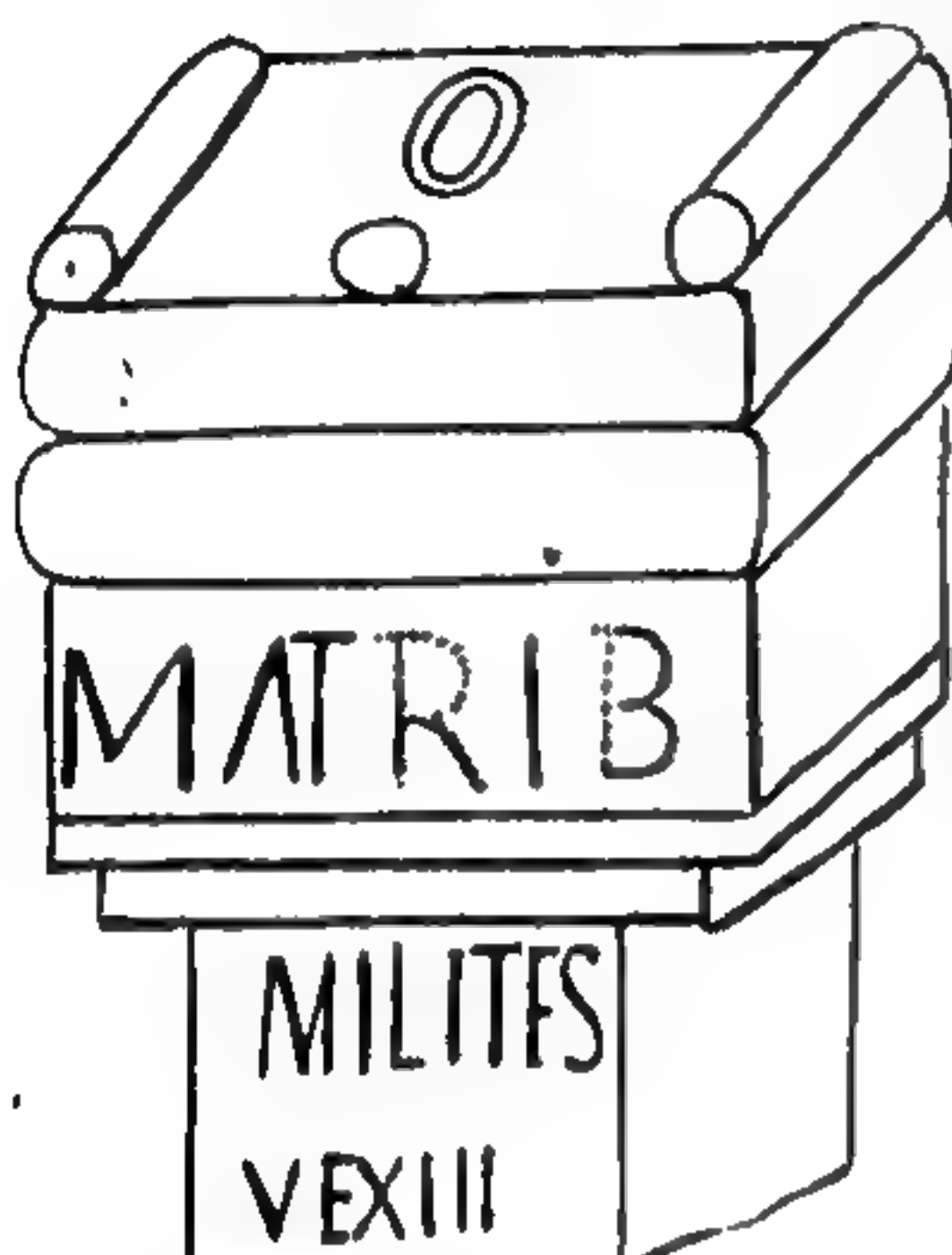
SCOTLAND

XIX



Ex voto
decem annorum

XXI



Matribus milites
vexillationis

XXIV



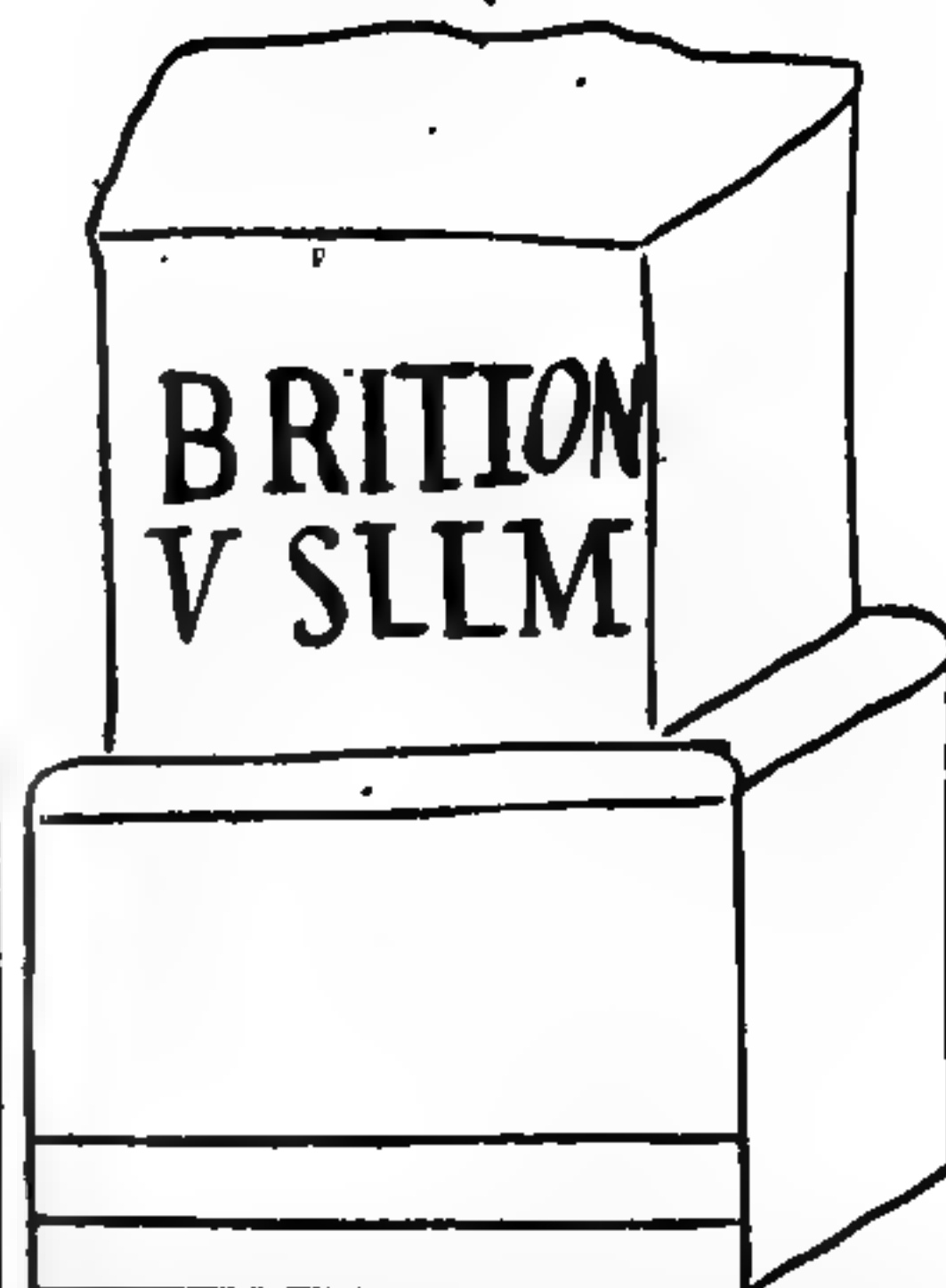
Cohortis octavae centuria
Statelesii posuit

XXV



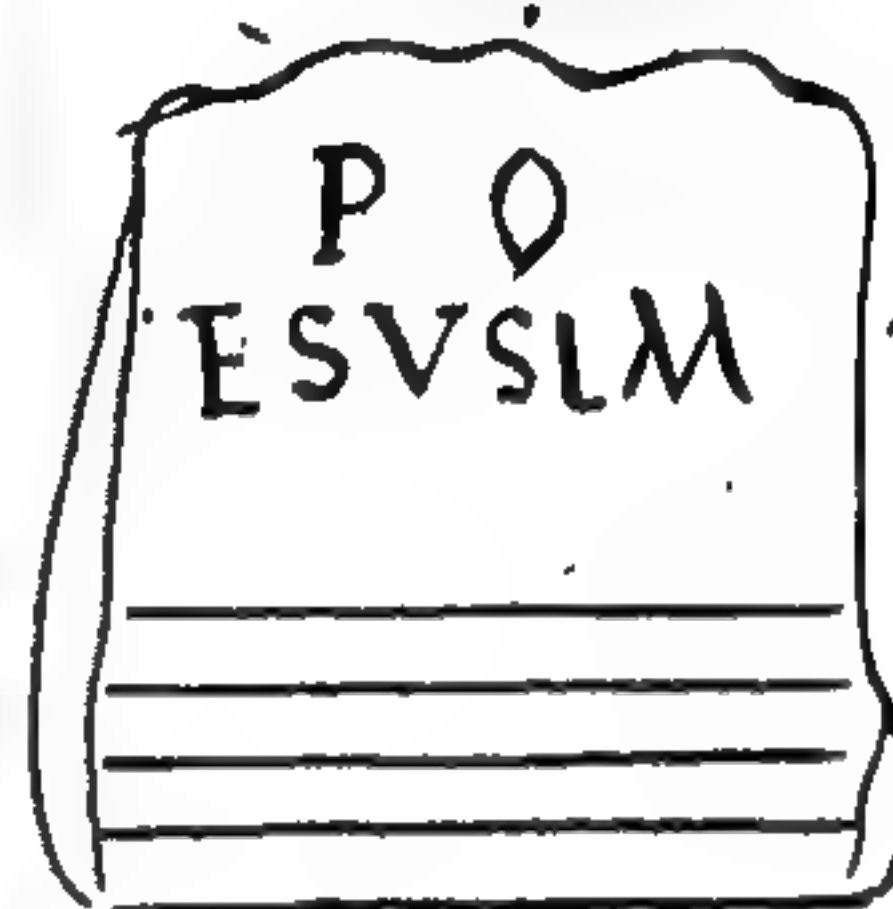
Imperatorii Caesaris Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae consuli tertium cohors prima Cugernorum opus tribus millibus passuum perfecit

XX



Brittonum votum solvit
libentissime merito

XXIII



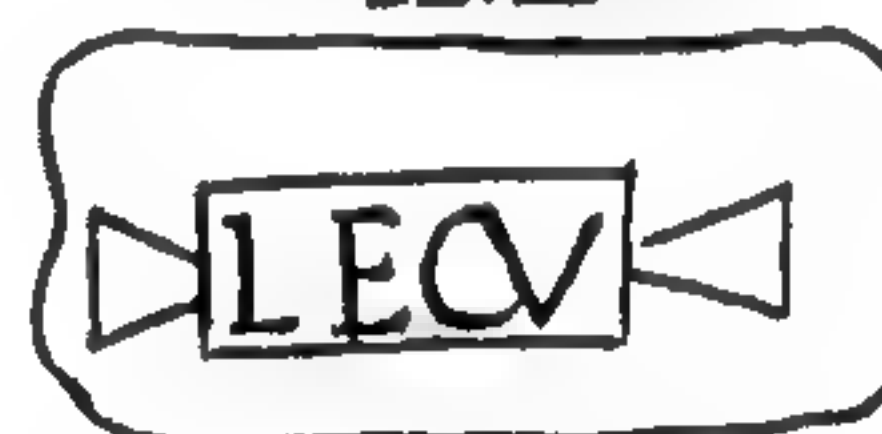
votum
solvit libens
merito

XVIII



Legio sexta
victrix fecit

XVII



Legio victrix

XXII



Cohors Batavorum

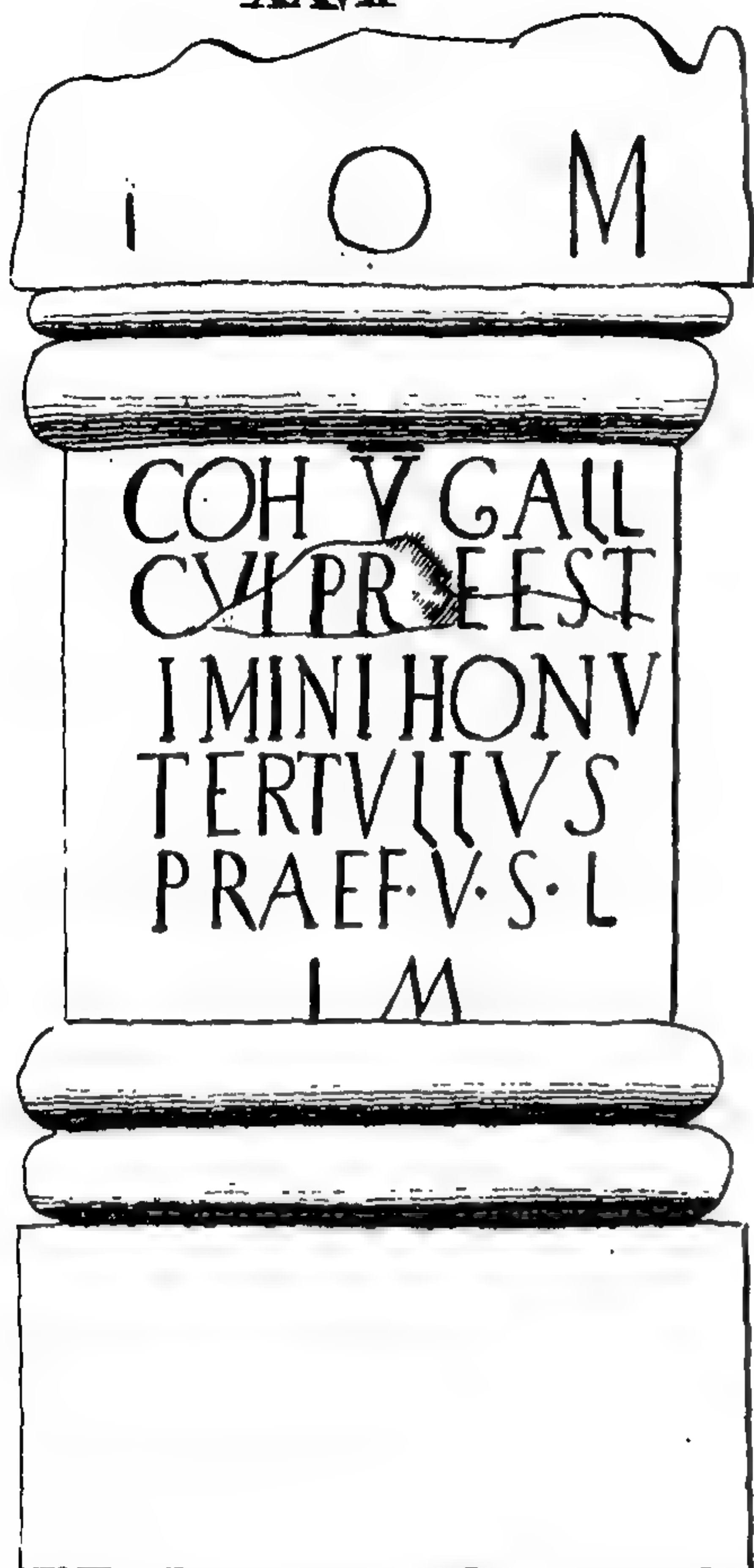


Imperatorii Caesaris Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriae vexillatio legionis vicesimae valentis victricis fecit per millia passuum tria

SCOTLAND

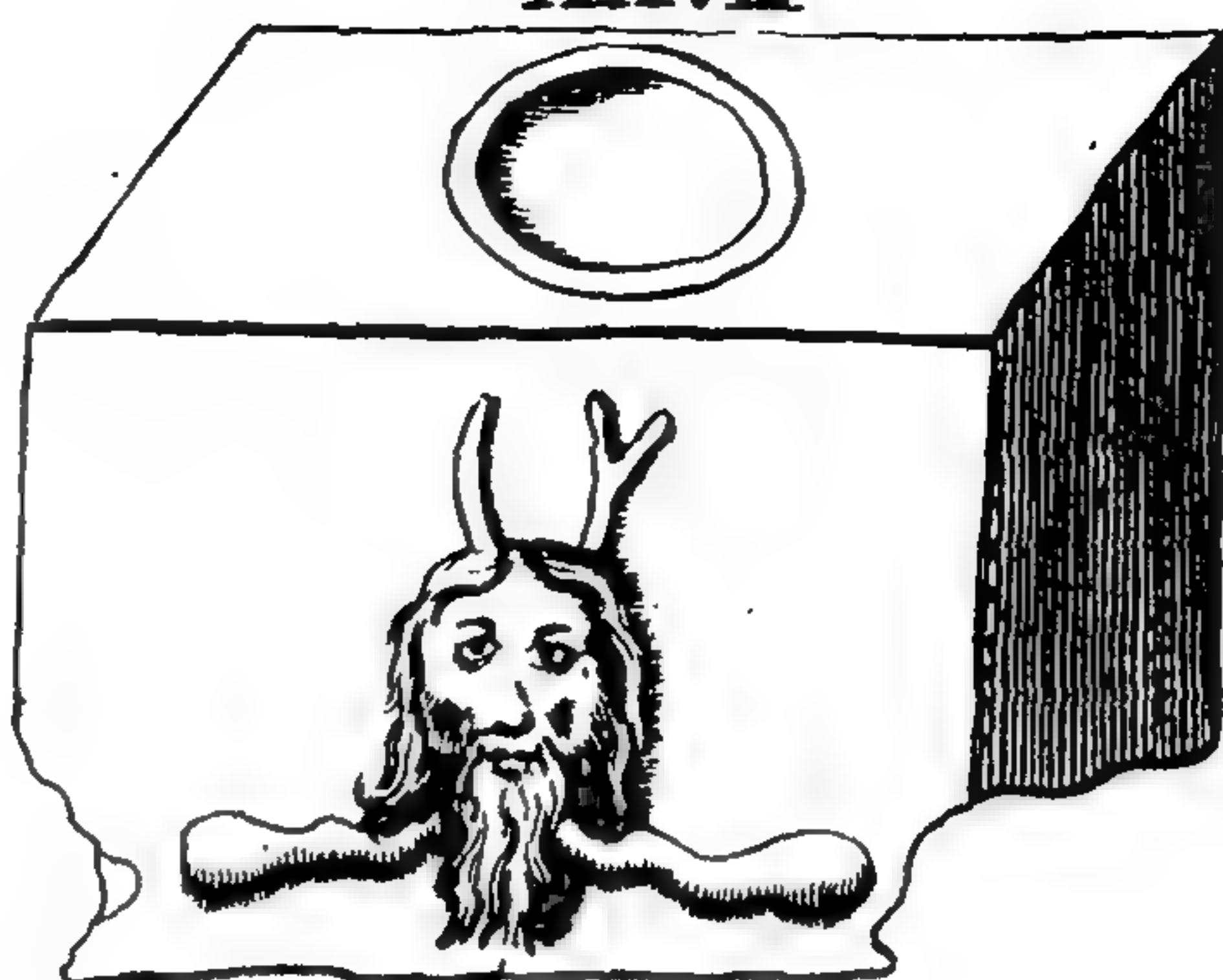
P. 192 N. 7.

XXVII

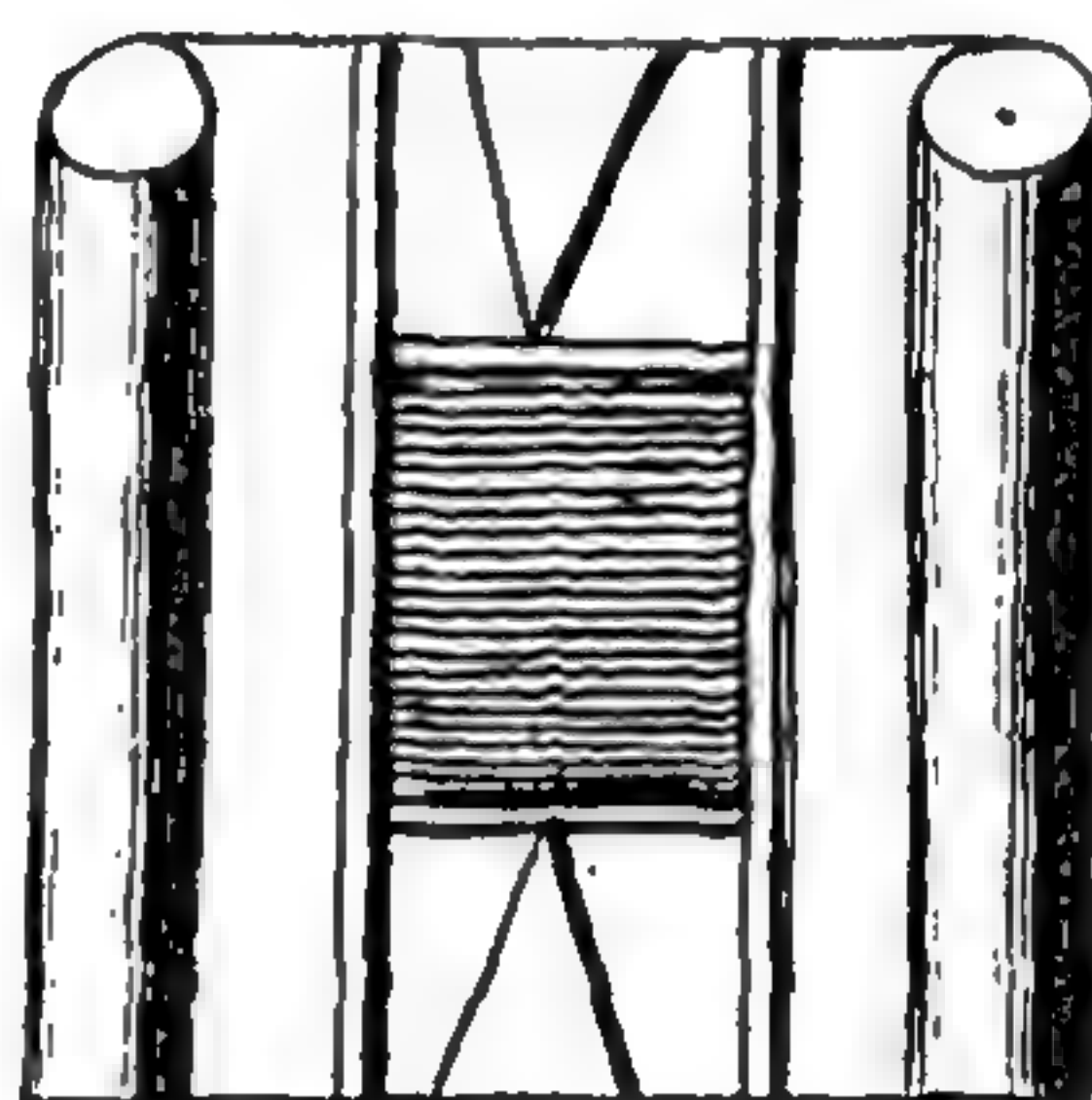


Jovi Optimo Maximo cohors quinta
Gallorum cui praeest Iminius Honi-
us Tertullus praefectus votum sol-
vit libentissime merito

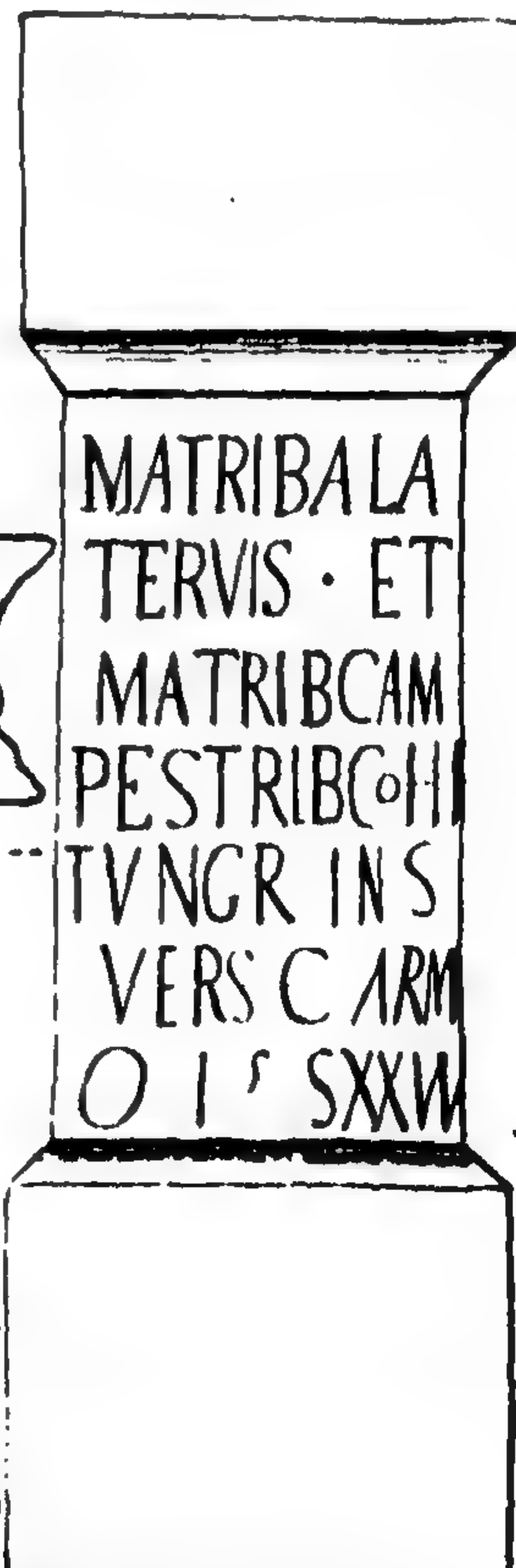
XXVIII



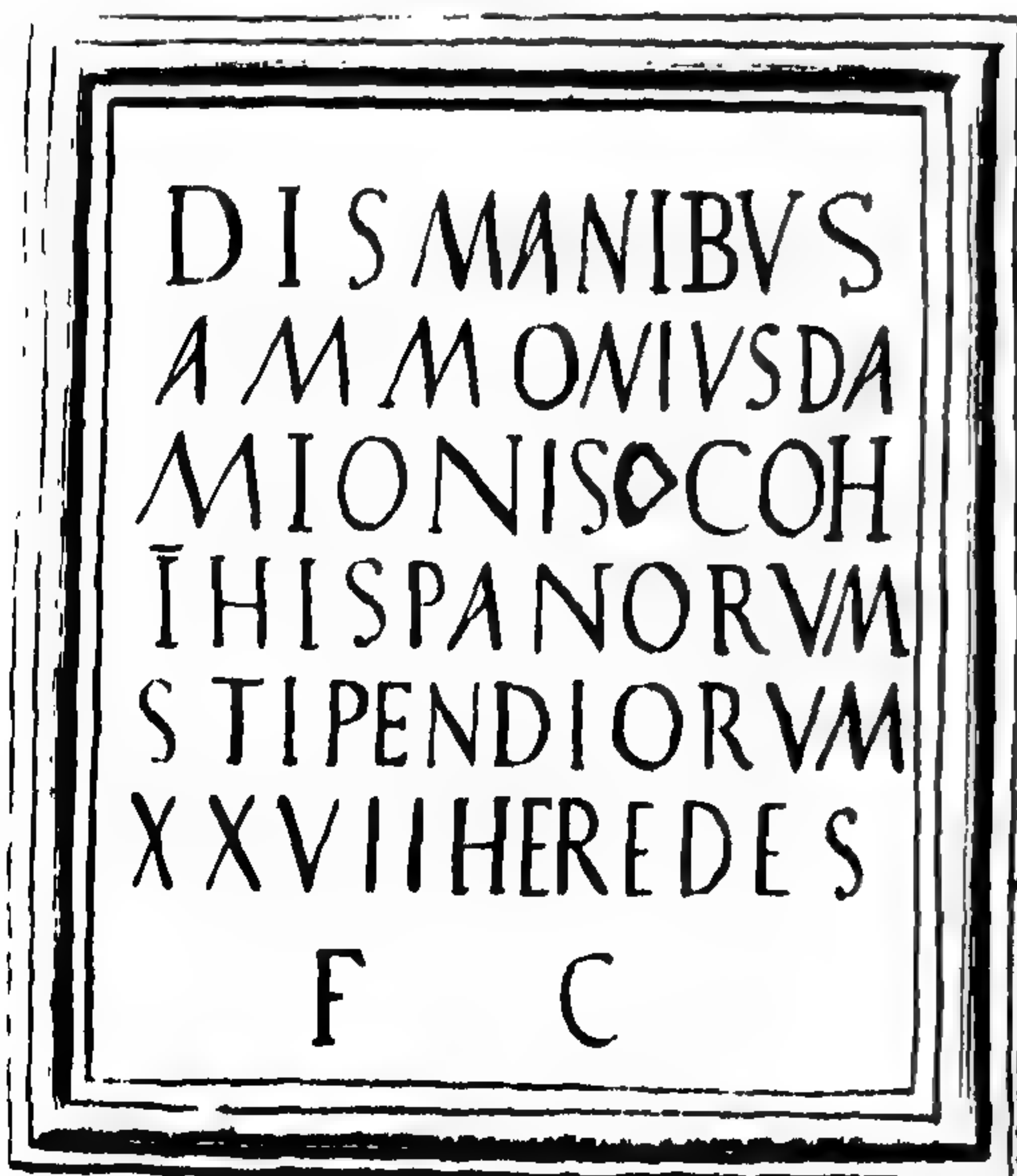
XXIX



XXIX

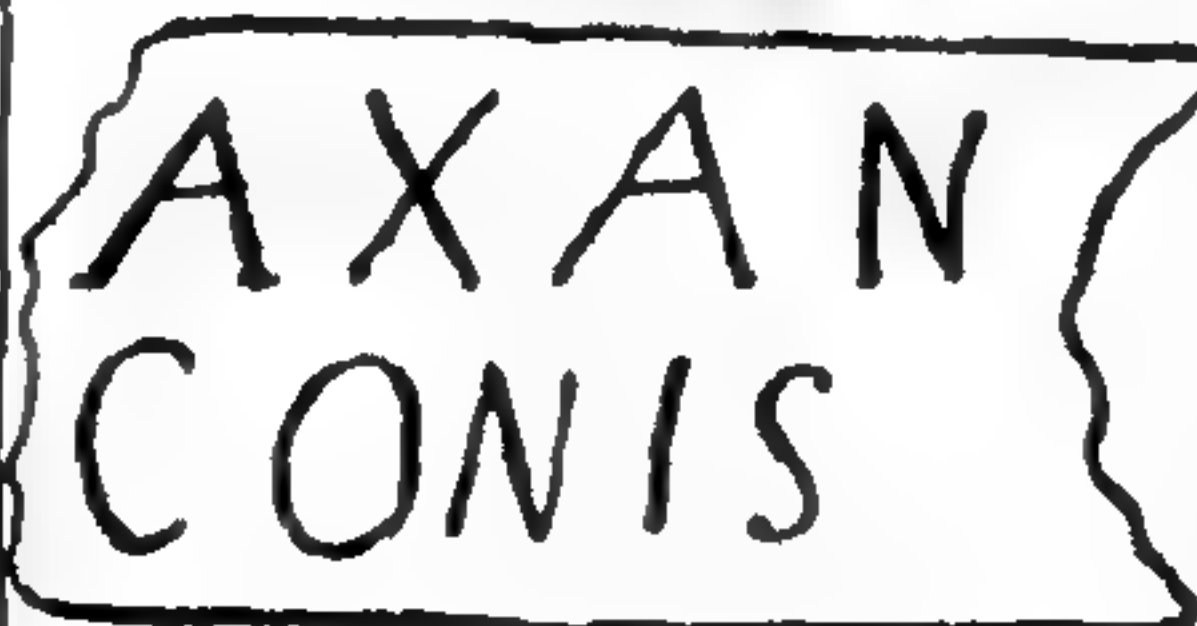


XXXI



Dis Manibus Ammonius Daunionis centurio Legio secunda Au-
cohortis primae Hispanorum stipendiorum gula fecit jussa
viginti septem heredes faciendum curarunt

XXXII



XXX



MATRIBALAT
TERVIS · ET
MATRIBCAM
PESTRIBCOH
TVNGRINS
VERS CARM
O I SXXW

Matribus Alatervis et
Matribus campestribus
cohors prima flingronum

SCOTLAND

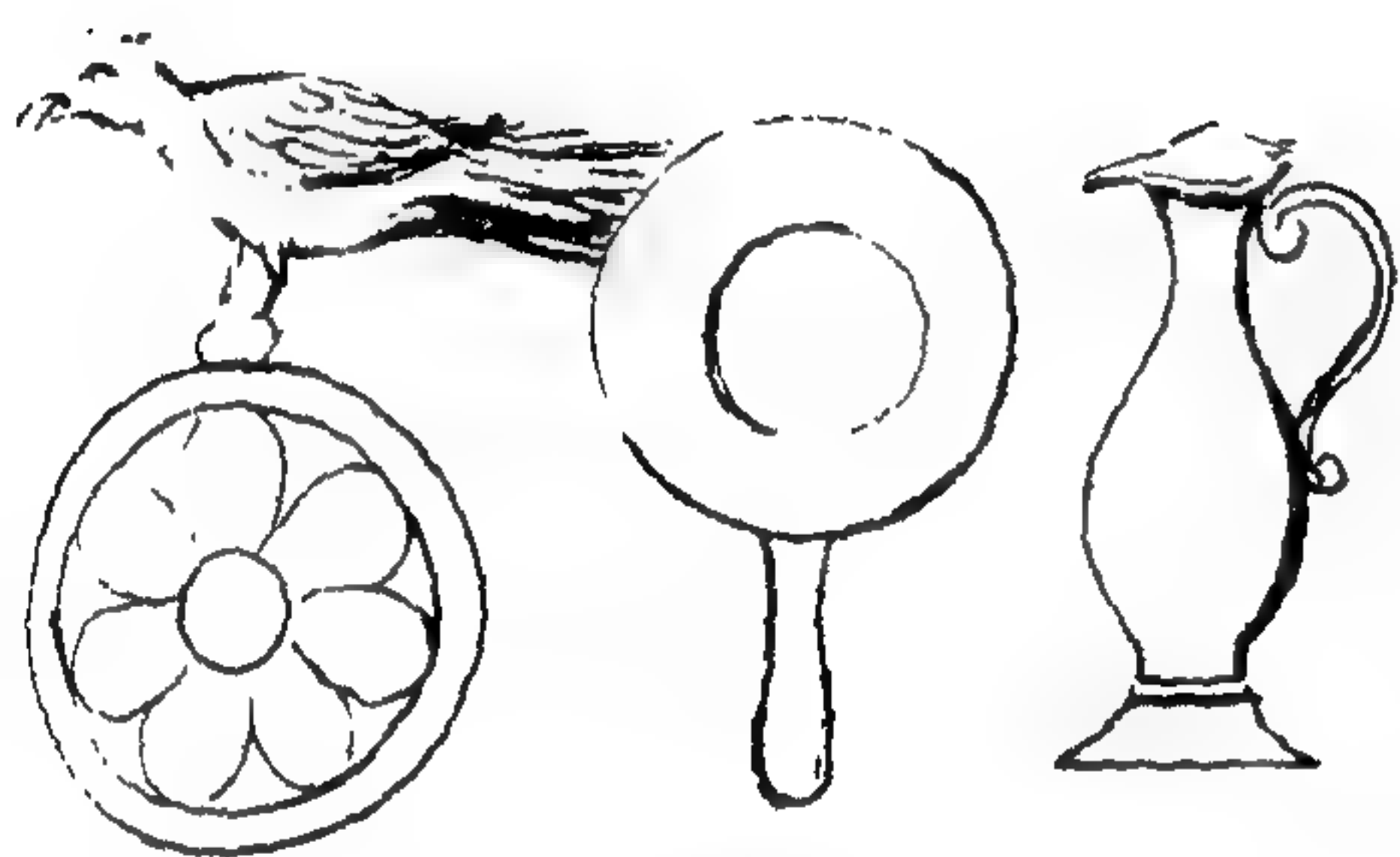
XXXIII



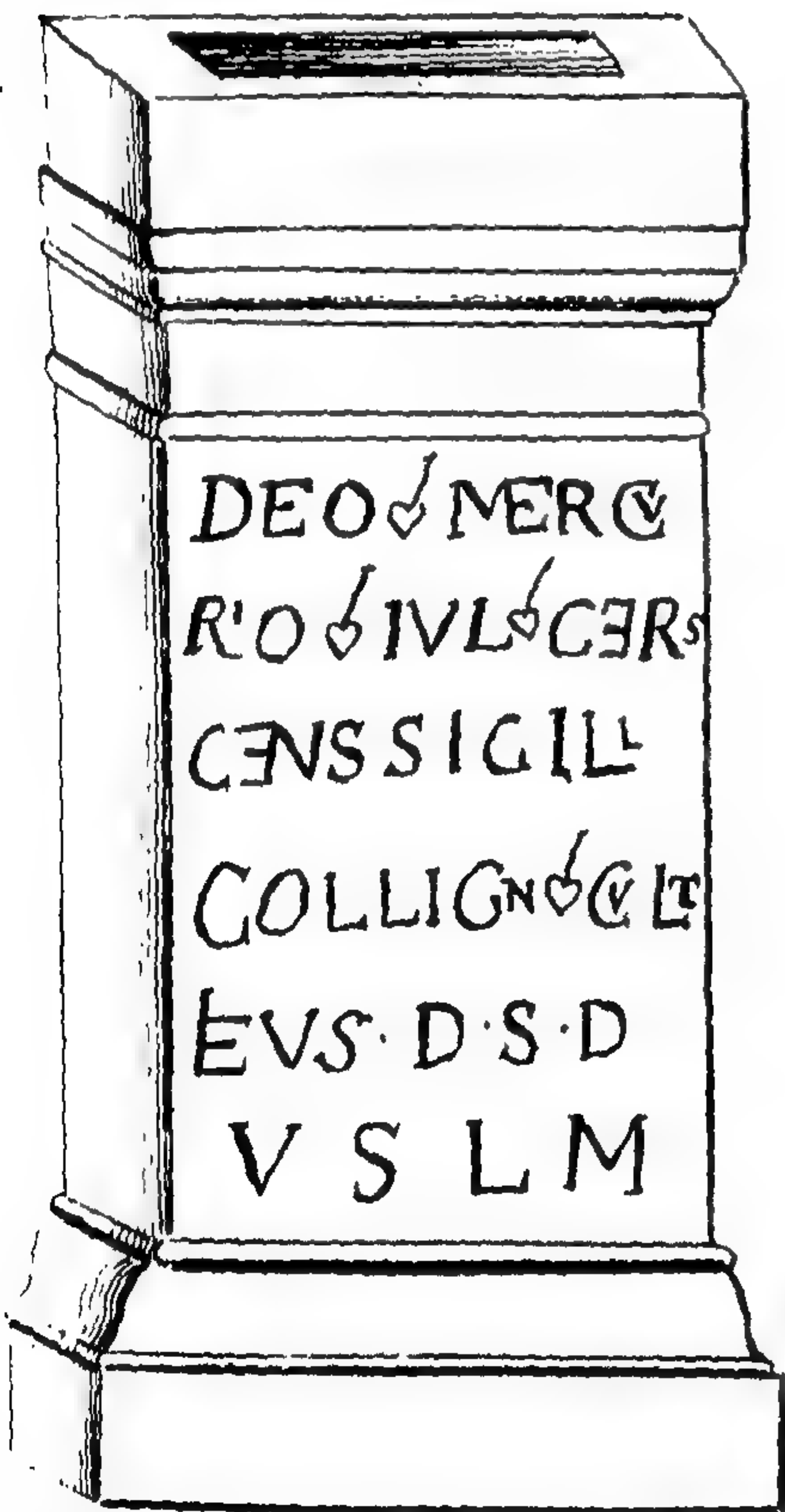
Dis Manibus Flavius Lucianus miles legionis secundae Augustae.

SCOTLAND

XXXIV



XXXV

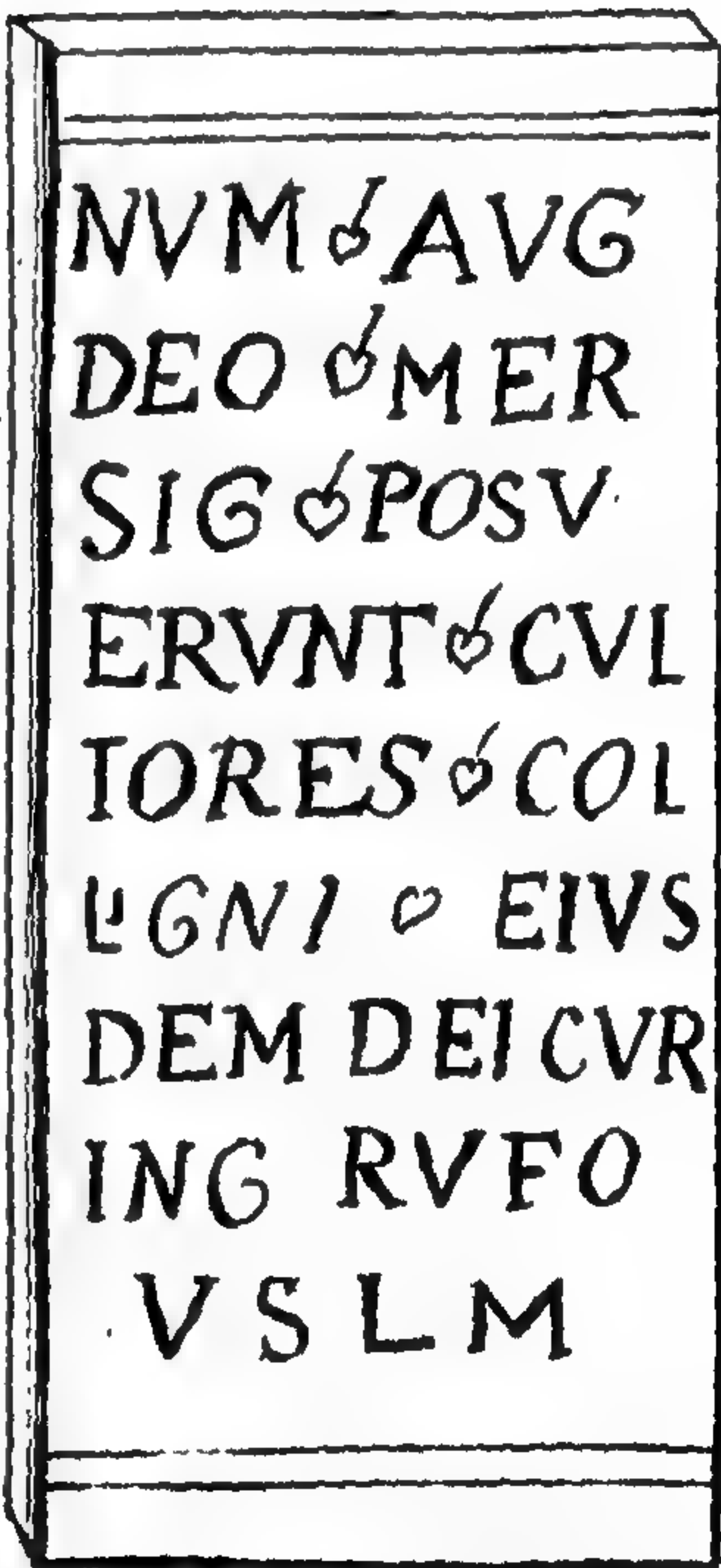


Deo Mercurio Julius Cerealis
centor sigillorum collegii ligni-
ferorum cultorum ejus de suo
dedit votum solvit libens merito



BRIGANTIE S. AMANDVS
ARCHITECTVS EX IMPERIO IMP. I.
Brigantiæ sacrum Amandus
architectus ex imperio impe-
ratoris Juliani posuit

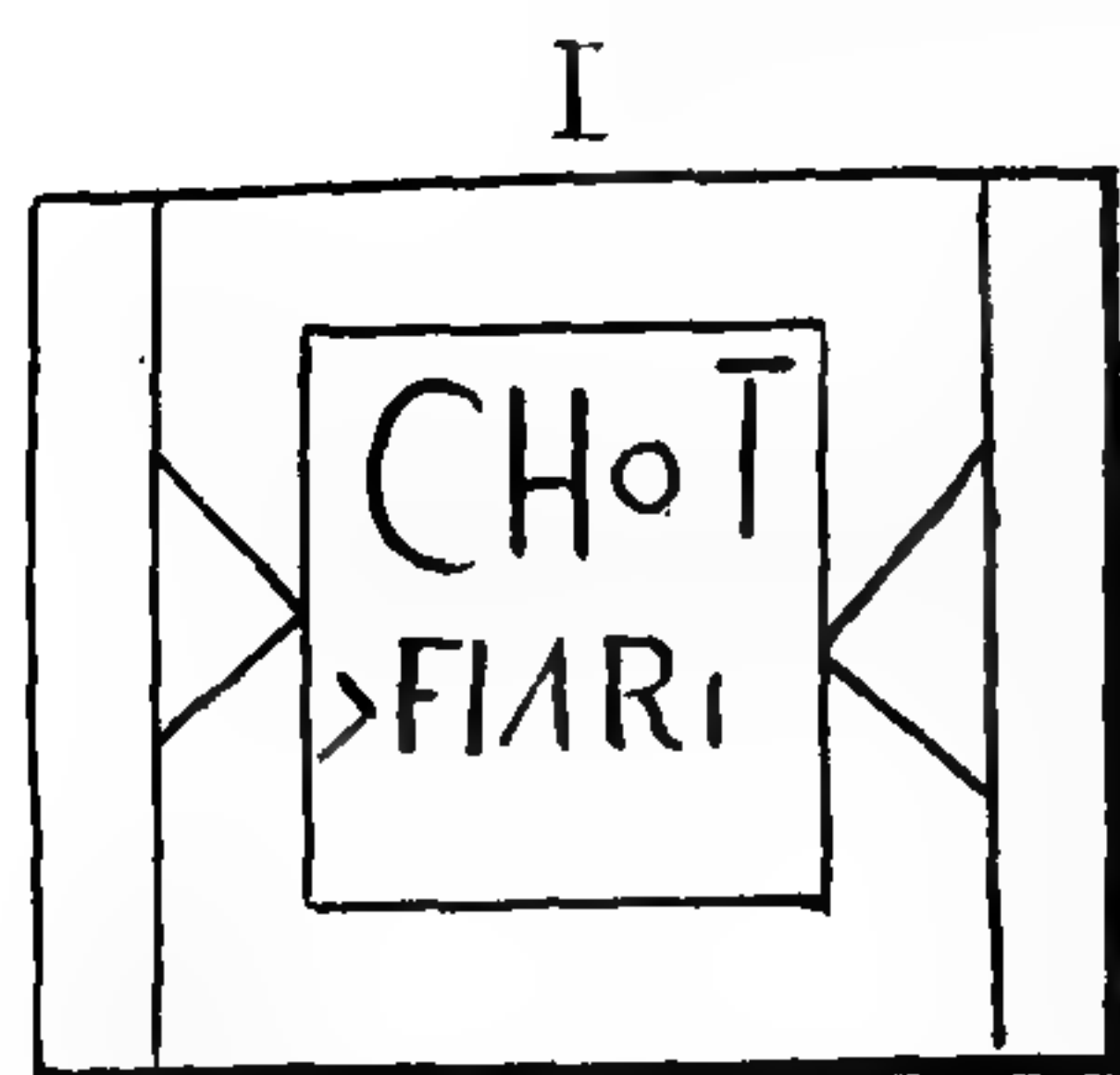
XXXVI



Numini Augusti Deo
Mercurio signum posue-
runt cultores collegium
ligniferorum ejusdem
Dei curante Ingenuo Rufo
votum solverunt libentes
merito.

NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192 N. 9.



Cohortis primae centu-
ria *Fiari posuit*



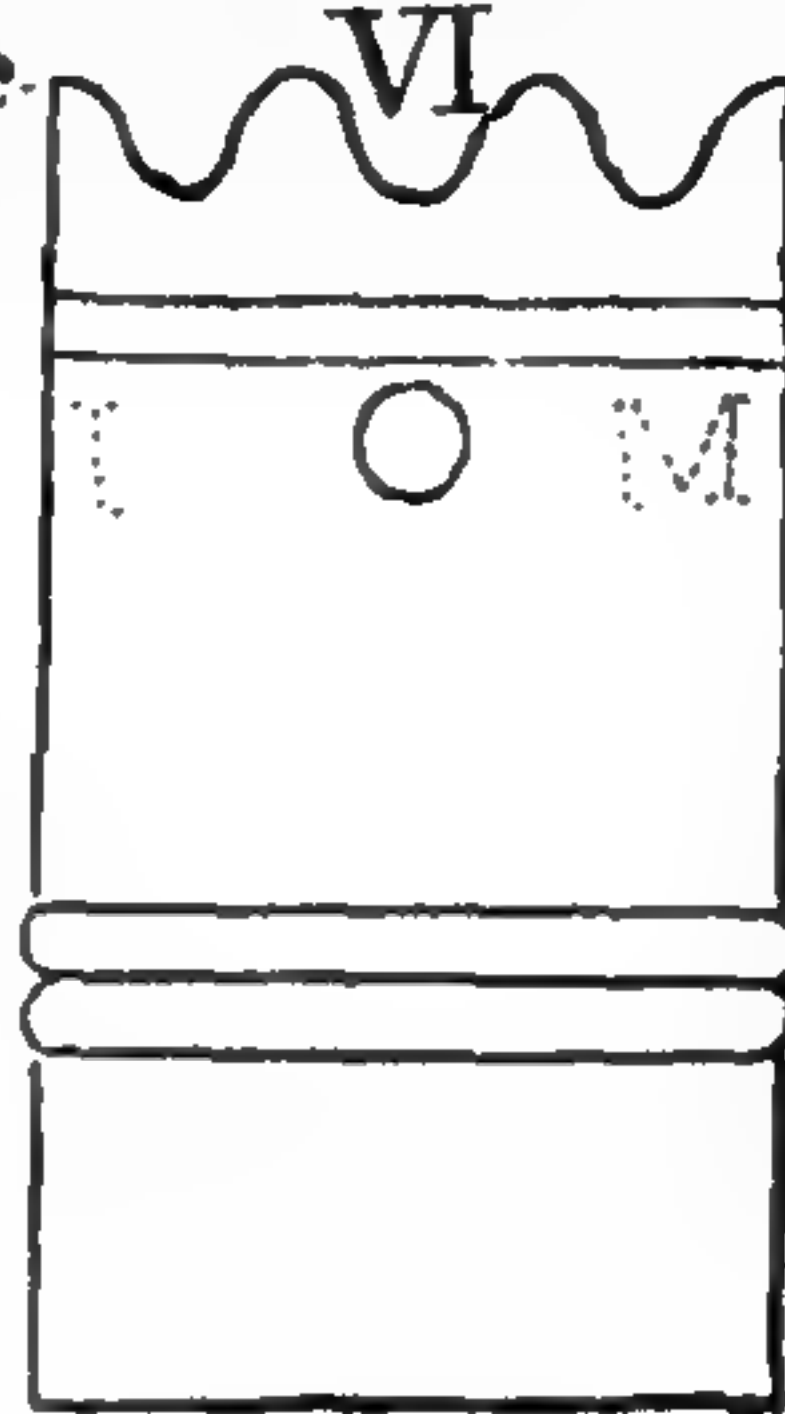
Cohortis secundae cen-
turia *Vari Cele-
ris posuit*



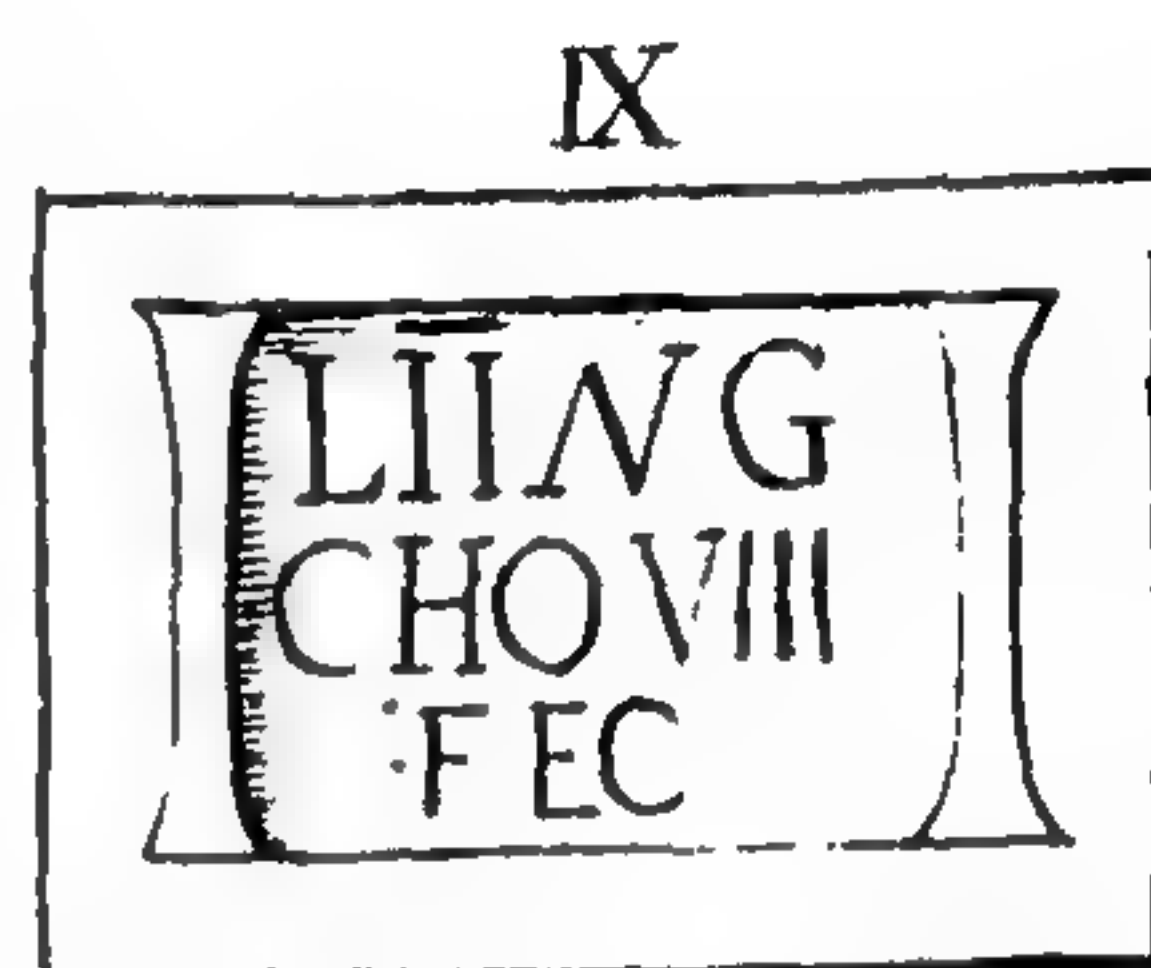
Cohortis decimae centuria Jus-
tini *Secundi posuit*



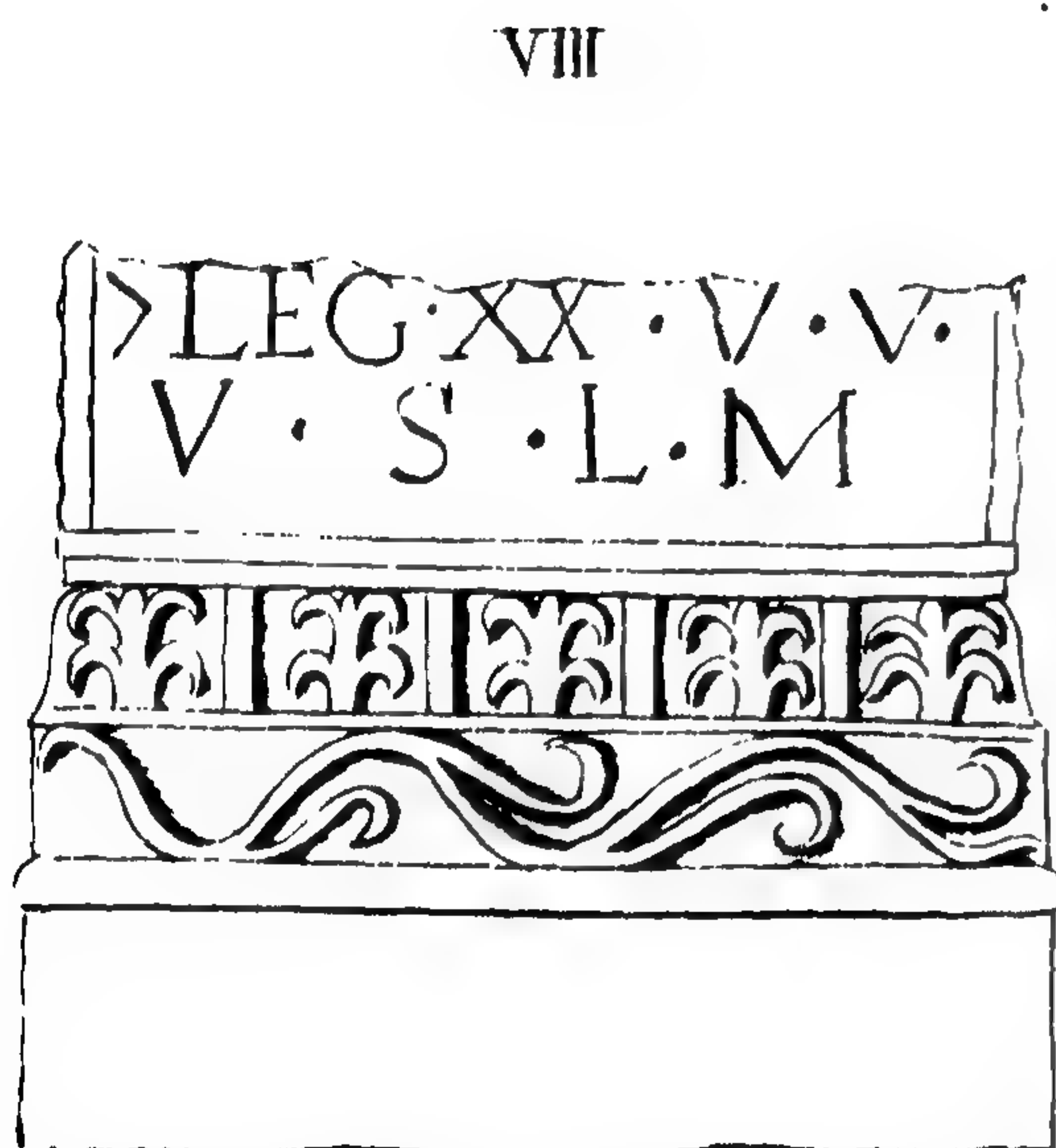
Cohortis decimae cen-
turia *Siin si Prisci posuit*



*Jovi Optimo
Maximo*



Legionis secundae
Augustae cohors octa-
va *fecit*



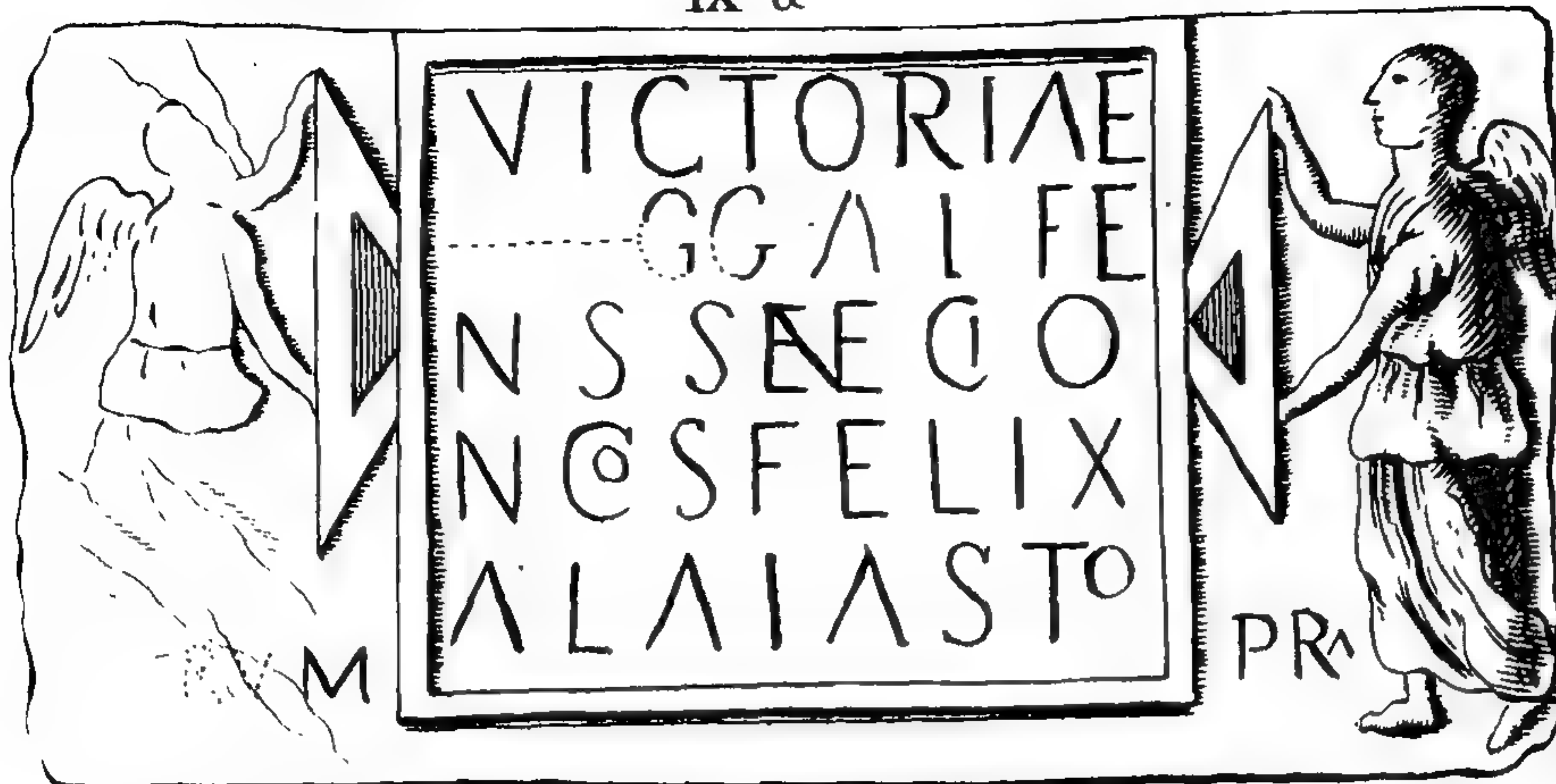
Centurio legionis vicesimae va-
lentis *victicis votum solvit libens
merito*



*Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno et
Numinibus Augusti pro salute impe-
ratoris Caesaris Titi Aelii Hadriani An-
tonini Augusti Pii patris patriae et
legionis secundae Augustae Marcus
Liburnius Fronto centurio legionis
ejusdem votum solvit libens merito*

NORTHUMBERLAND

IX α



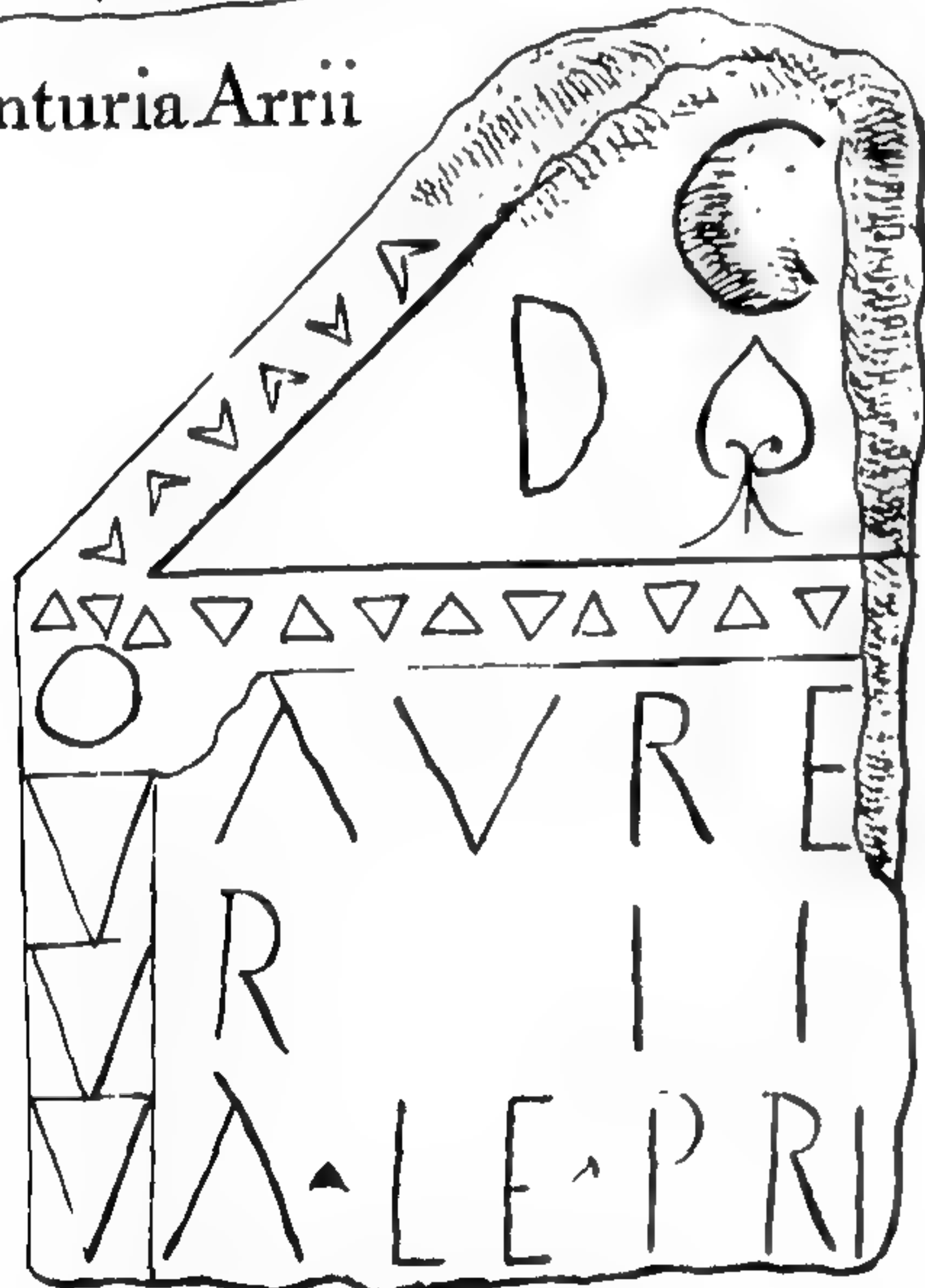
Victoriae Augustorum nostrorum fecit nepos Soli
Senecionis consulis Felix alae primae Astorum
praefectus

IX ε.

ΔARRI

IX. β.

Centuria Arrii



Dis Manibus Aurelii

alae primae Astorum

IX γ.



Centuria Peregrini

IX δ.



Legionis secundae Aug-
ustae cohors decima

IX. η.



Legionis secundae Augustae
cohors secunda

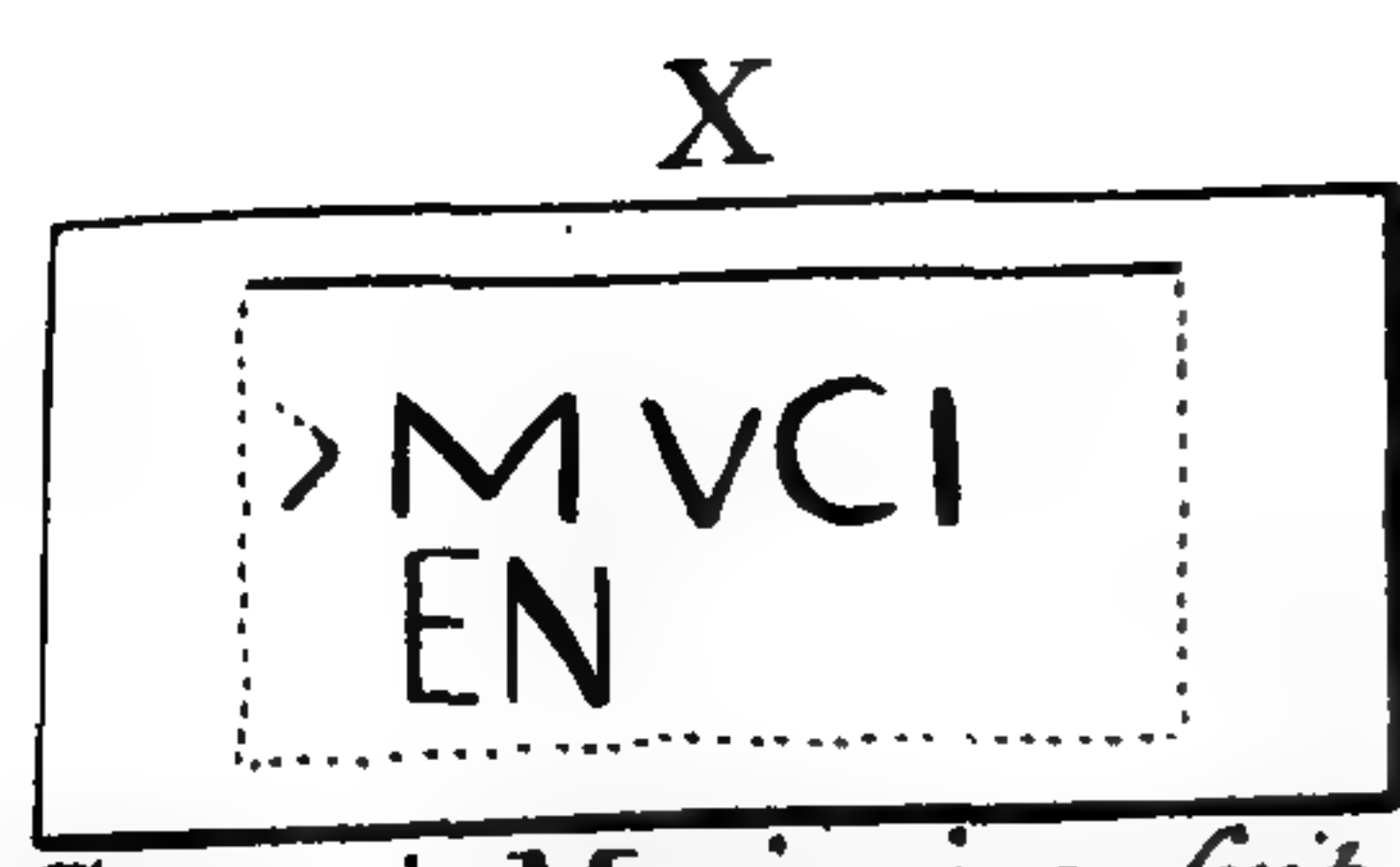
See the preface, p. XIII.

IX ζ.

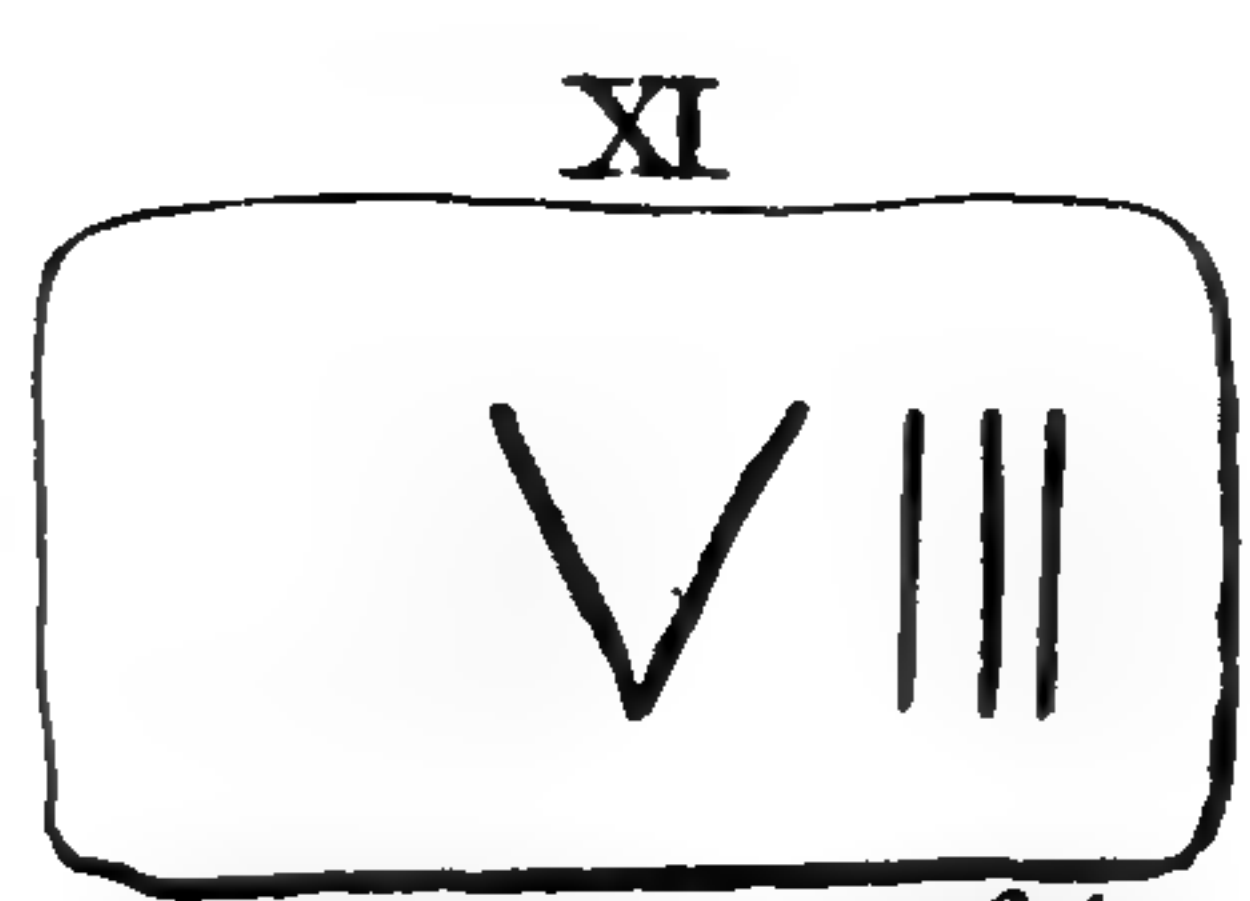


Centuria Herenniani

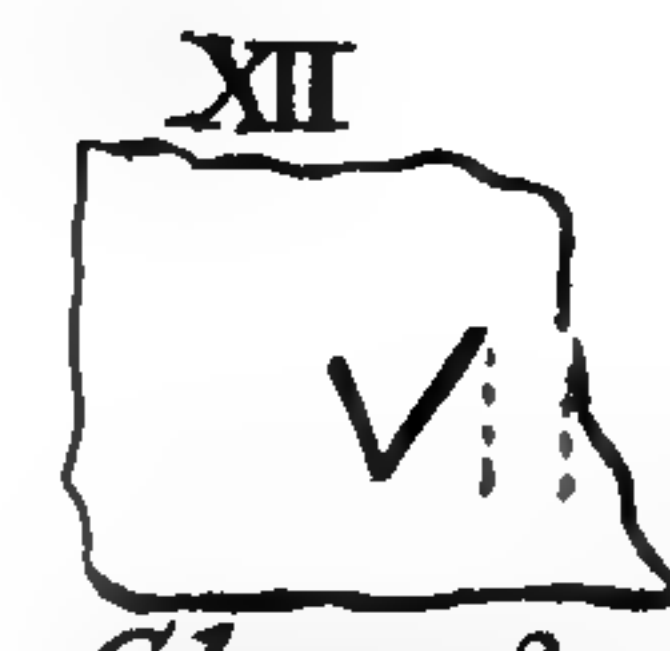
NORTHUMBERLAND



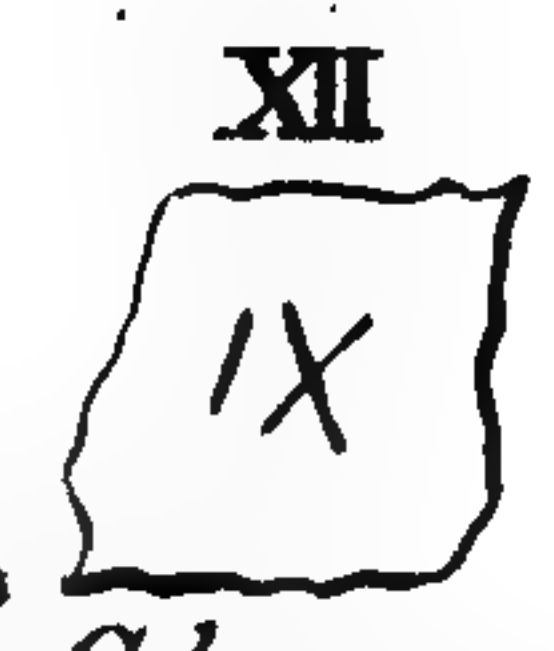
Centuria Mucieni posuit



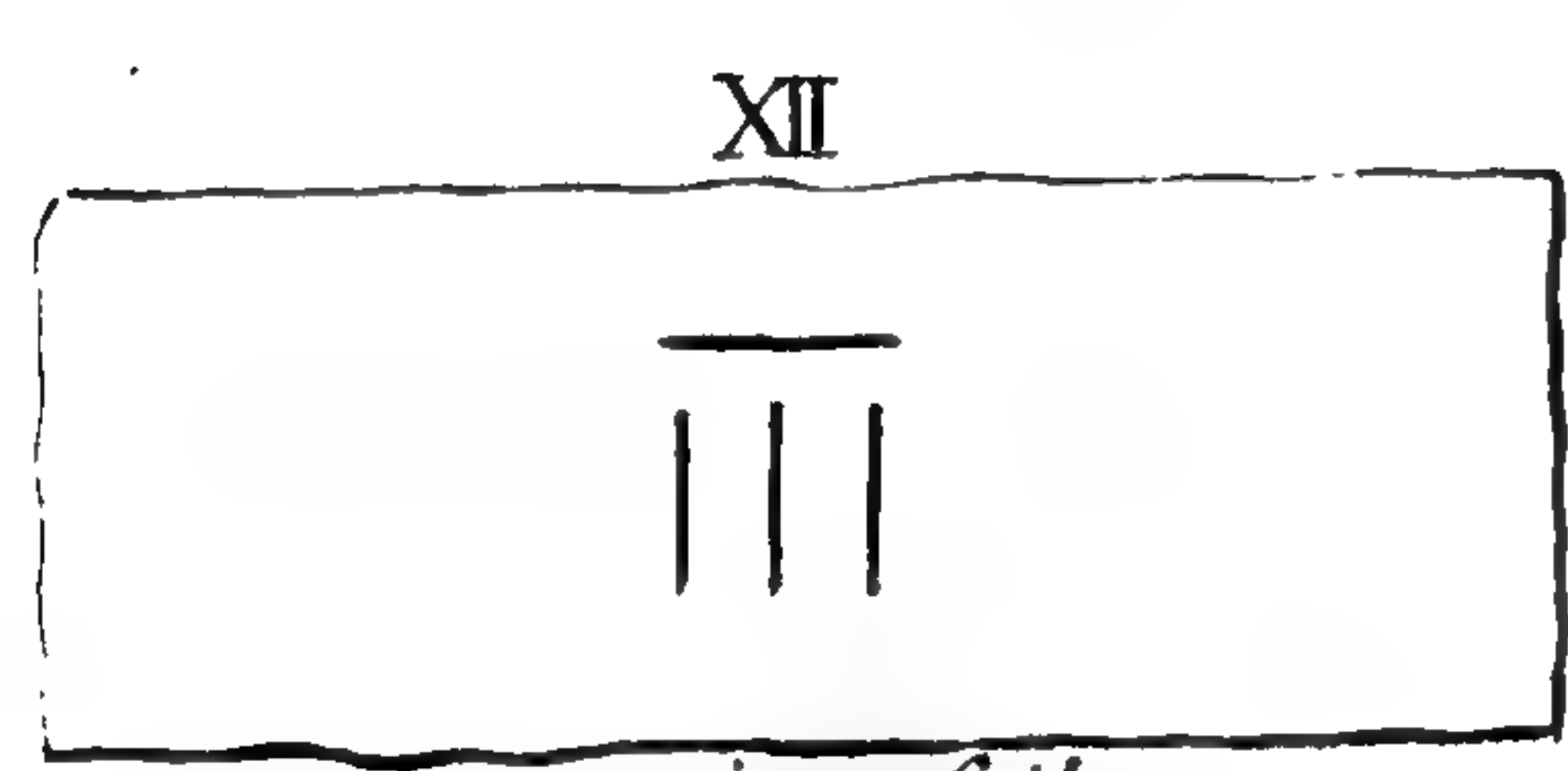
Cohors octava posuit



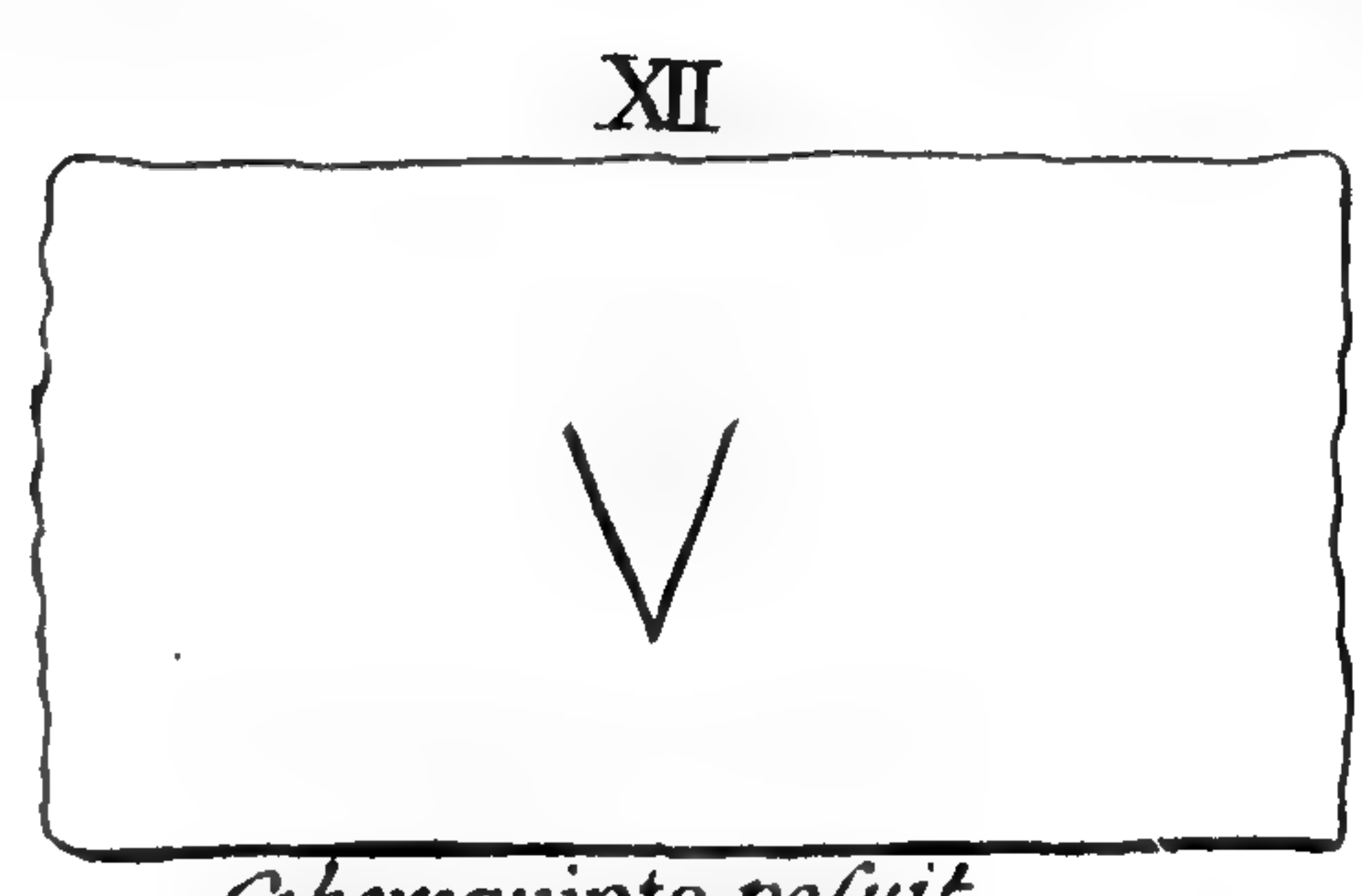
Cohors octava posuit



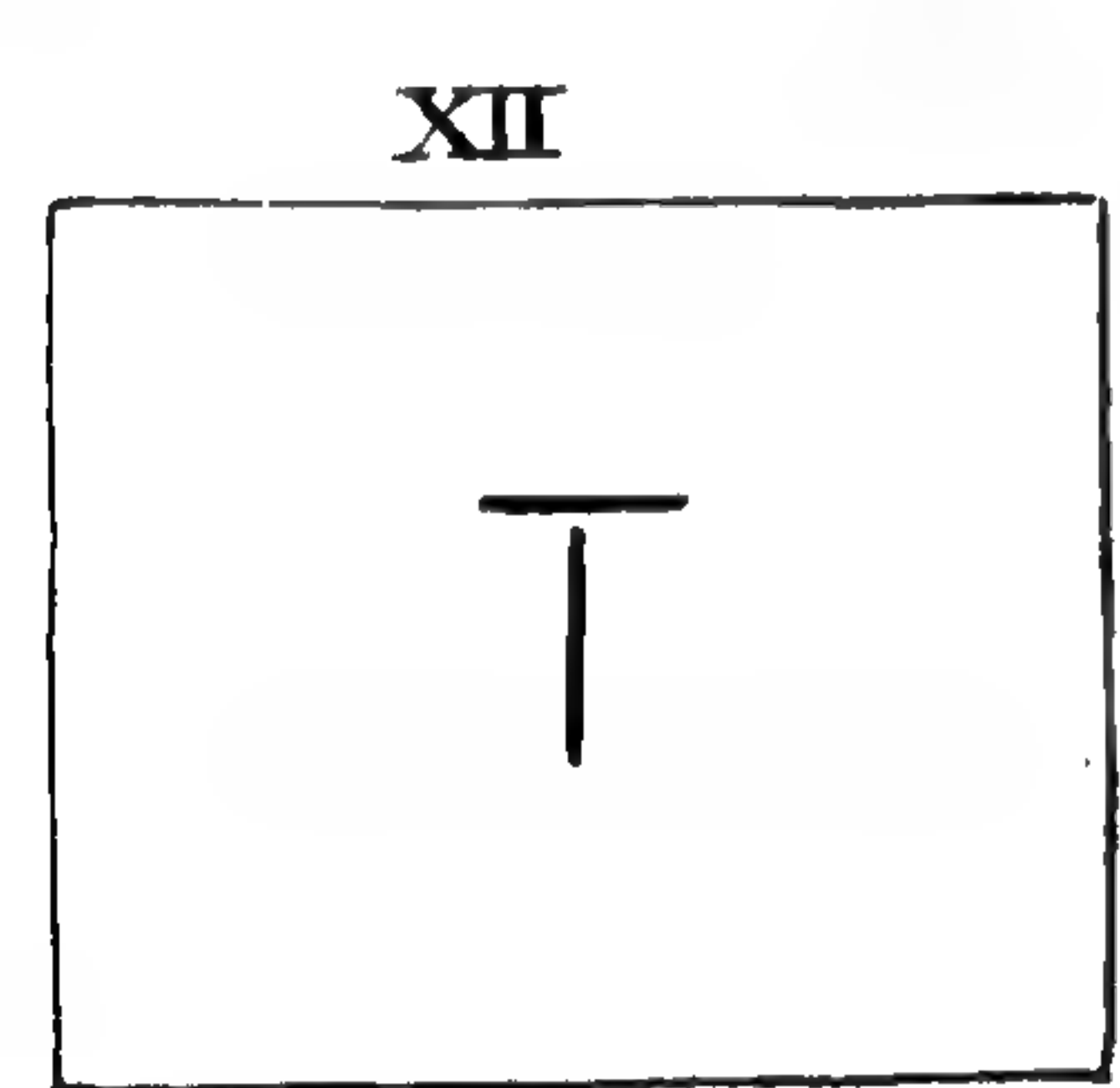
Cohors nona posuit



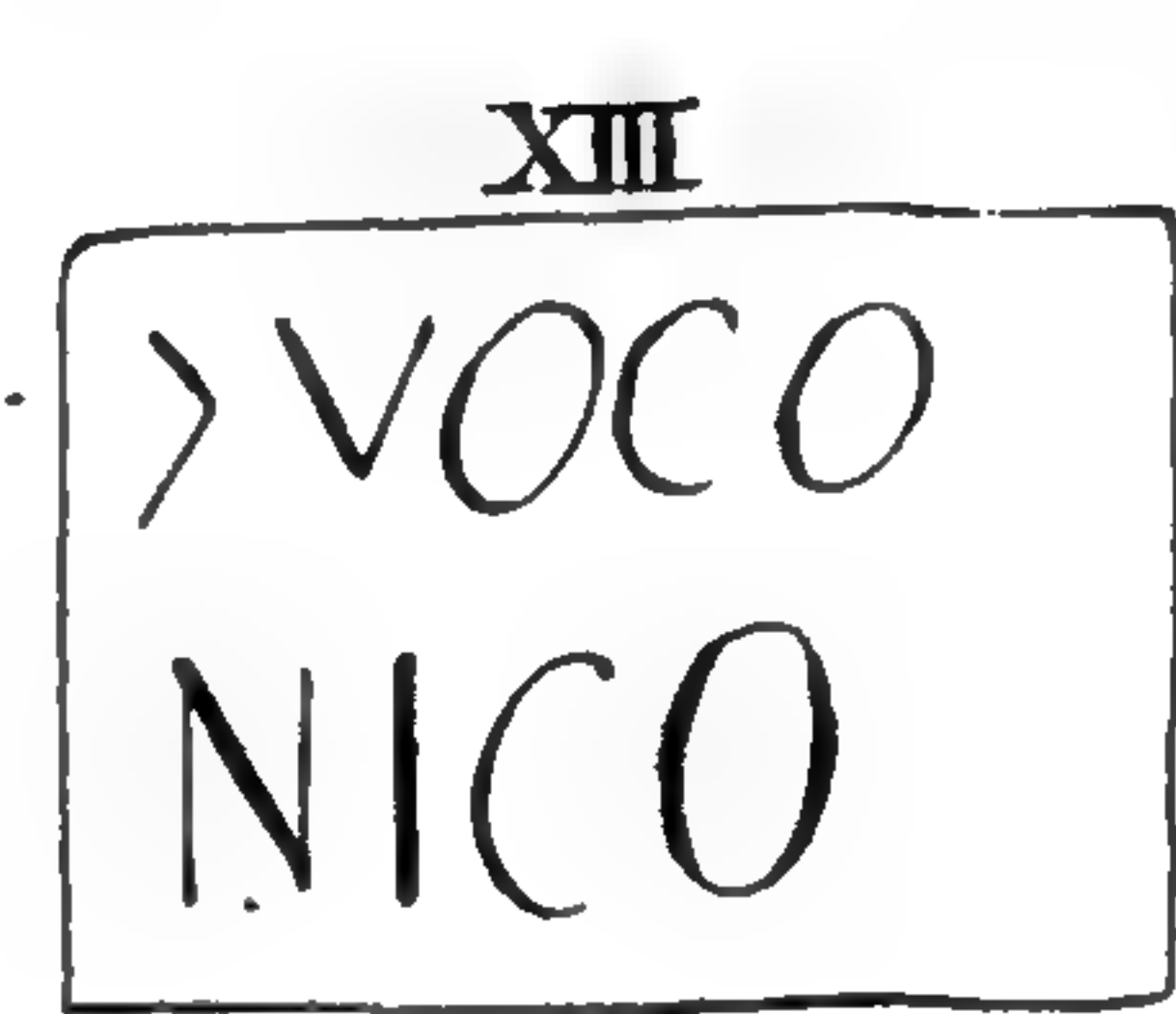
Cohors tertia posuit



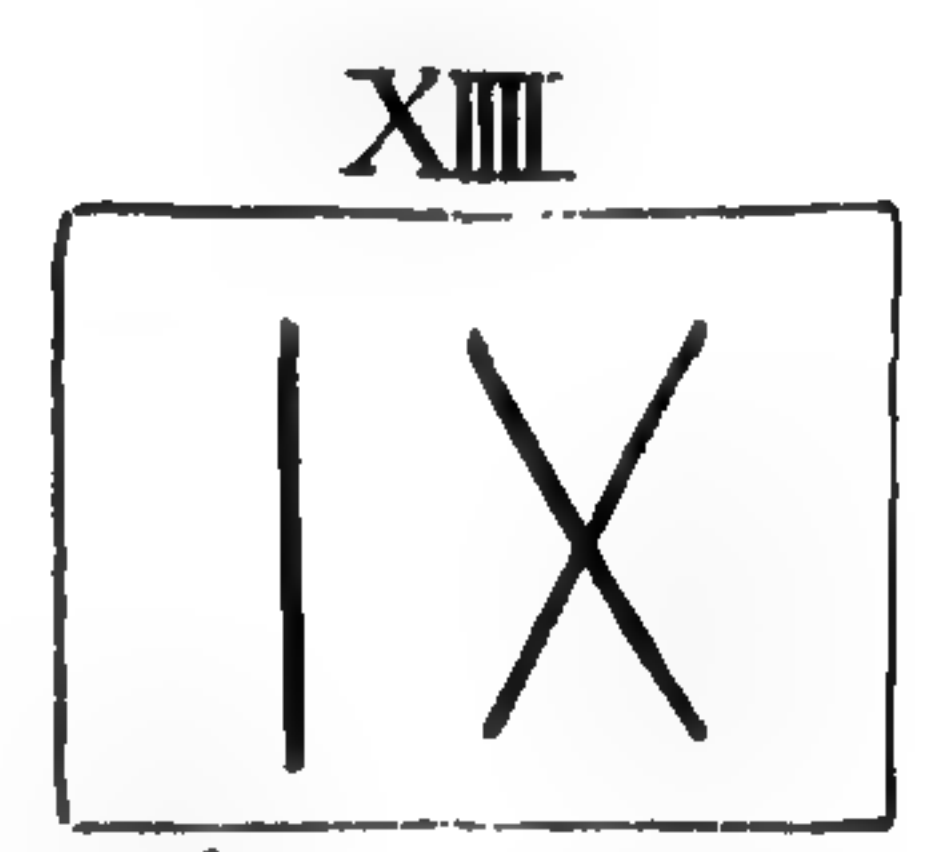
Cohors quinta posuit



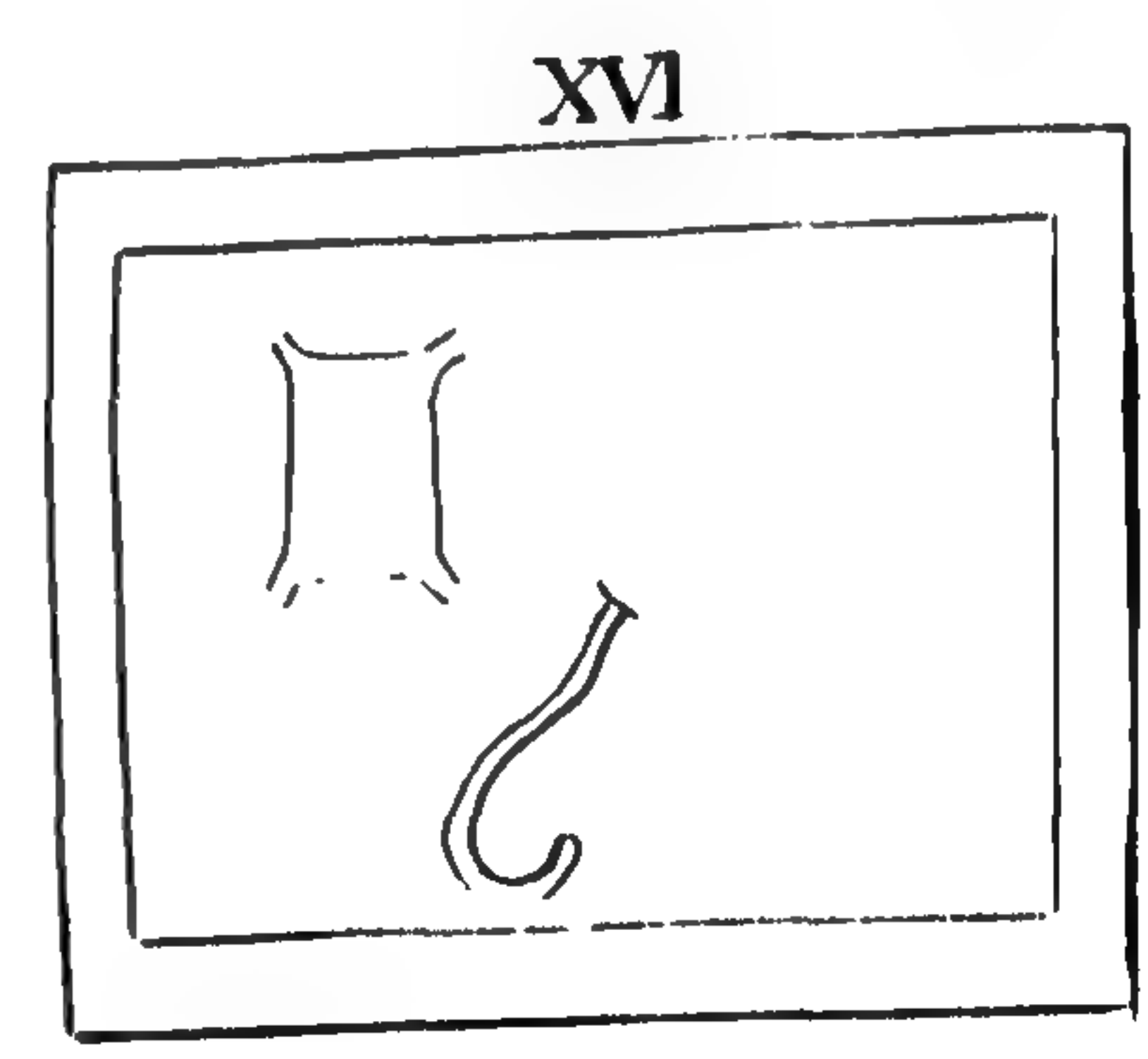
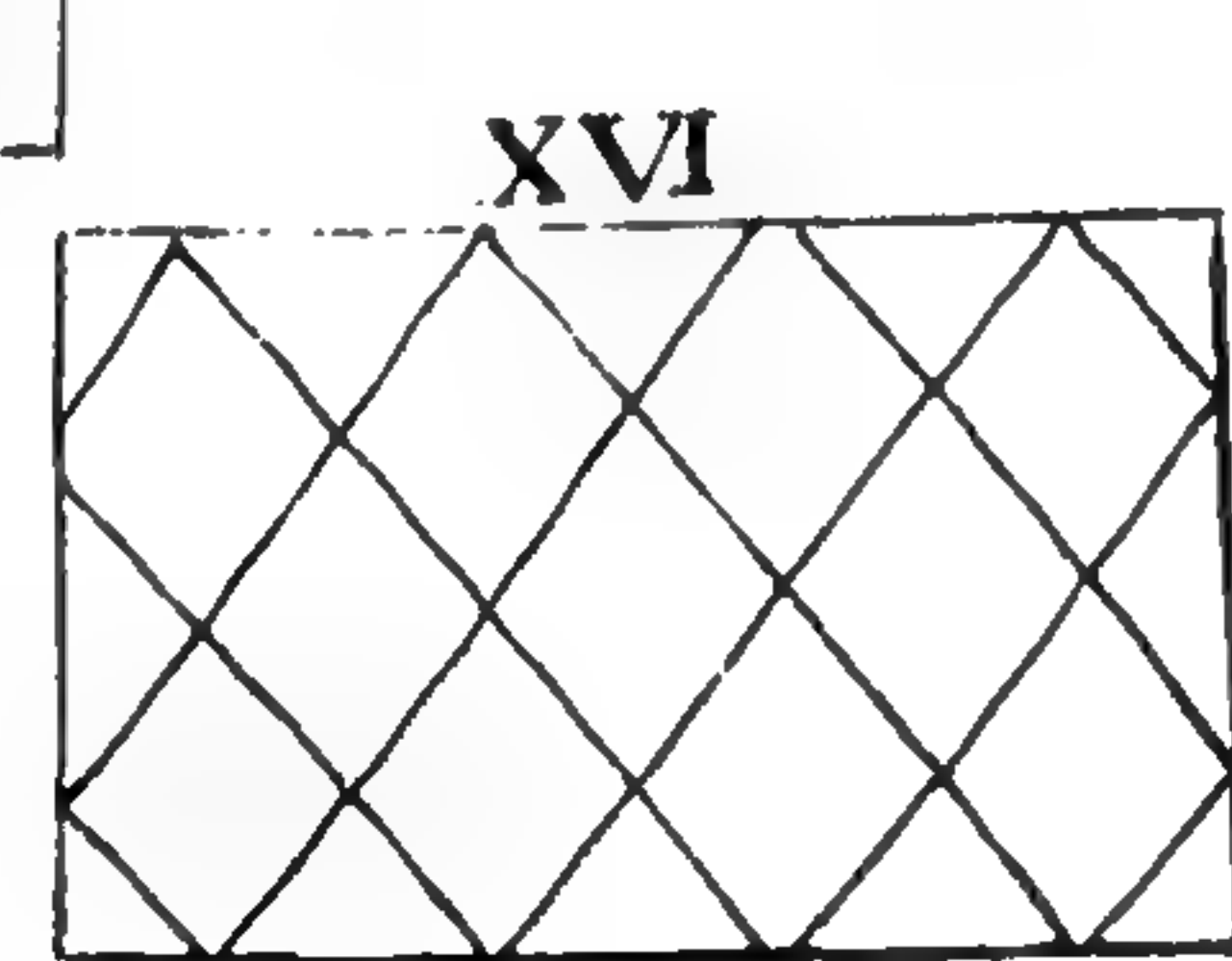
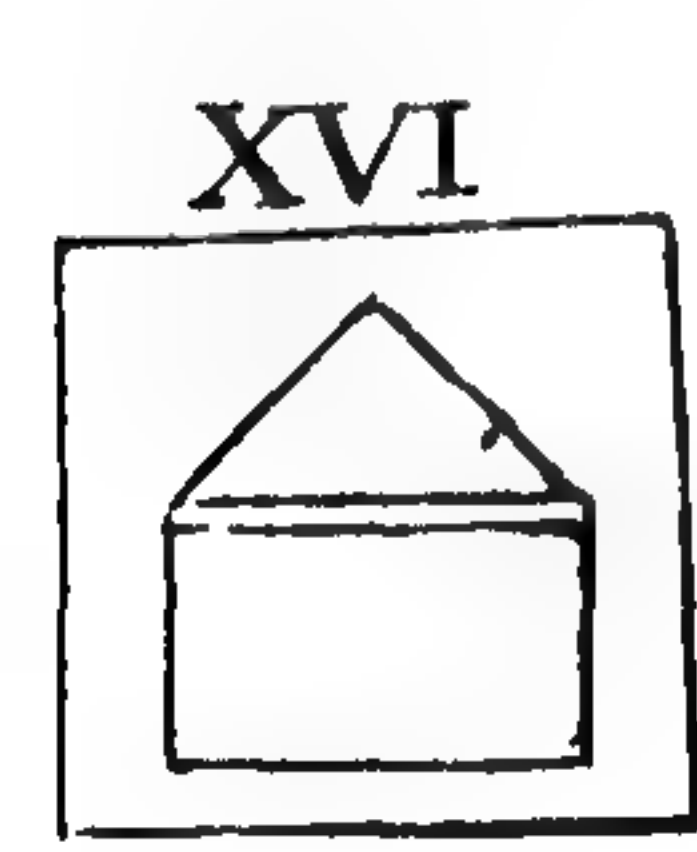
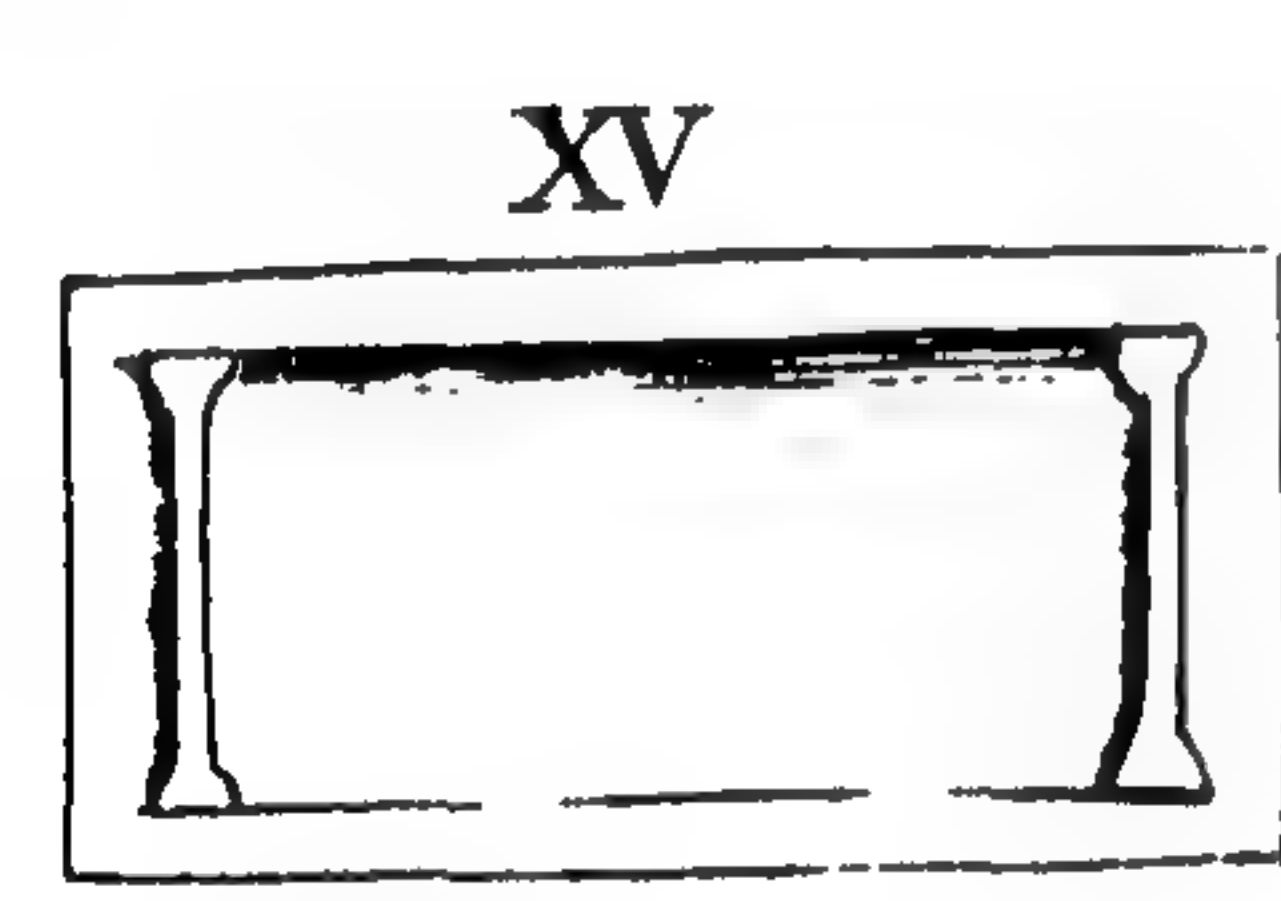
Cohors prima posuit



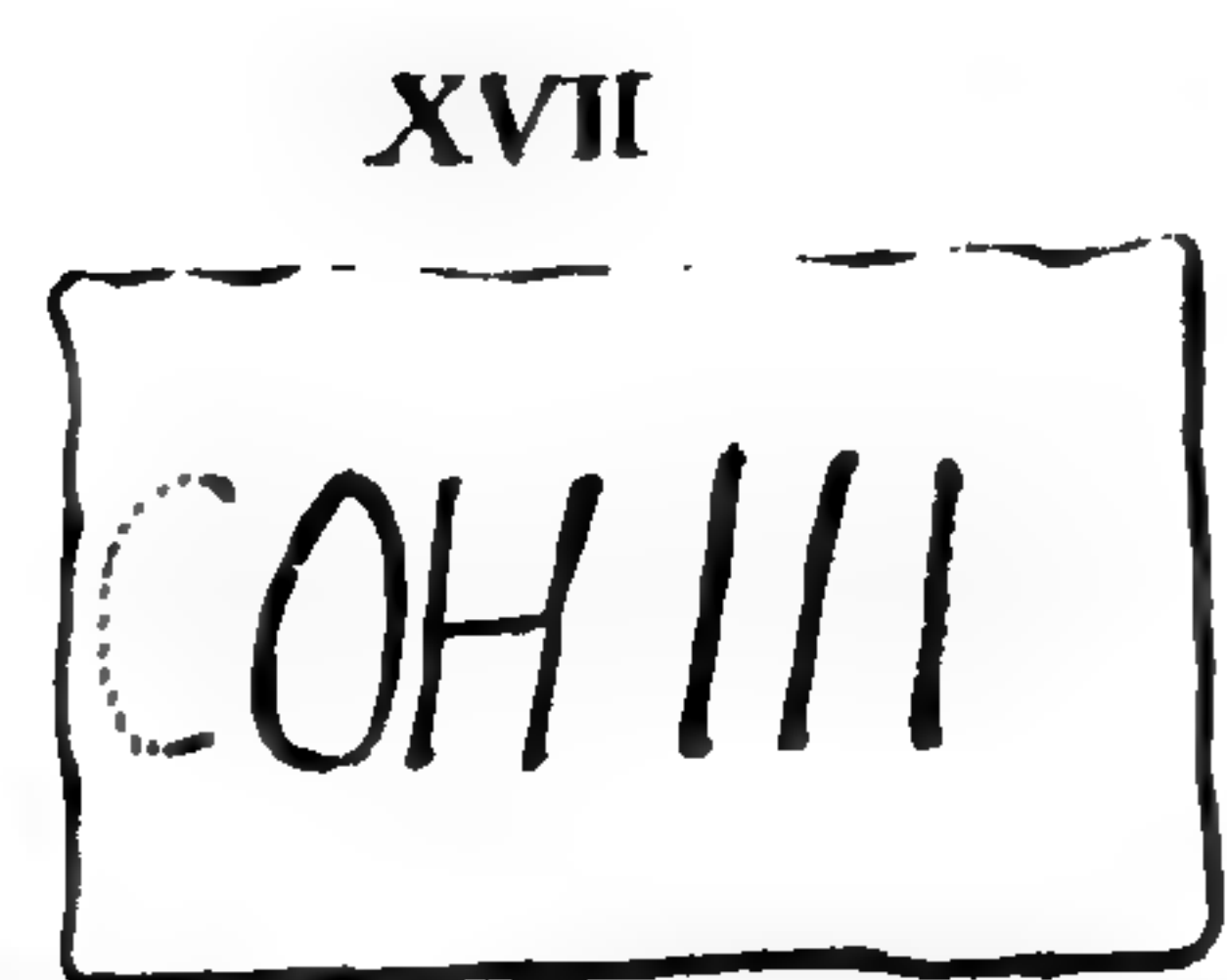
Centuria Voconii cohortis... posuit



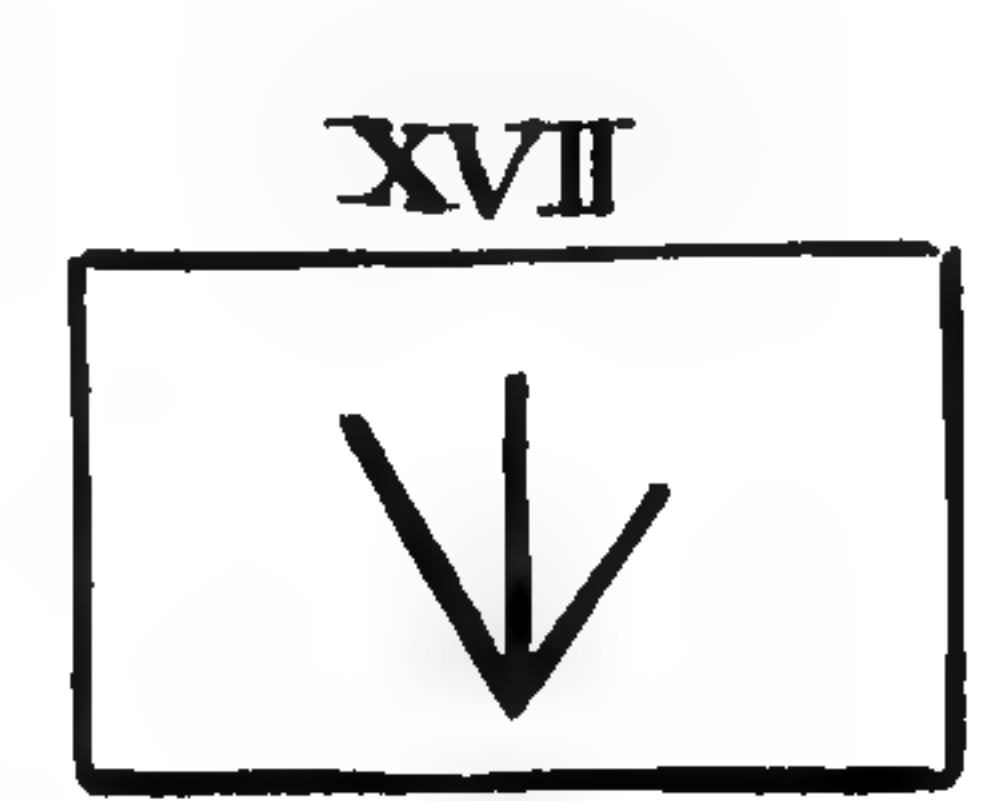
Cohors nona posuit



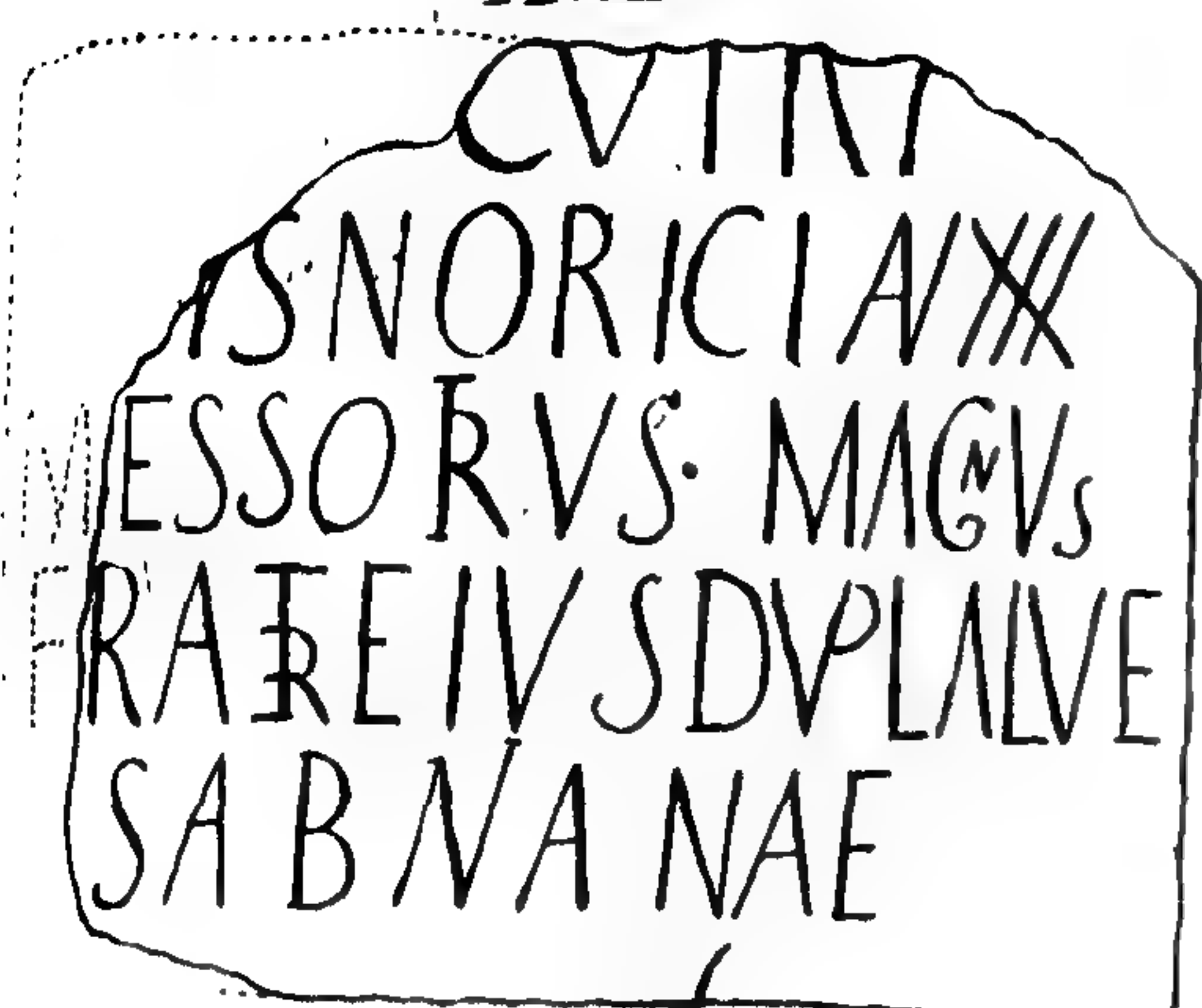
Centuria Turriani Prisci



Cohors tertia posuit



XVIII



Norici annorum
triginta Messorius Magnus fra-
ter ejus duplaris alae Sabinianae

XX



Cohortis sextae centu-
ria Statii Solonis posuit

XIX

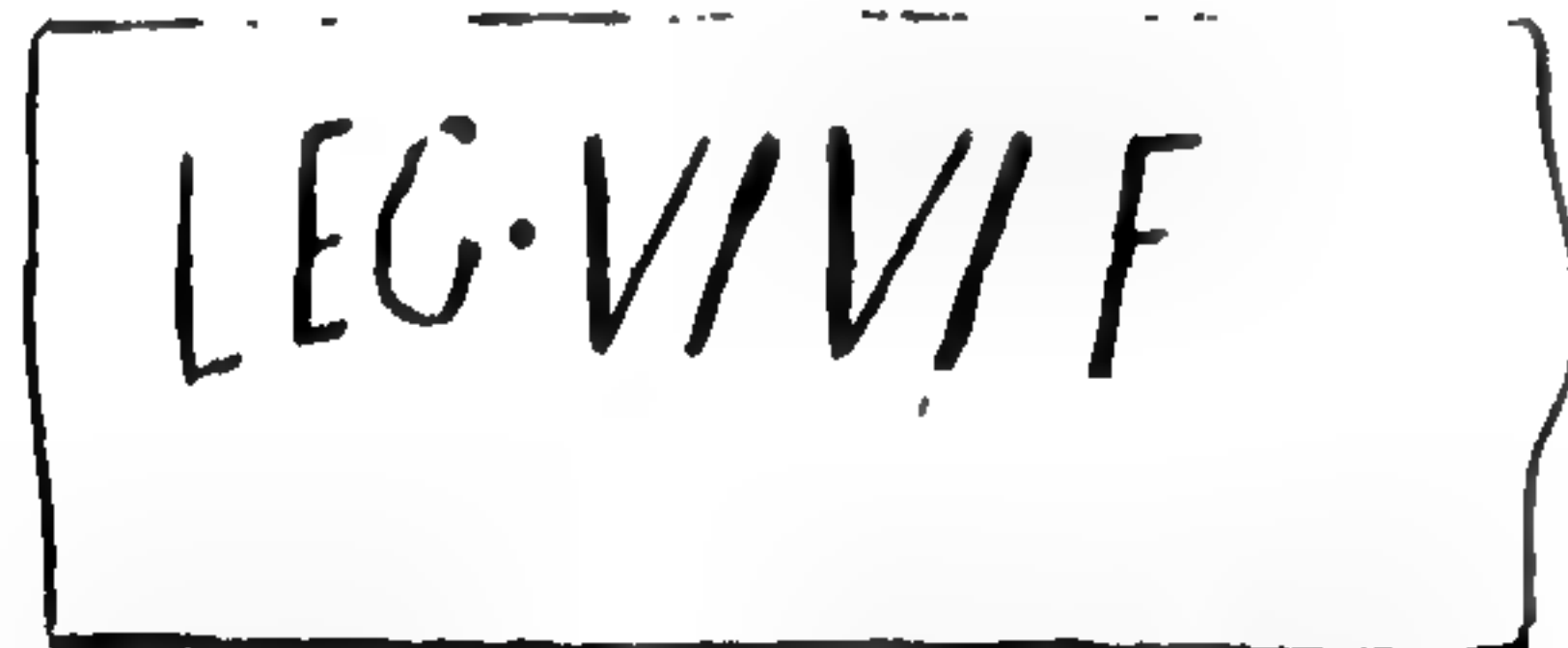


XXIII



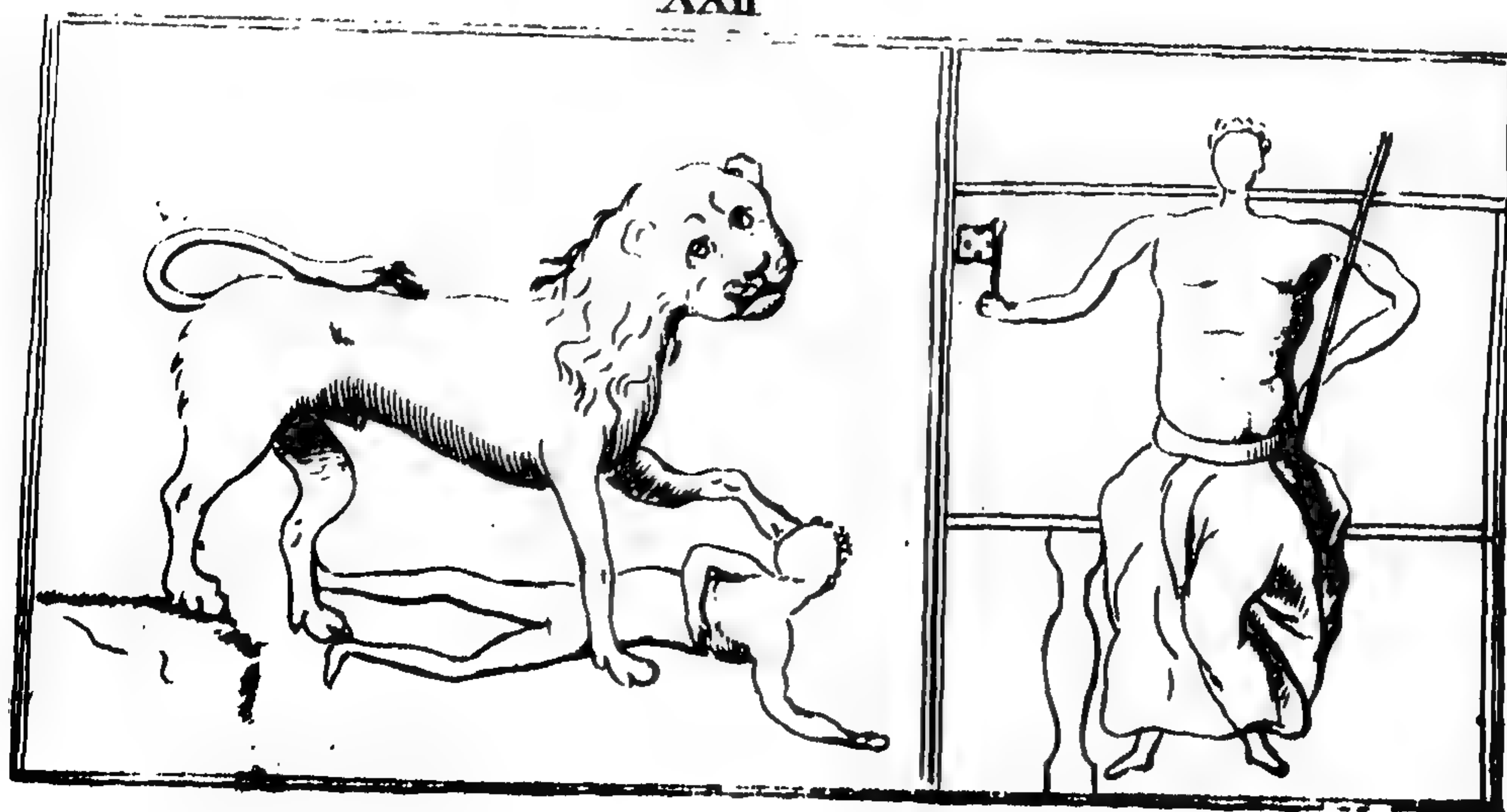
Dis Manibus Vrsae sorori Juliae conjugii Canioni filio
Furio germano

XXI



Legio sexta victrix fecit

XXII



NORTHUMBERLAND

Fig. N. 12.

XXIV

XXV



D M
MASVILIUS VIC
TOR VIXIT AN X

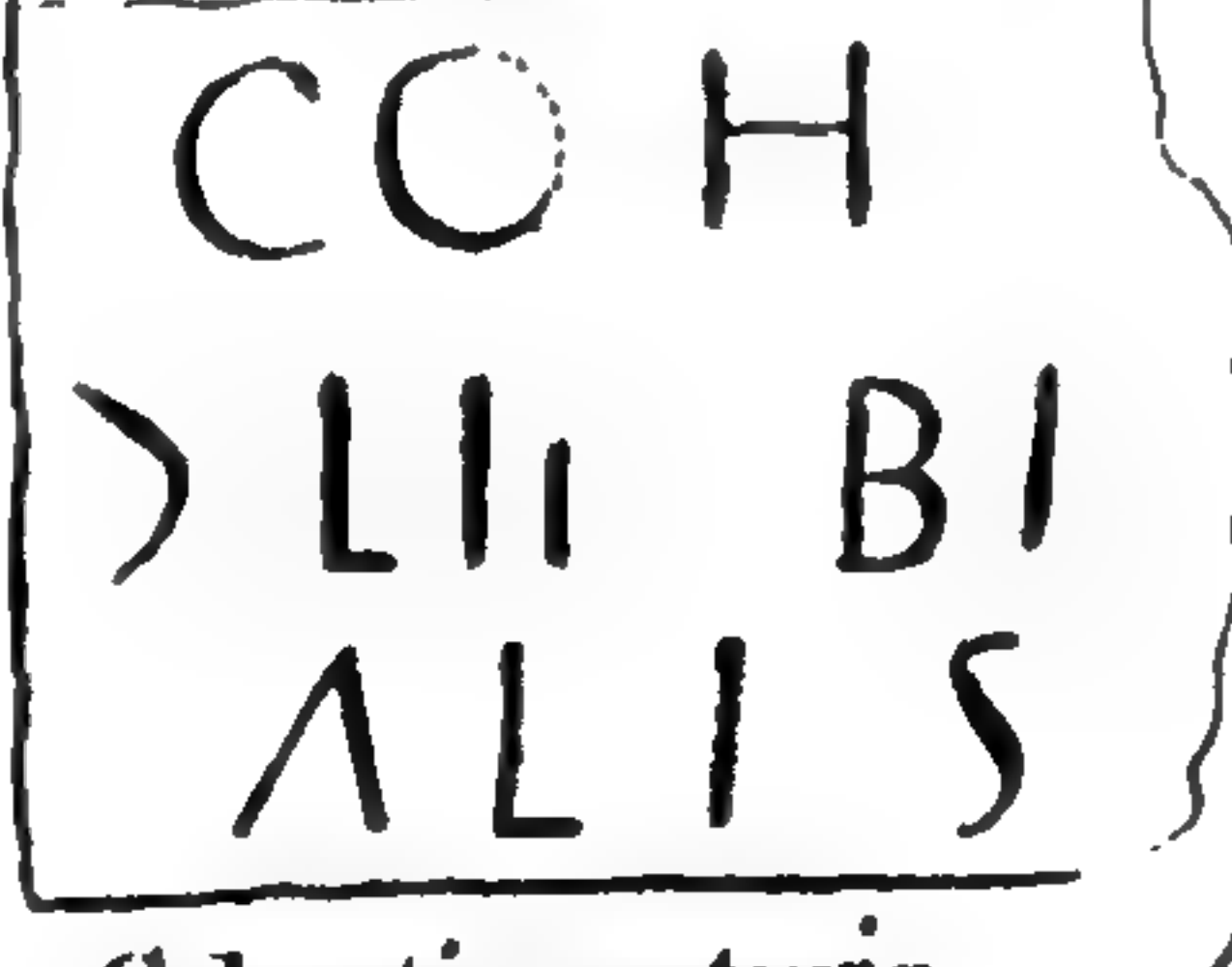
Dis Manibus M. Suius Victor vixit annos...

XXIX

XXVII



Centuria

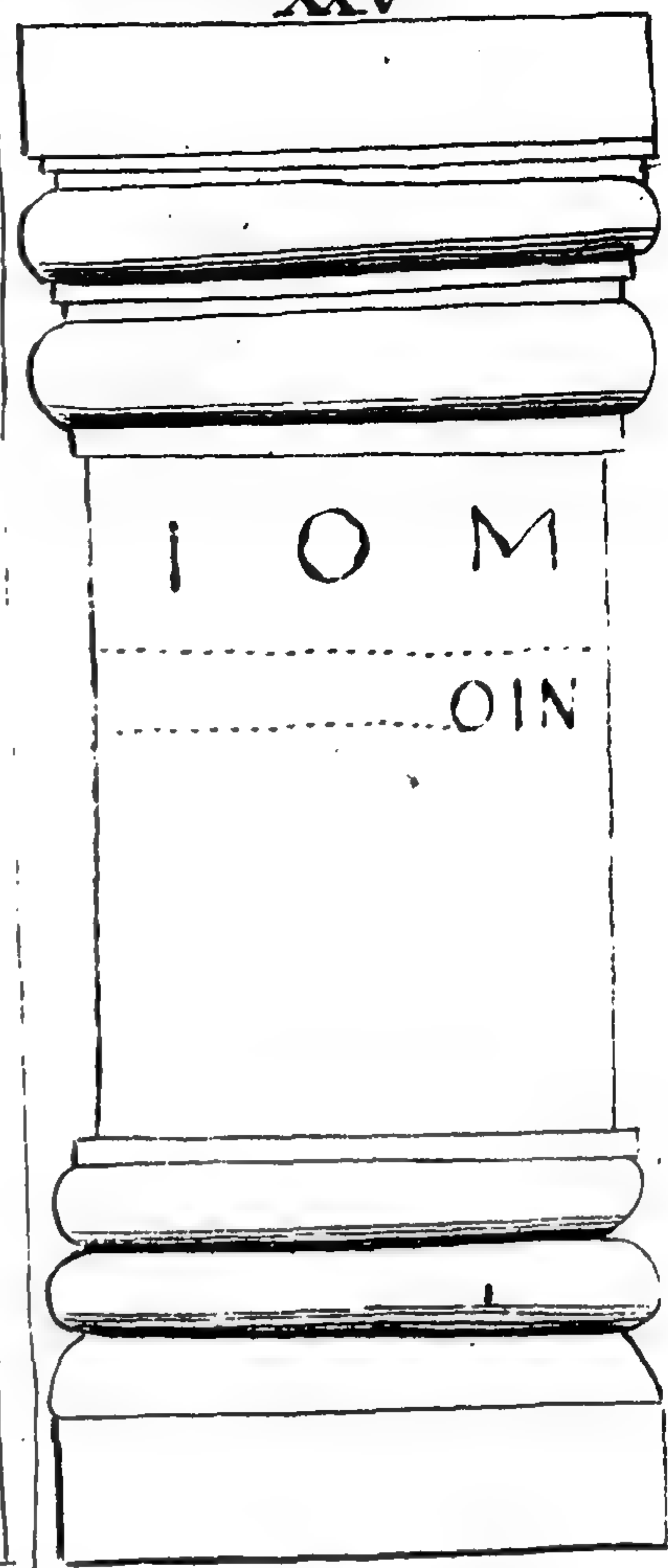


Cohortis centuria



XXVII

Centurio



Jovi Optimo Maximo

XXVI



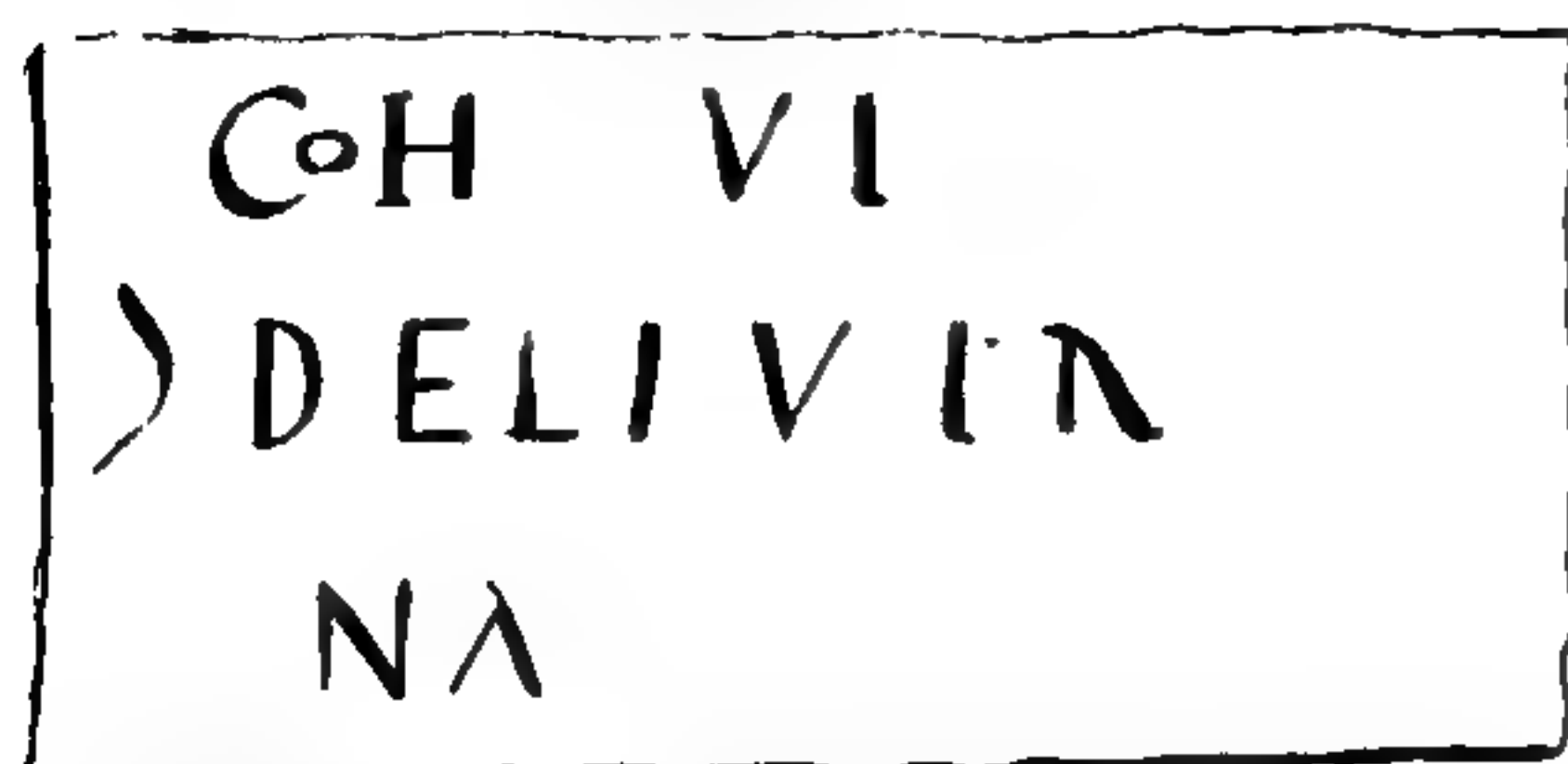
FABIE HONOR
ATE FABIVS HOM
ORATVS TRIBVN
COHIVANGION
ETAVRELIEGUC
IANE FECER
VNT FILIE D
VICISSIME

Dis Manibus sacrum Fabiae Honora
tae Fabius Honoratus tribunus cohor
tis primae Vangionum et Aurelia Eg
diciano fecerunt filiae dulcissime

NORTHUMBERLAND

Fig. N. 13.

XXX



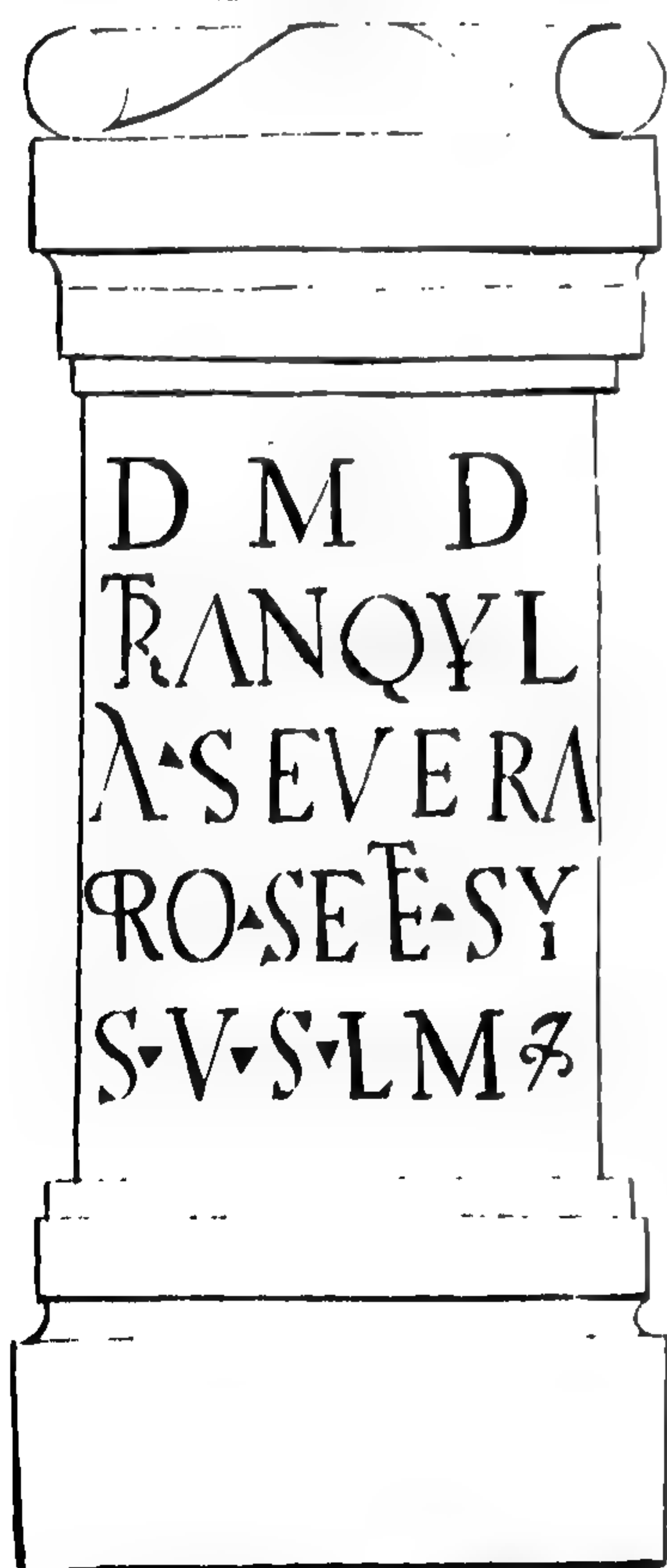
Cohortis sextae centuria Deliviana
XXXI



Cohortis sextae Lo-
gus Suavis posuit
XXXV



Centuria Alexandri posuit
XXXIII

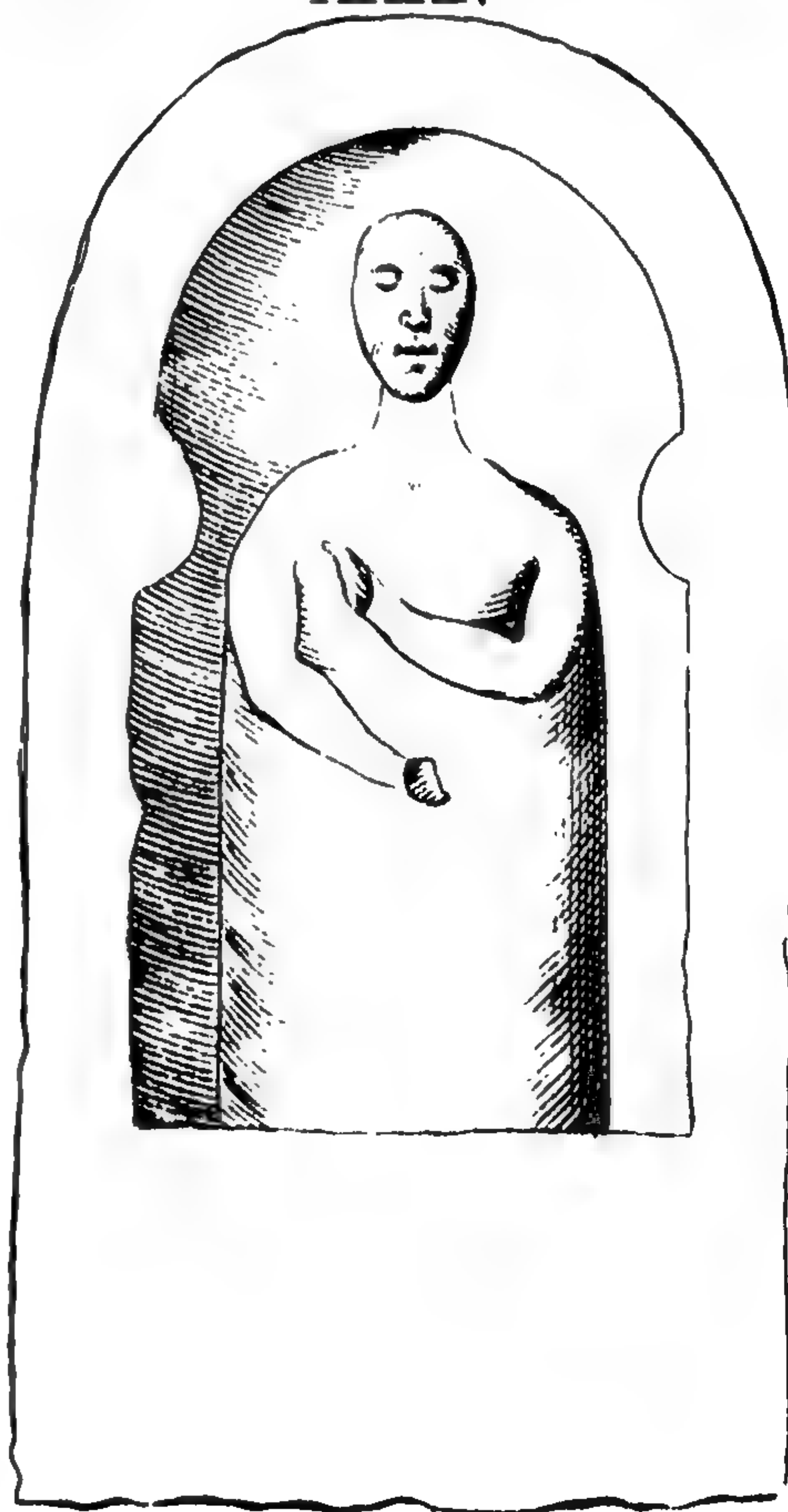


Dis Manibus dicatum Tran-
quilla Severa pro se et suis
votum solvit libens merito

XXXII

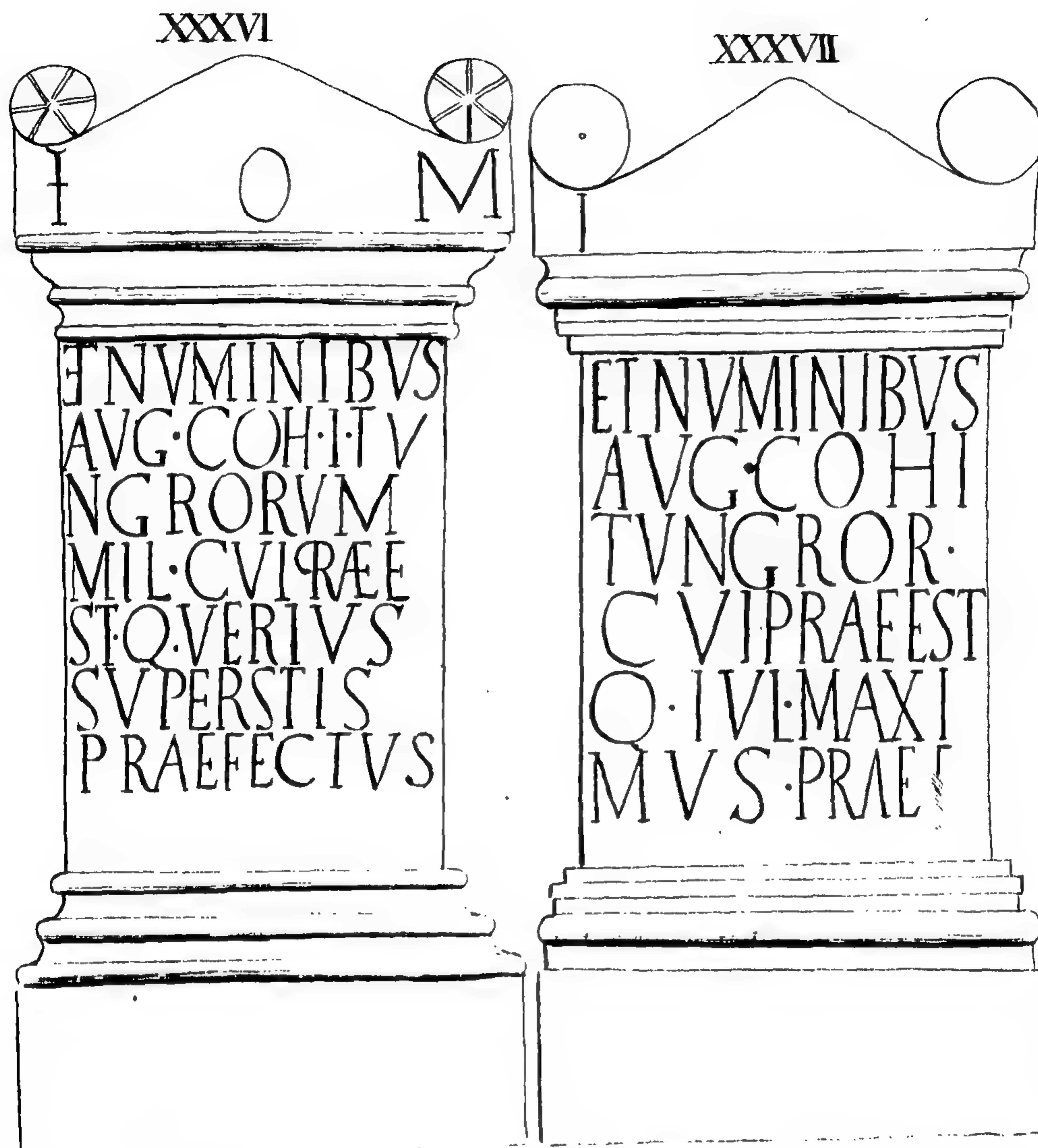


Fortunae cohors prima Batavorum cui prae-
est Melaccinius Marcellus praefectus
XXXIV



NORTHUMBERLAND

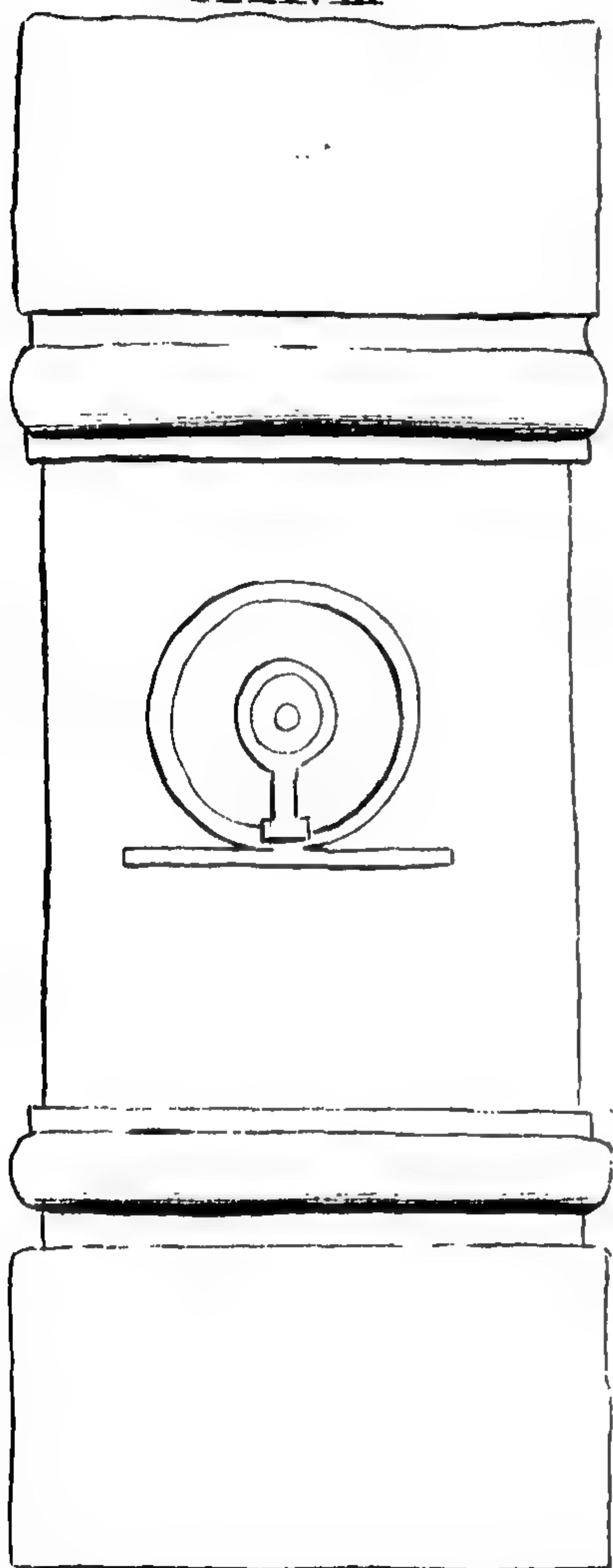
P. 19 a. N. 14.



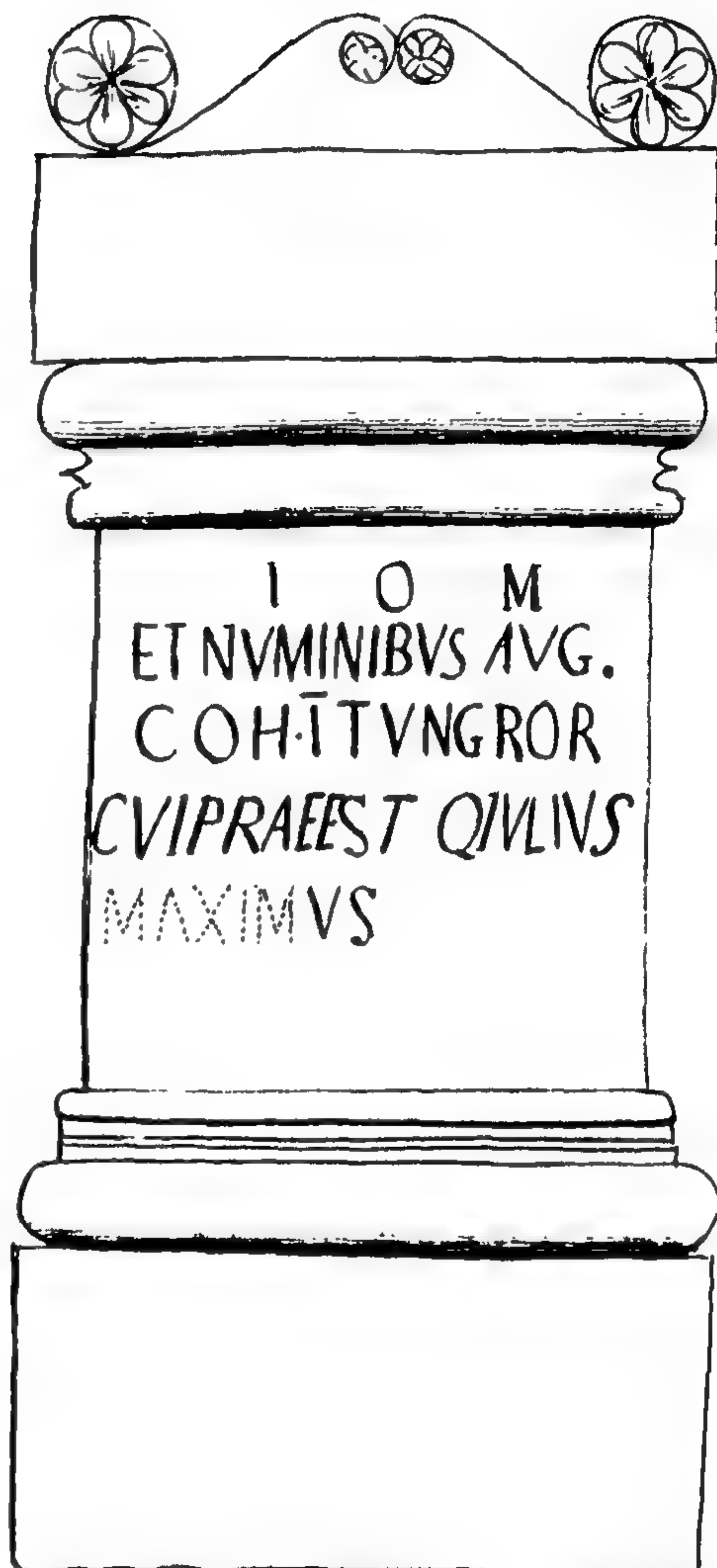
Jovi Optimo Maximo et numinibus Jovi *Optimo Maximo* et numinibus
Augusti cohors prima Tungrorum mi- Augusti cohors prima Tungrorum cui
litum cui praest Quintus Verius Su- praest Quintus Julius Maximus
perstis praefectus praefectus

NORTHUMBERLAND

XXXVIII

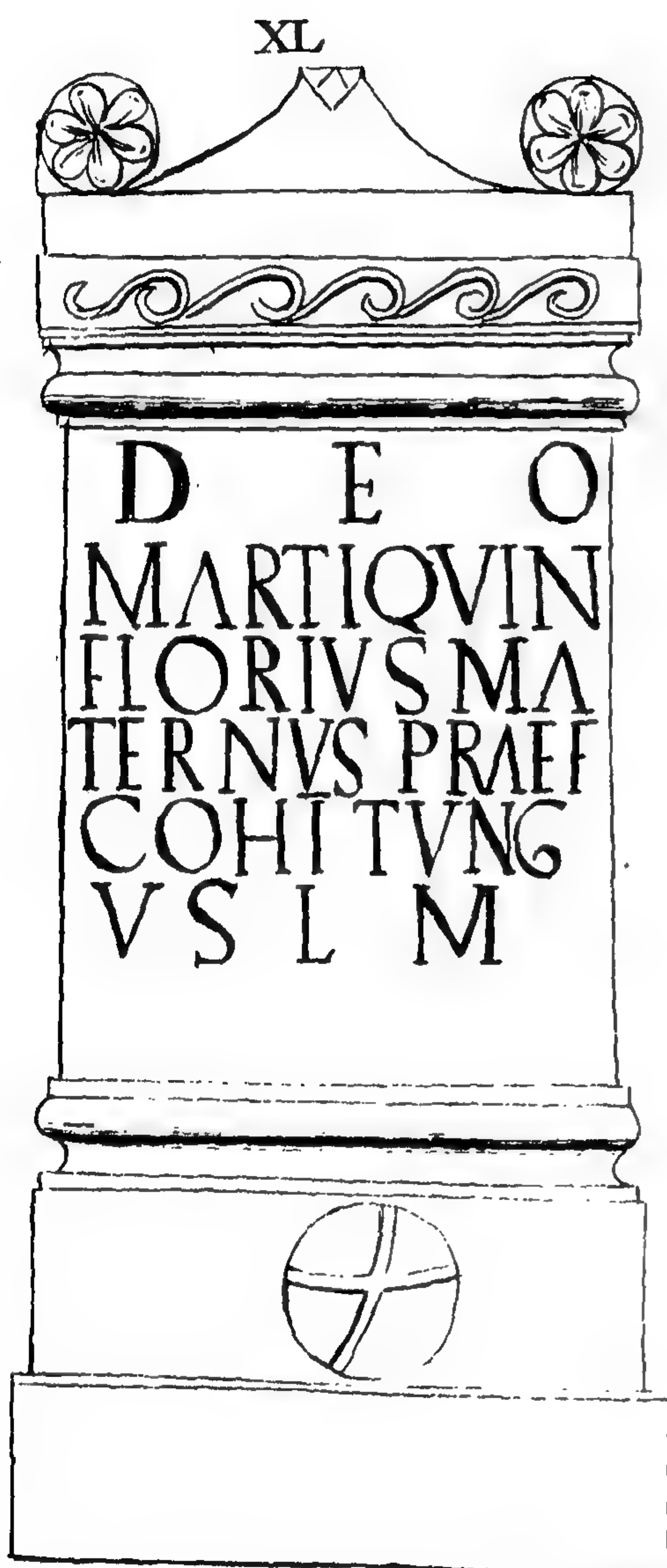


XXXIX



Jovi Optimo Maximo et numini-
bus Anguli cohors prima
Tungrorum cui praeest Quintus
Julius Maximus *praefectus*.....

NORTHUMB ERLAND



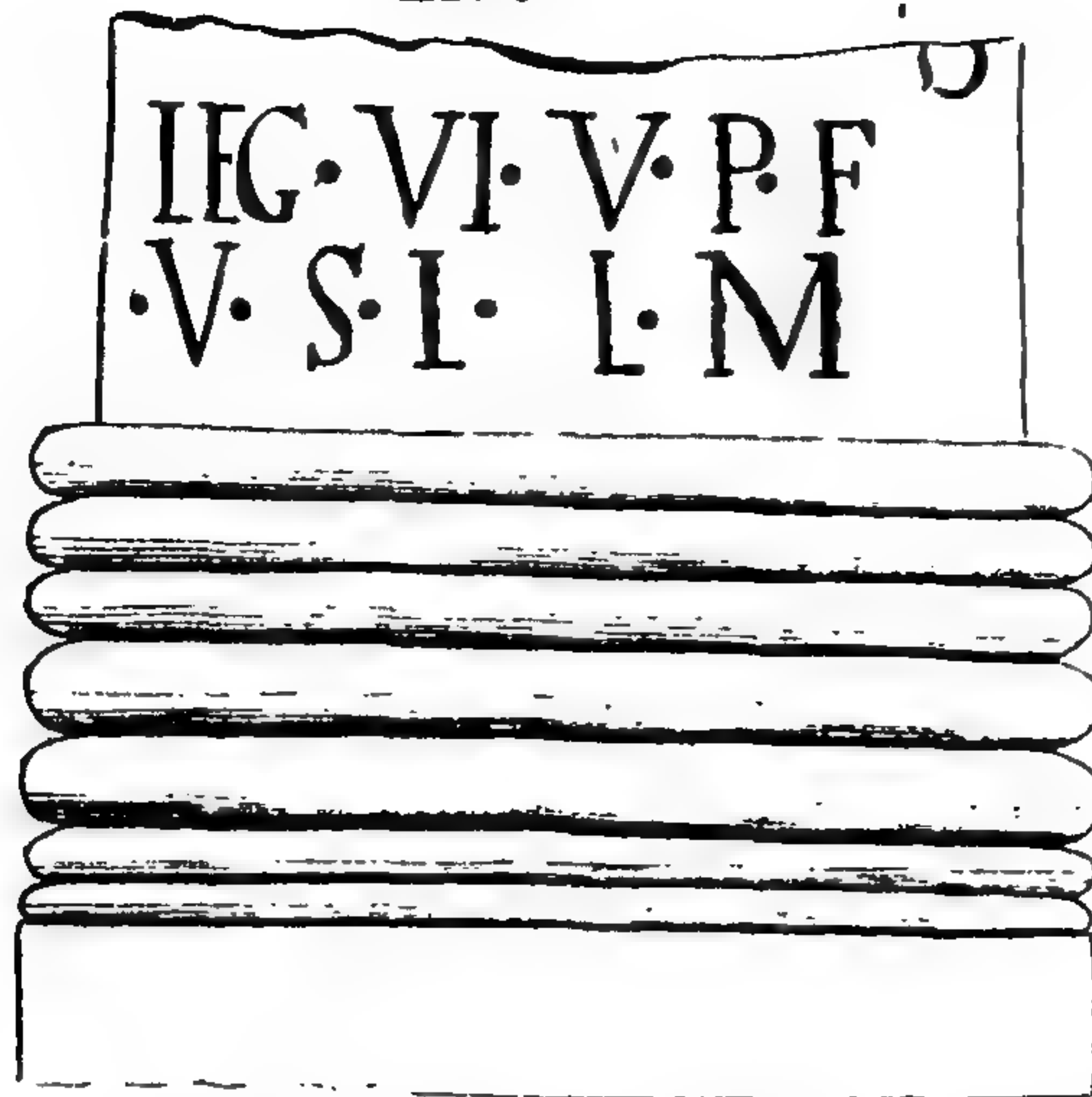
Deo Marti Quintus Florius Maternus
praefectus cohortis primae Tungro-
rum votum solvit libens merito



Herculi cohors prima Tungarum mi-
litum cui praest Publius Ae-
lius Modestus praefectus

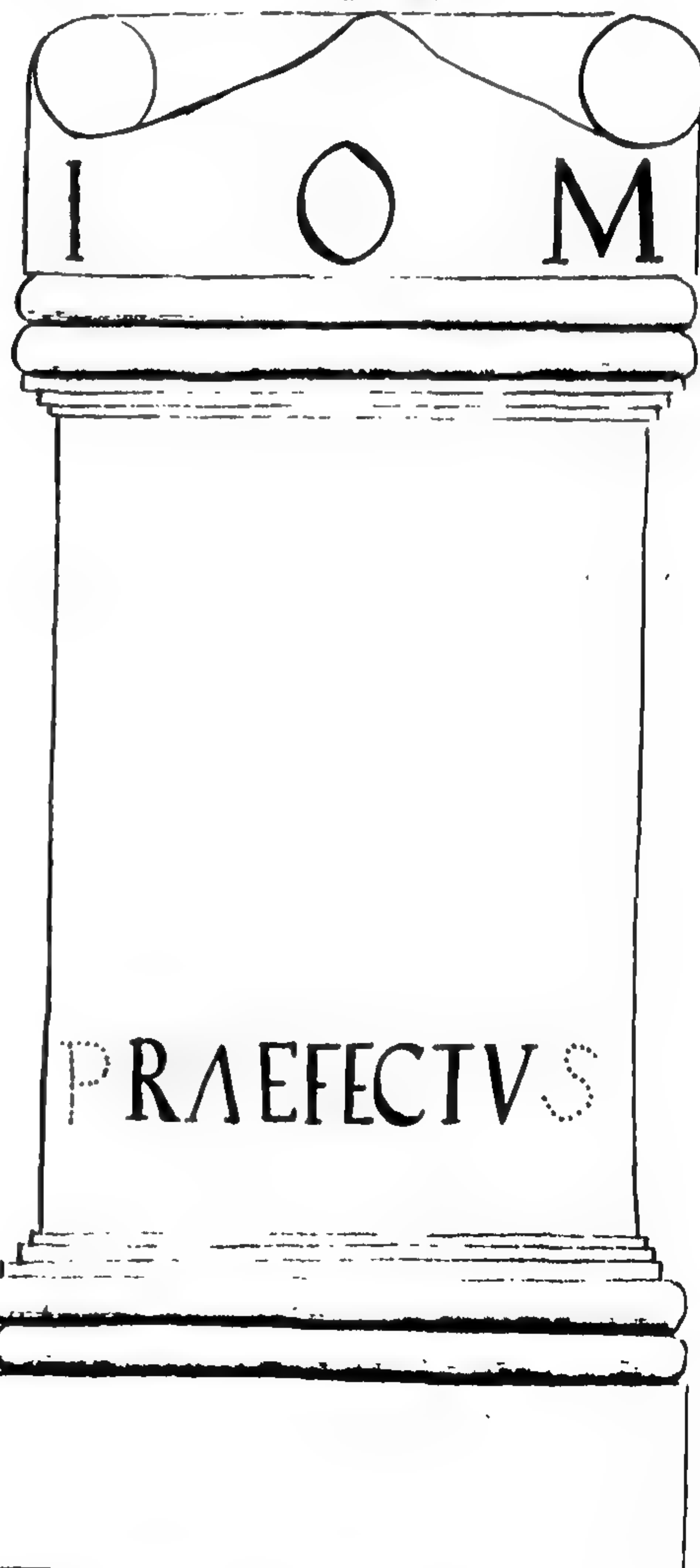
NORTHUMBERLAND ^{P. 192 N. 17.}

XLIV



.....centurio legionis sextae victricis
piae fidelis votum solvit libentissime
merito

XLIII



Jovi Optimo Maximo.....
.....praefectus

XLII



Matribus cohors prima Tungrorum

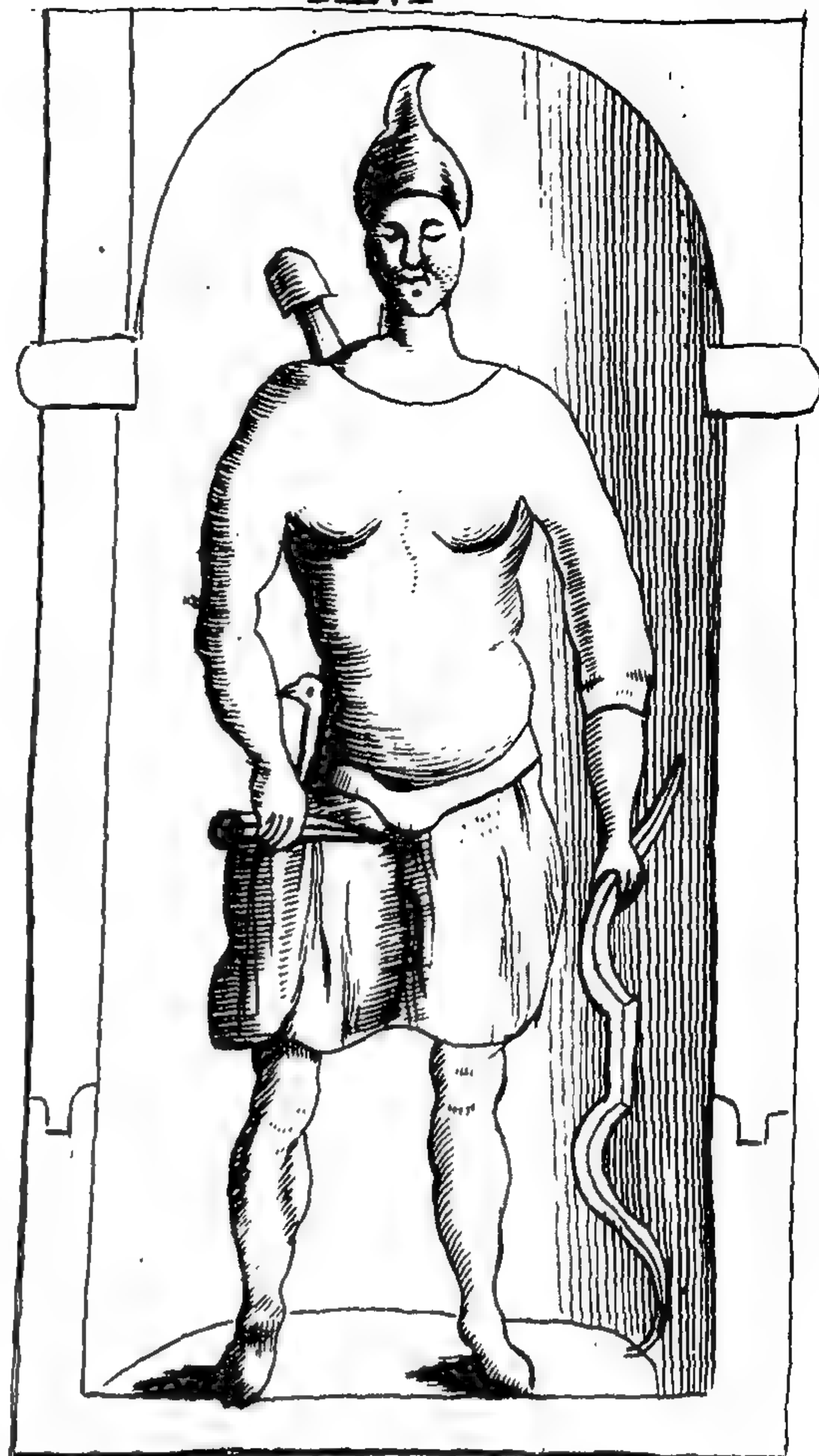
NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192 N. 18.

XLV



XLVI



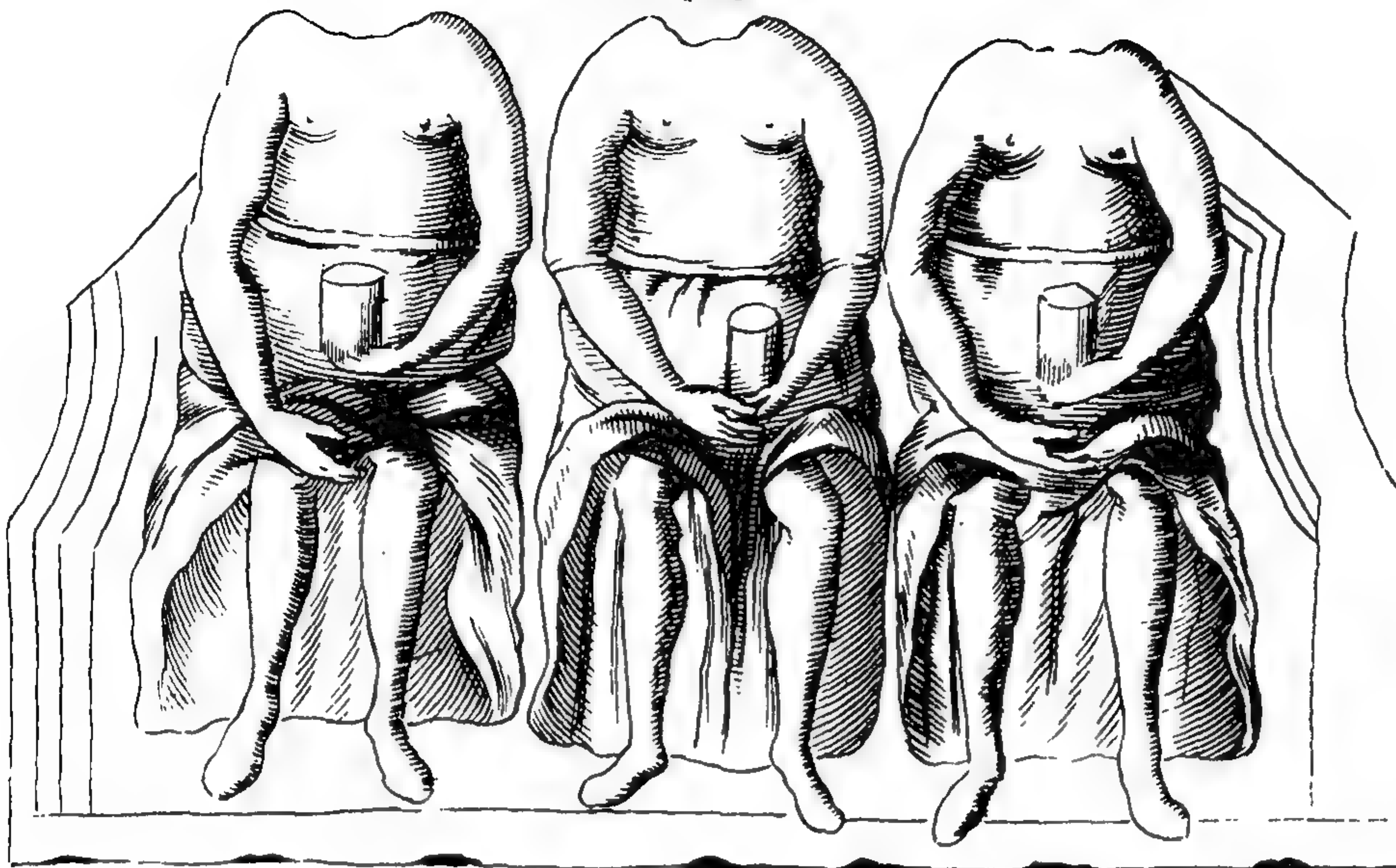
XLVII



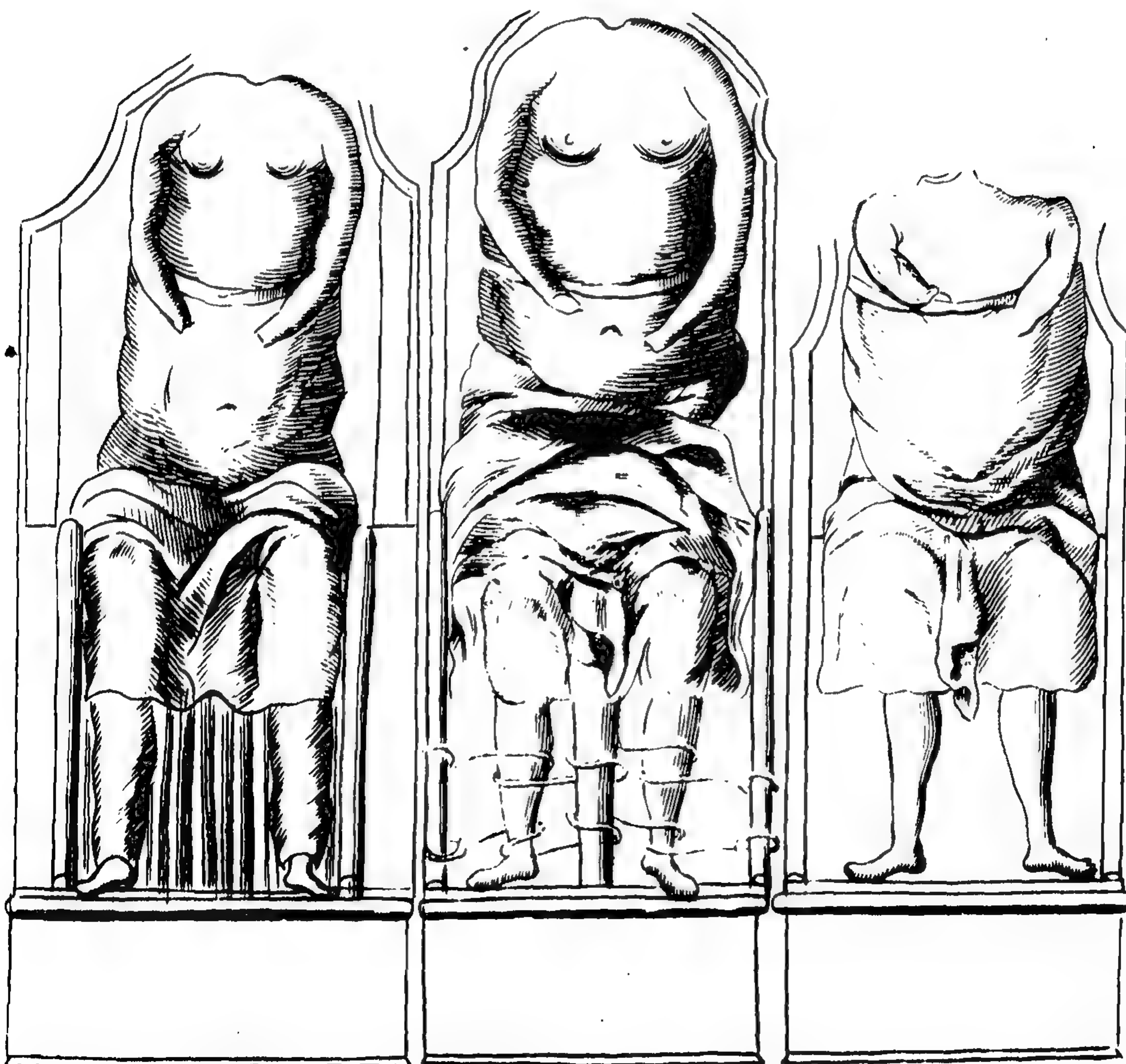
NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192. N. 19.

XLVIII

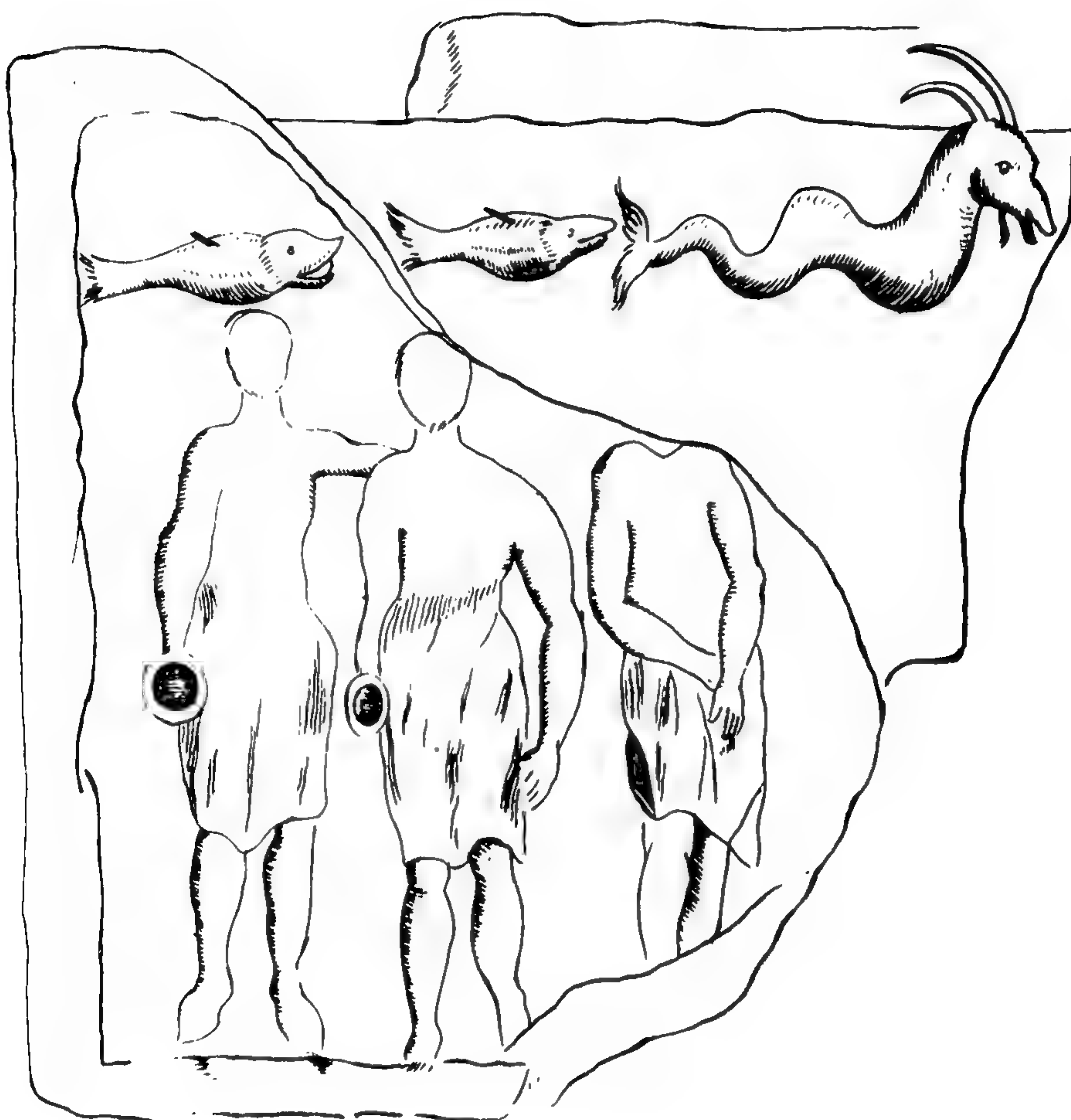


XLIX



NORTHUMBERLAND

L

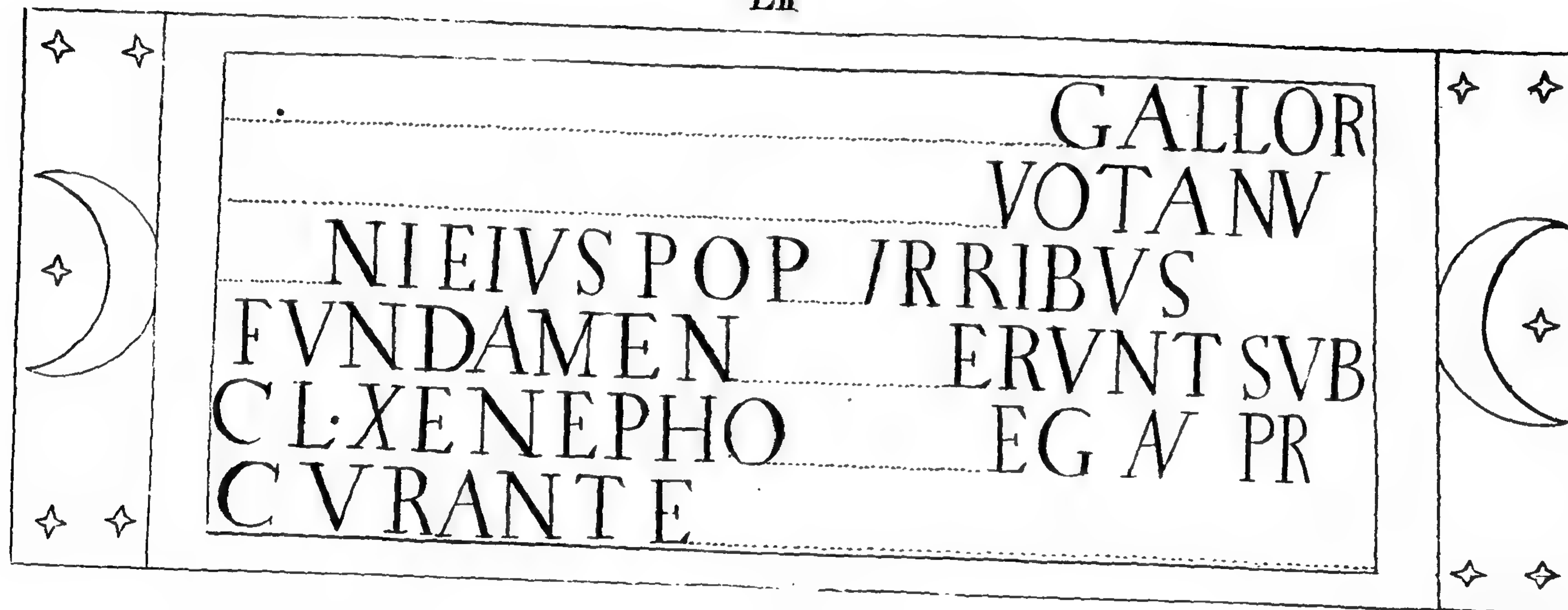


LI



NORTHUMBERLAND

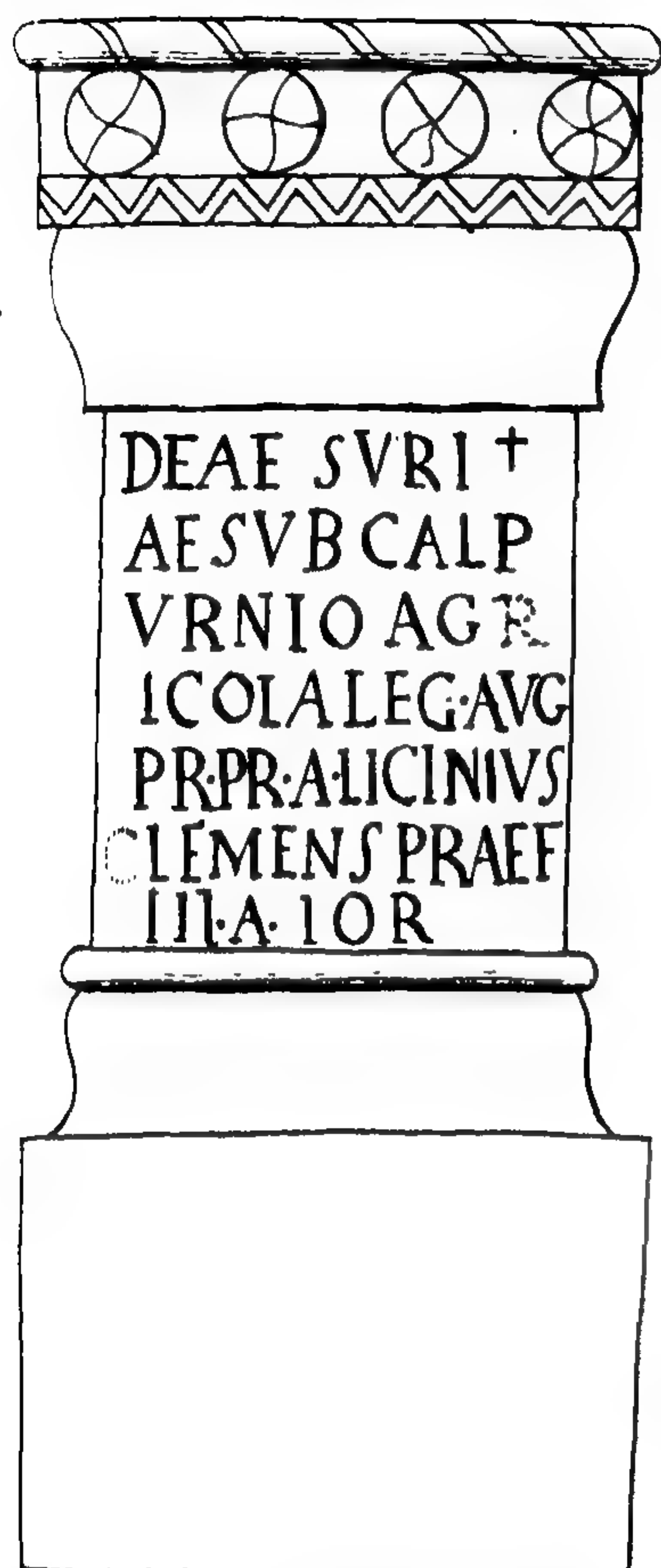
LII



..... Gallorumvota
 numini ejus principis optimi turribus fundamenta posuerunt sub
 Claudio Xenephonte legato Augustali propraetore curante.....

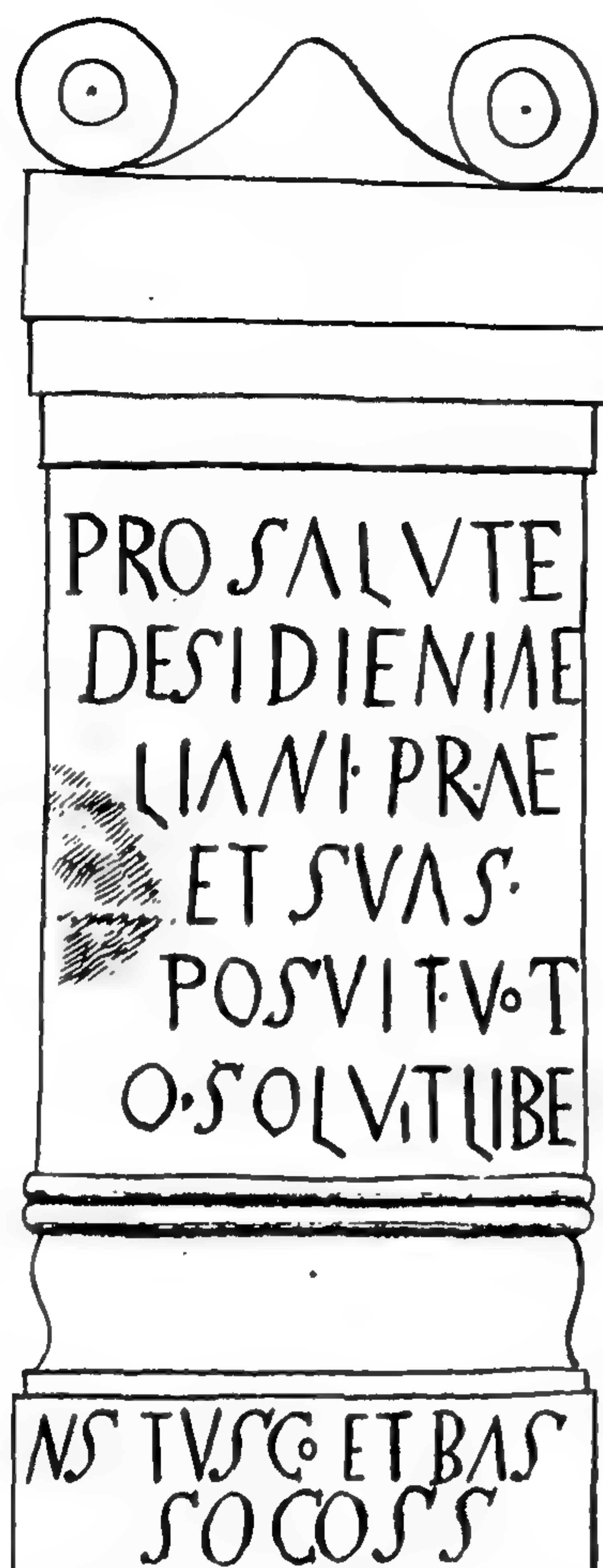
NORTHUMBERLAND.

L III



Deae Suriae sub Calpurnio Agrico legato Augustali propraetore Aulus Licinius Clemens praefectus *cohortis primae Hamiorum* [vel *cohortis quartae Gallorum*]

LIV



Pro salute Desidienii Aeliani praefecti et sua sacrum posuit voto solvit libens Fusco et Basso consulibus

LV



Fortunae populi Romani Caius Julius Ralticus *centurio* legionis sextae victricis

LVI



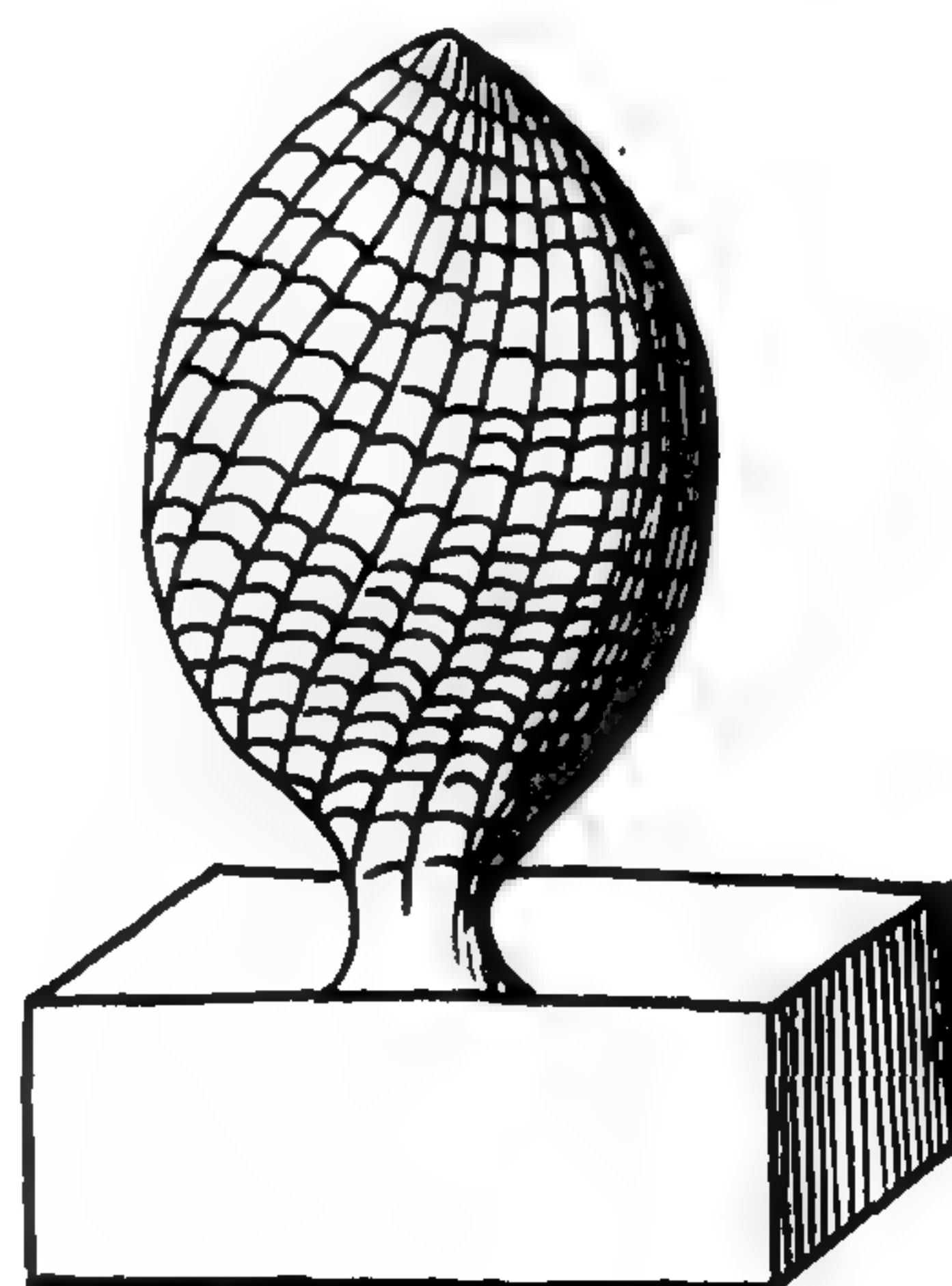
Legio sexta Victrix

LVII



Antonino pia

LVIII



NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192 N. 23.

LIX



Bono reipublicae nato

LX



Tertiae cohortis vexillum

LVIII



Deo Mercurio

LXI

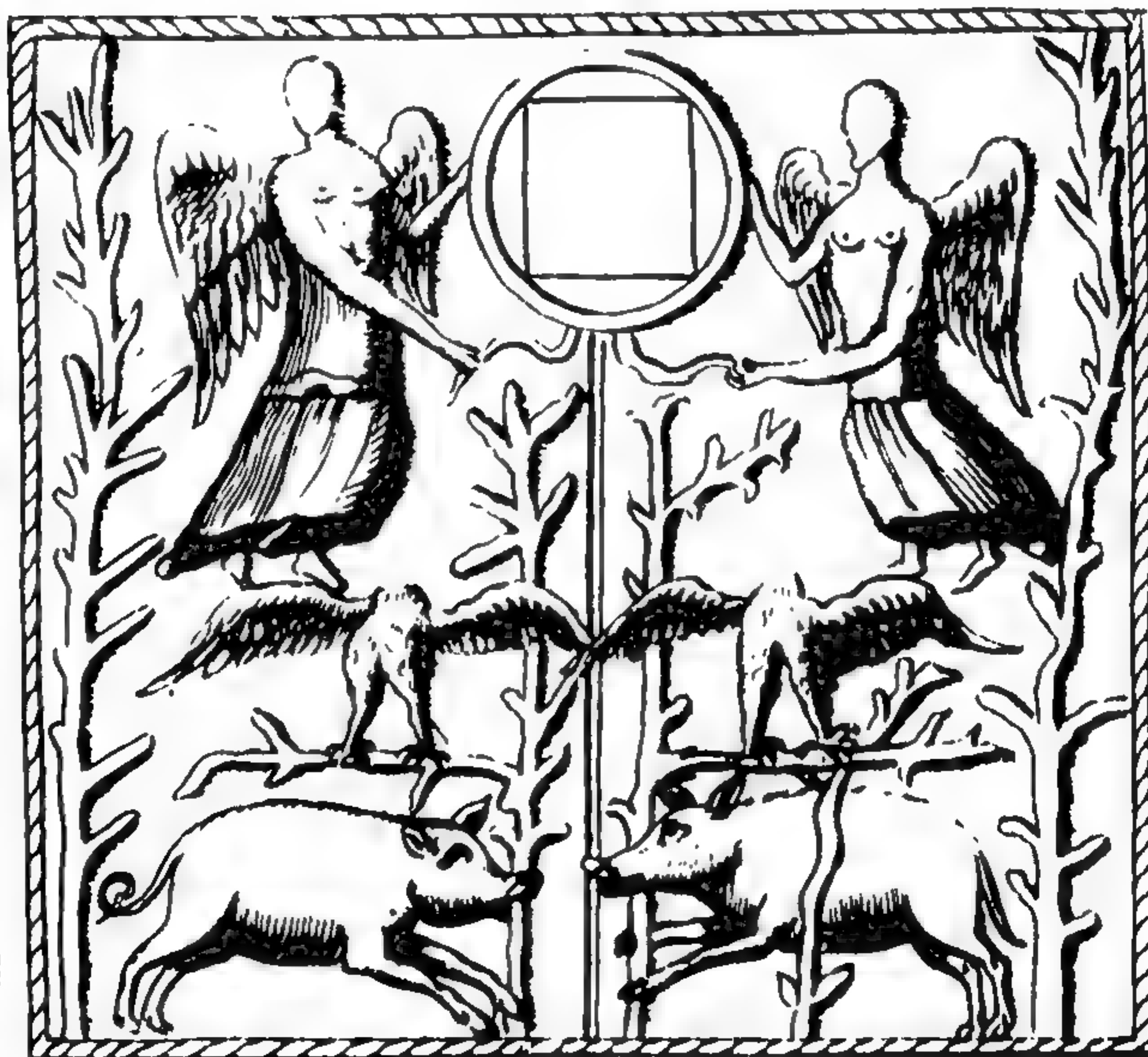


Dis Manibus dicatum Sa-
binae Ilinae Regulus Duilius

LXII

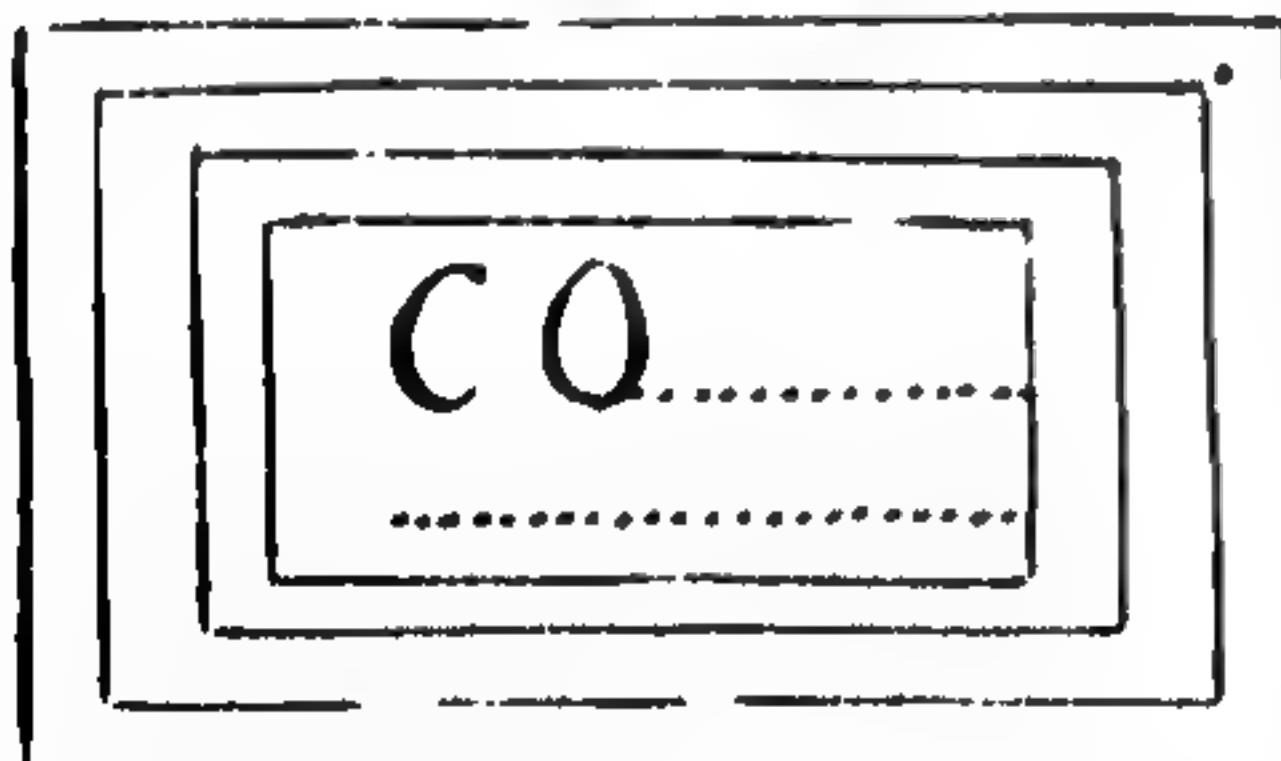


LXIII

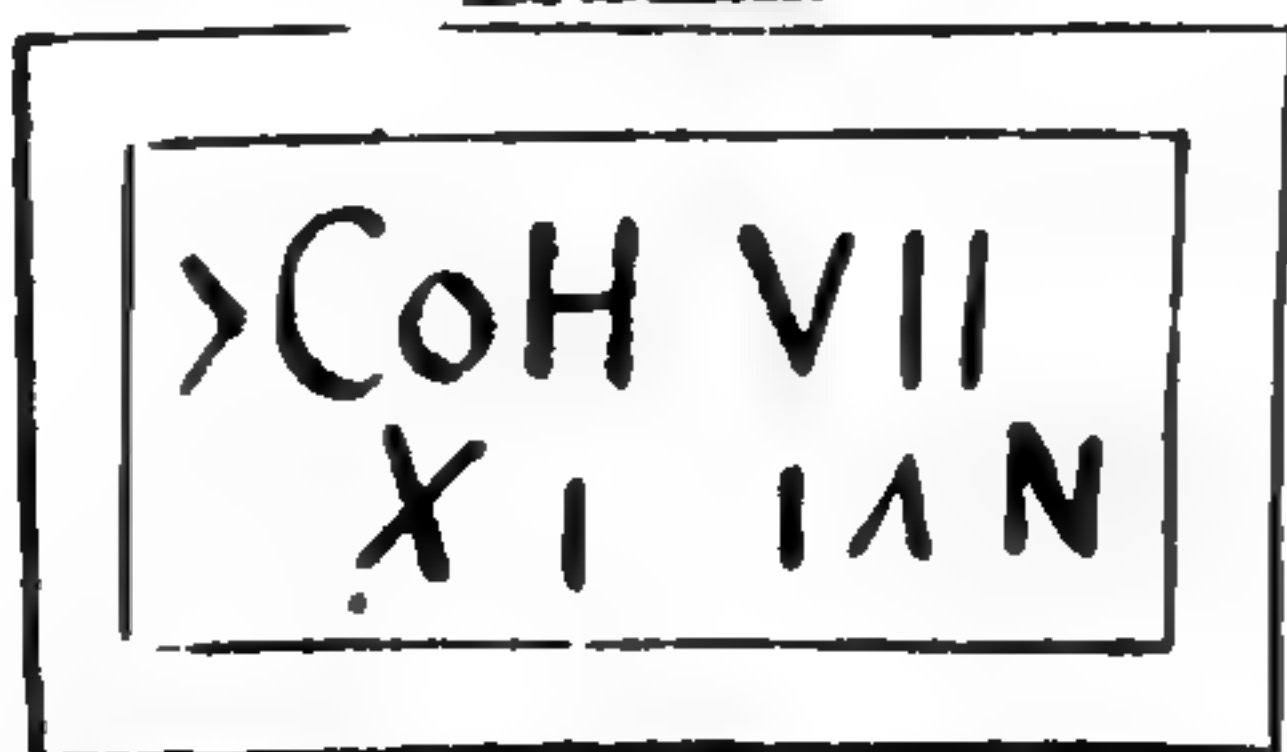


LXIII

LXIII



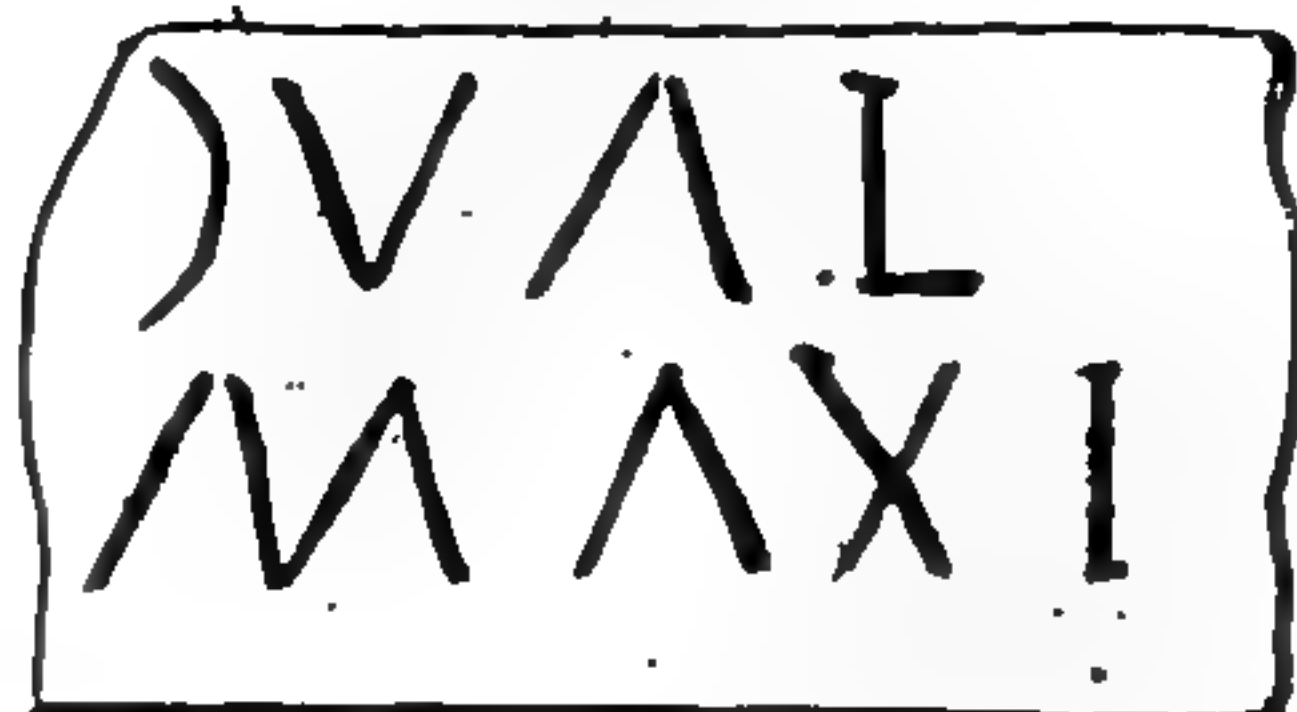
Cohors.....



Centuria cohortis septi-
mae Maximiana posuit

NORTHUMBERLAND

LXIV. α.



Centuria Valerii Maximi

LXIV. β.



D M
AEL MERCV
RIAL CORNICV
VACIA SOROR
FECIT

Dis Manibus Aelio Mercuriali corniculario
Vacía soror fecit.

LXIV. γ.



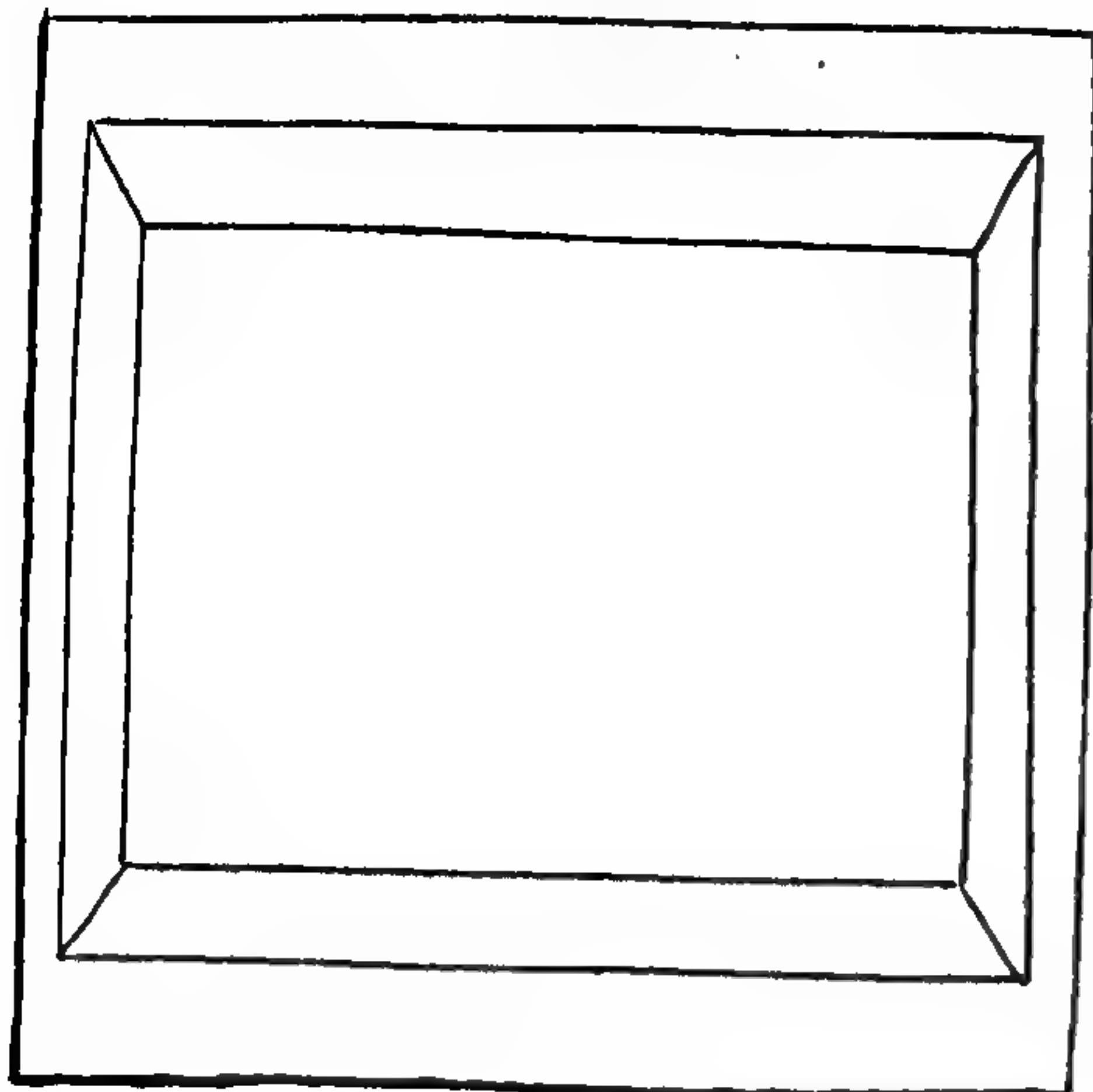
D I S M

PERVICAE FILIA F

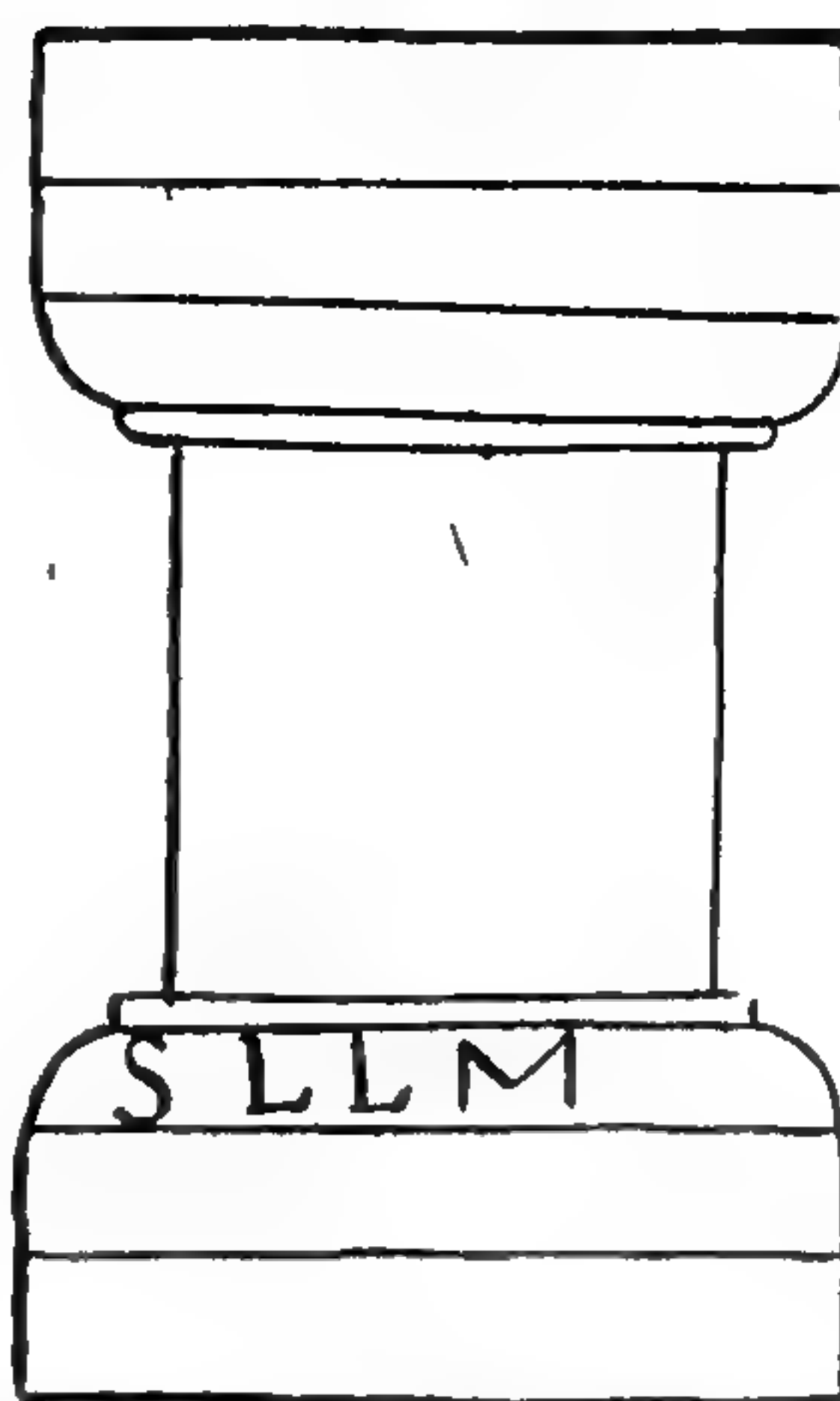
Dis Manibus Pervicae filia fecit

NORTHUMBERLAND P. 192 N. 25.

LXV



LXVI



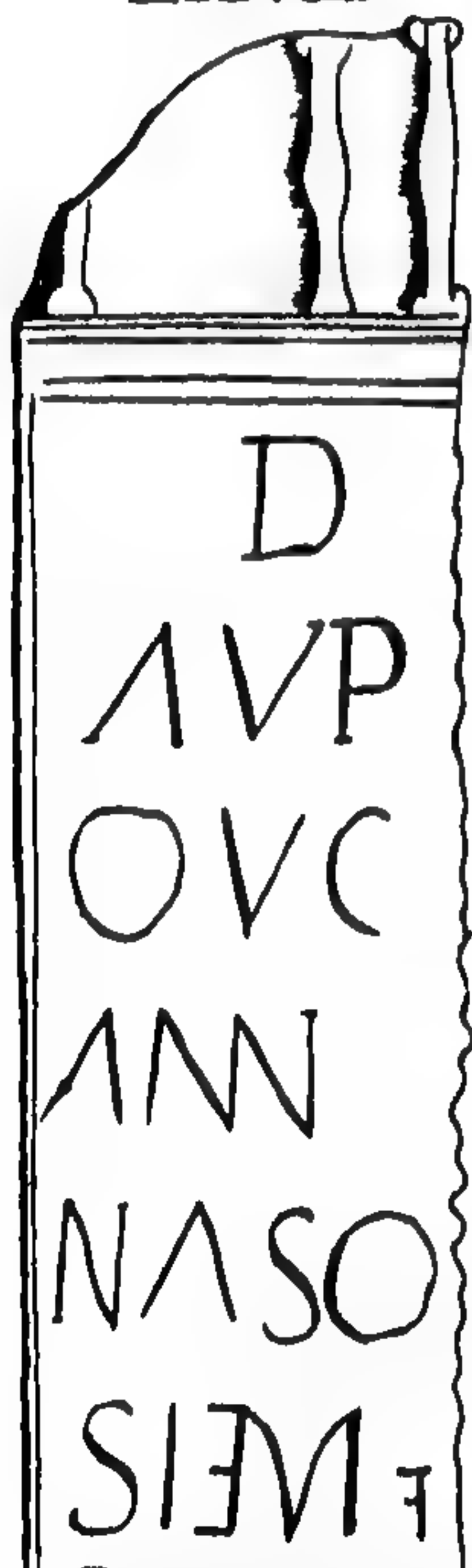
Solvit libentissime
merito

LXVII



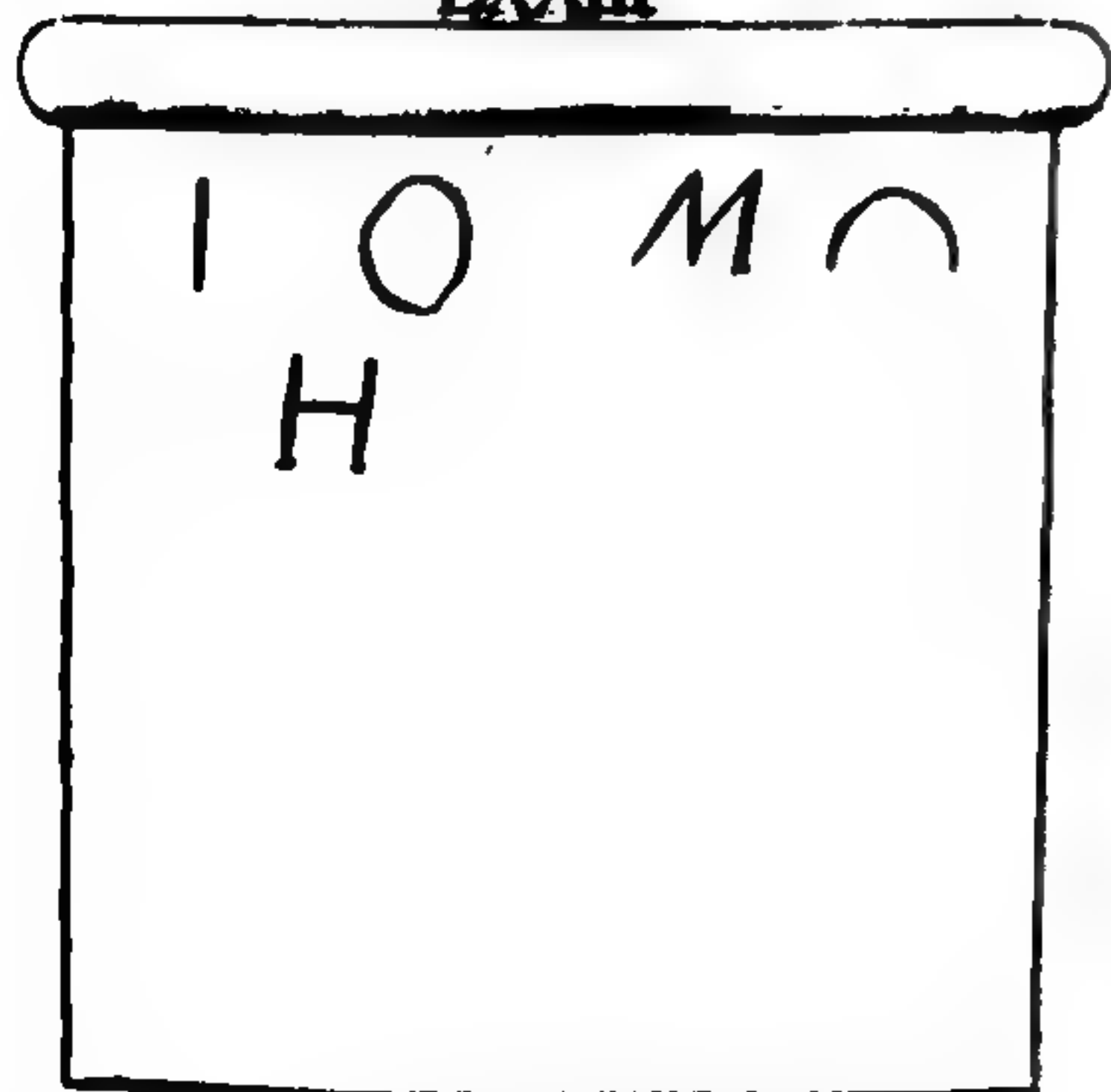
Deo Vitiri Menius Dada
votum solvit libens
merito

LXVIII



Dis Manibus Aurelia Pubeo
Voma vixit annos..... Aureli-
us Pubeo Naso pientissimae
filiae dicat.....

LXXIII



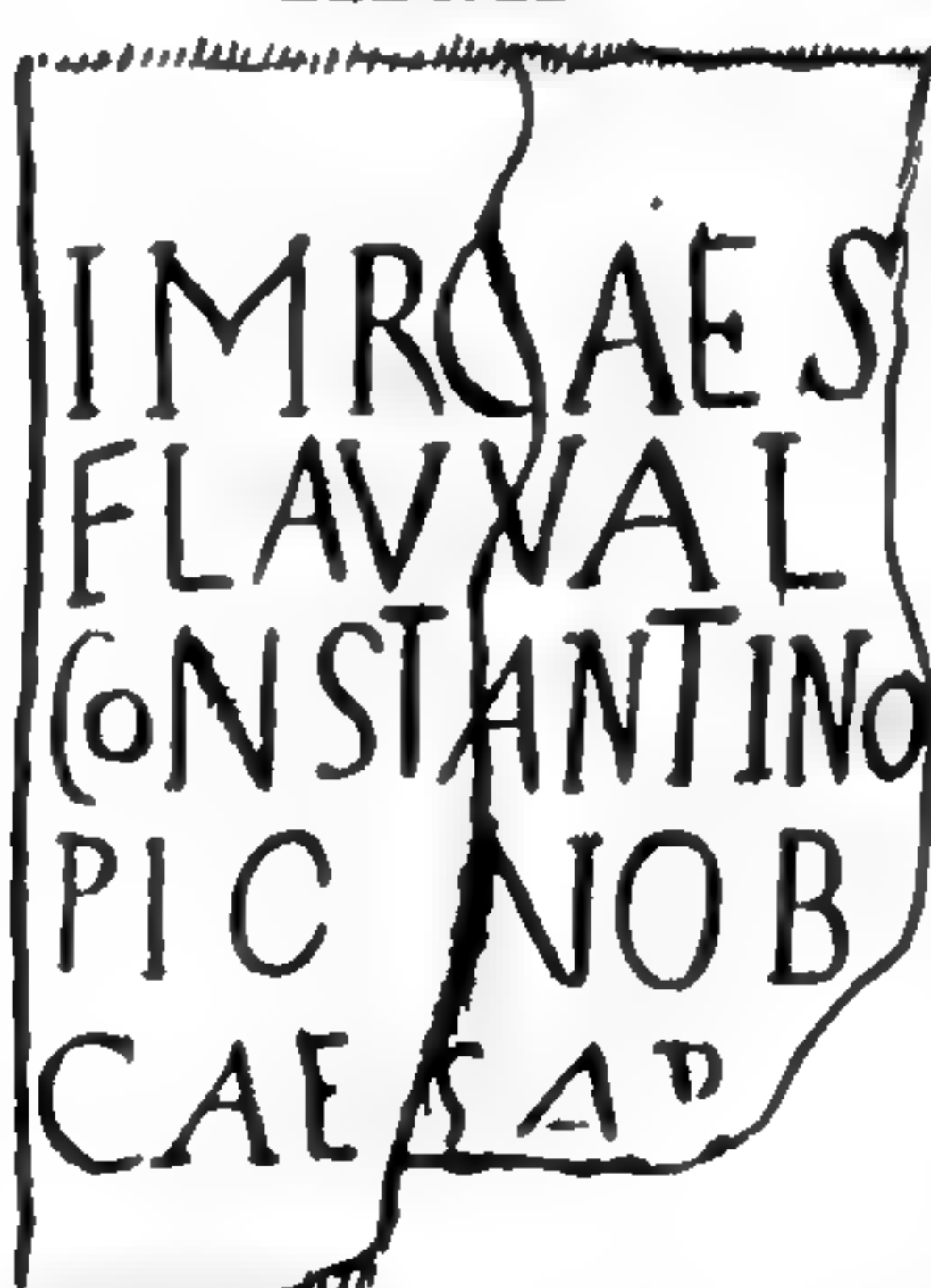
Jovi Optimo Maximo

LXIX



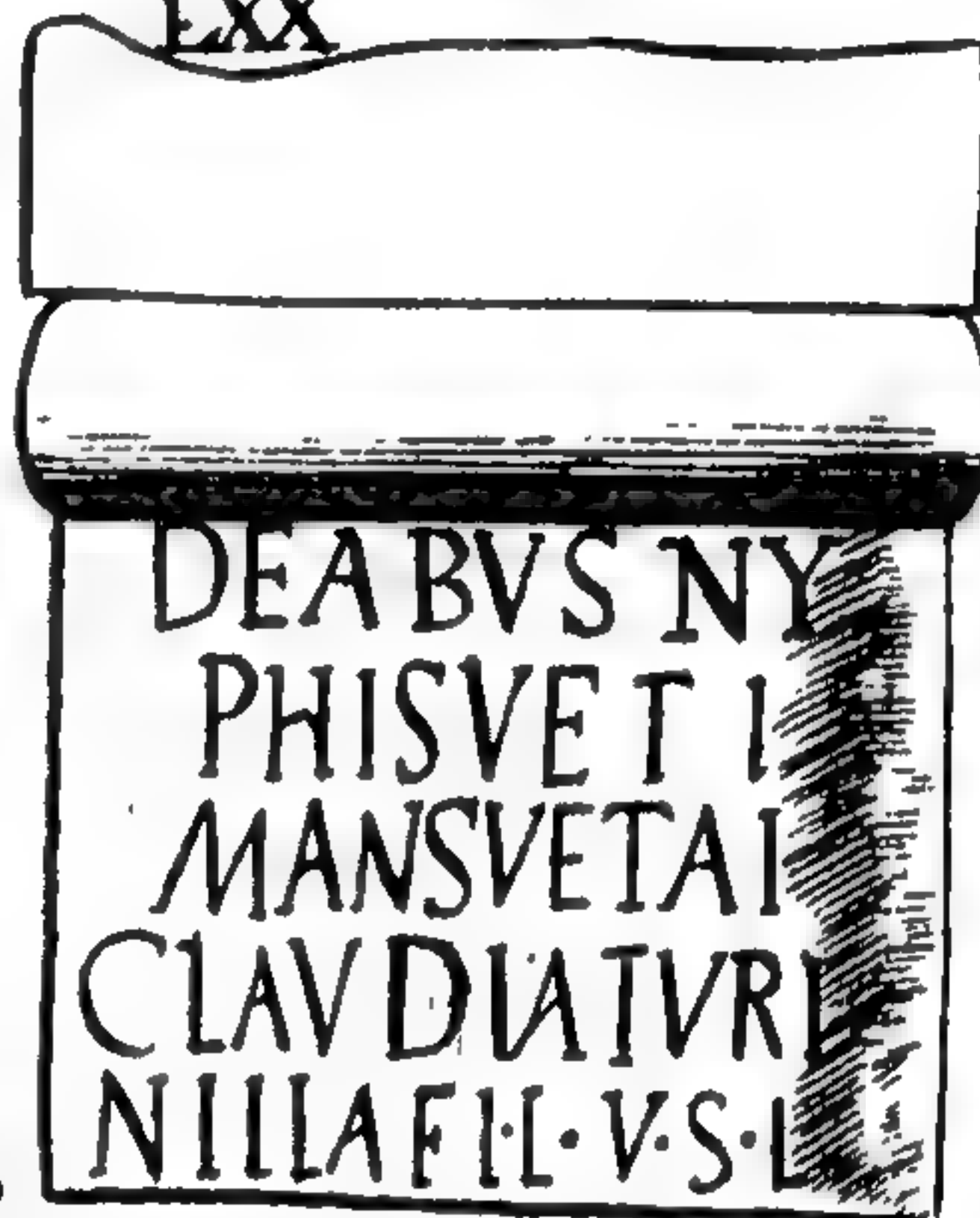
Dirus Vitiri-
bus Deccius
votum solvit
libens merito

LXXI



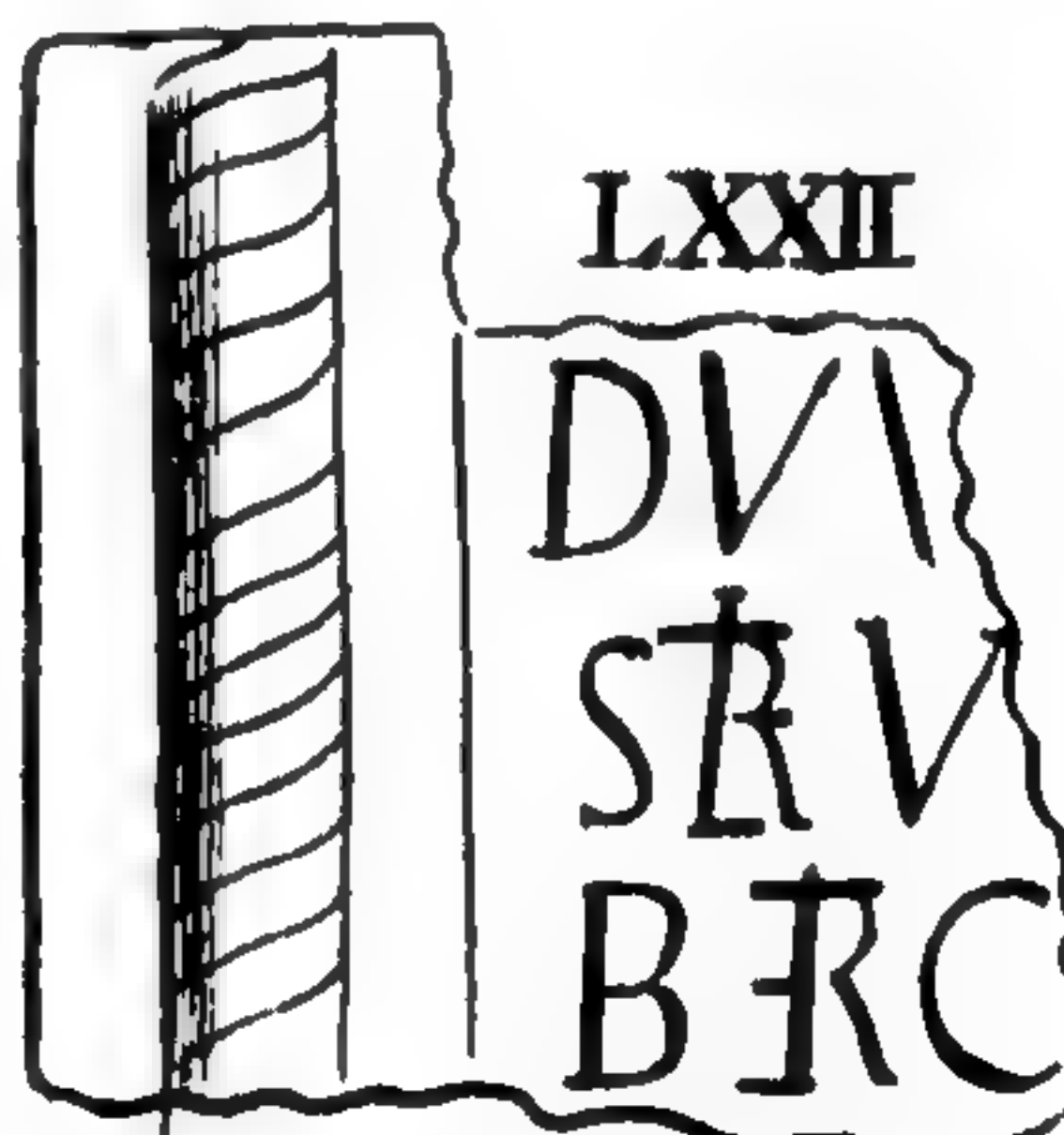
Imperatori Caesari
Flavio Valerio Con-
stantino pio nobilif-
simo Caesari

LXX



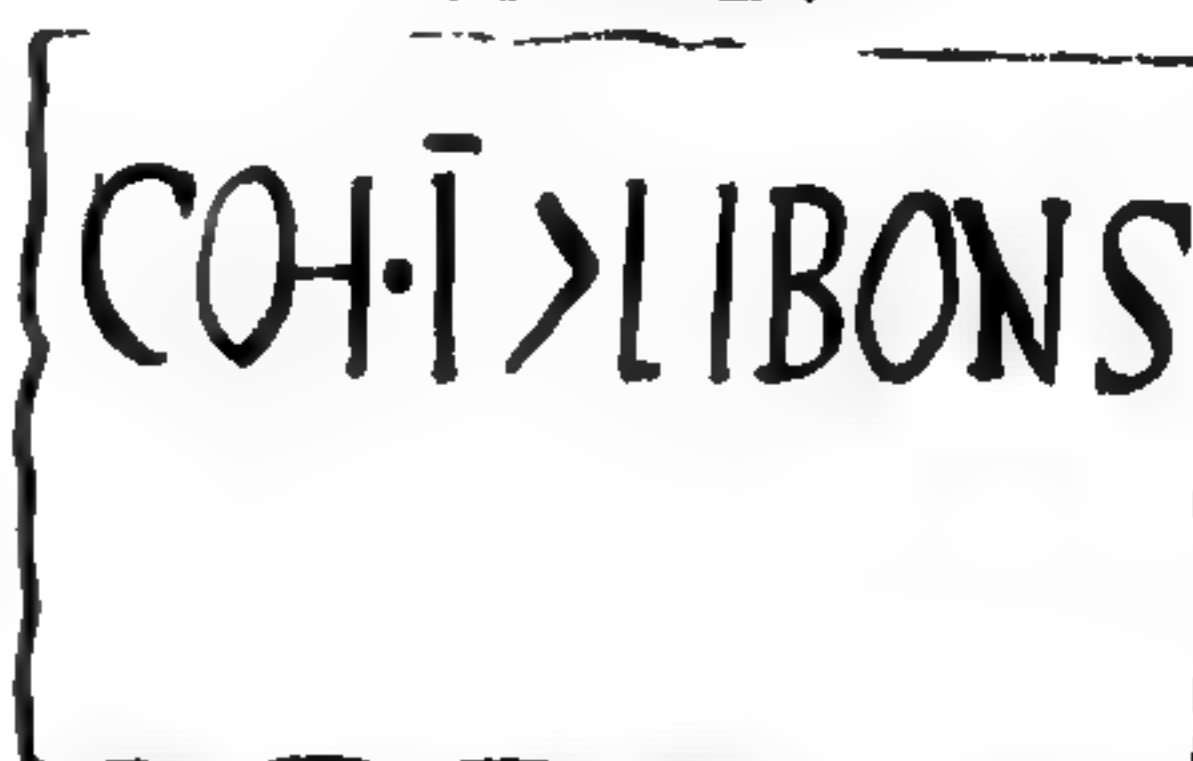
Deabus Nymphis
Vetia Manfueta et Clau-
dia Tirbinilla filia vo-
tum solverunt libentes

LXXII



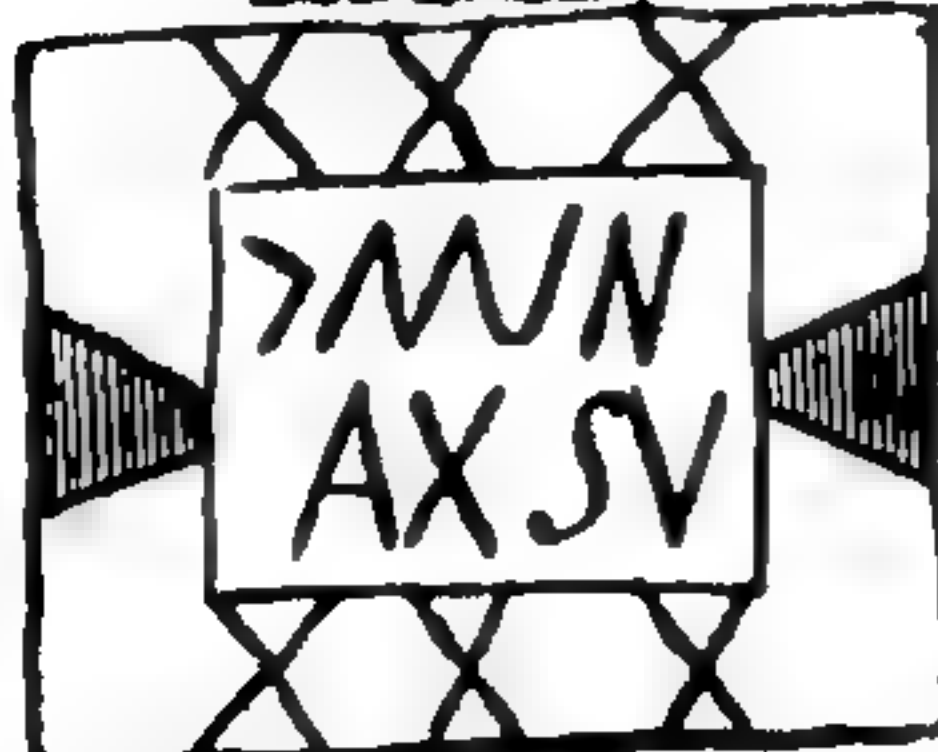
Du.....
Stireu.....
Betro.....

LXXV



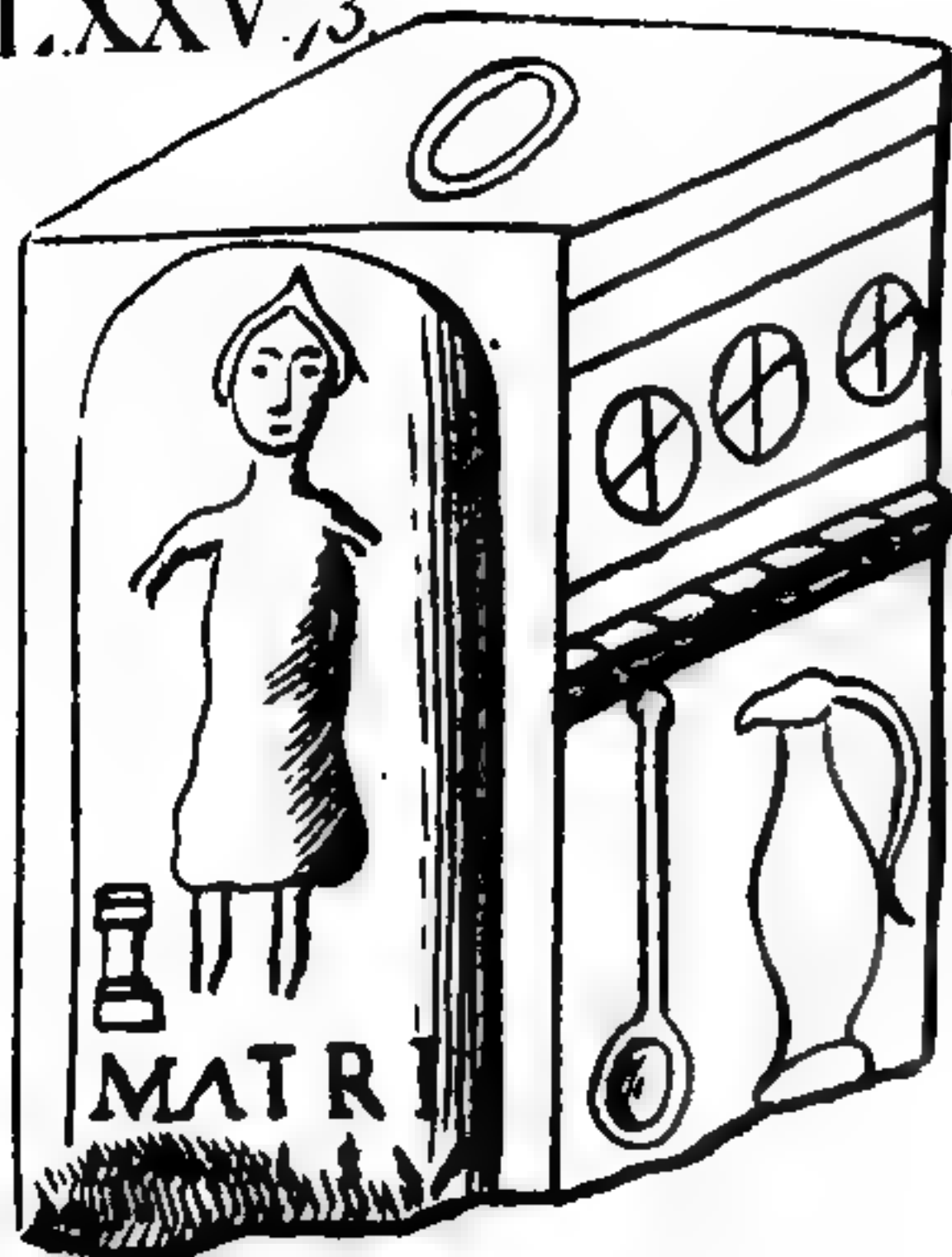
Cohortis primae centu-
rio Libonius posuit

LXXIV



Centurio Munax
solvit votum

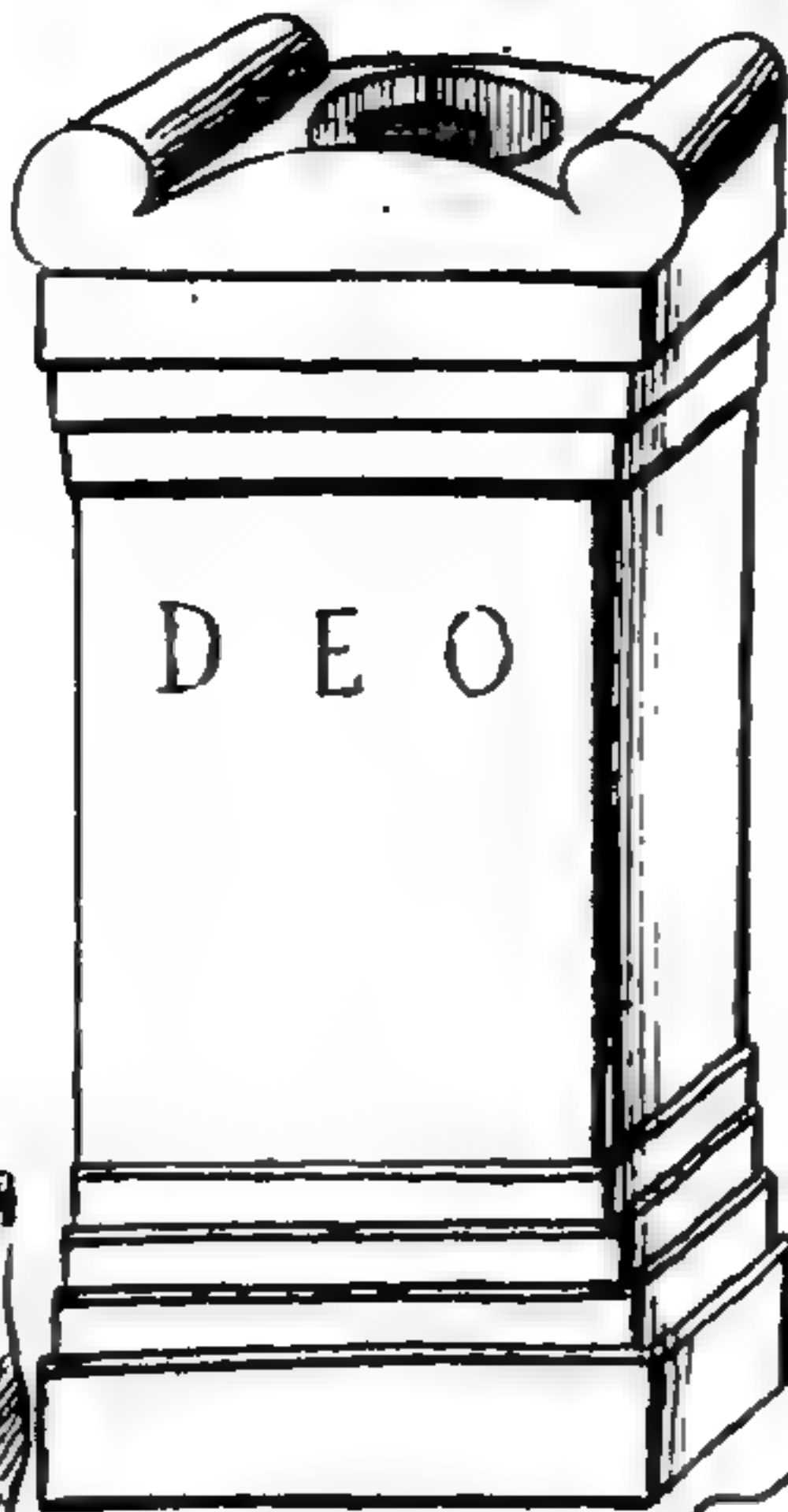
LXXV.3



Matribus

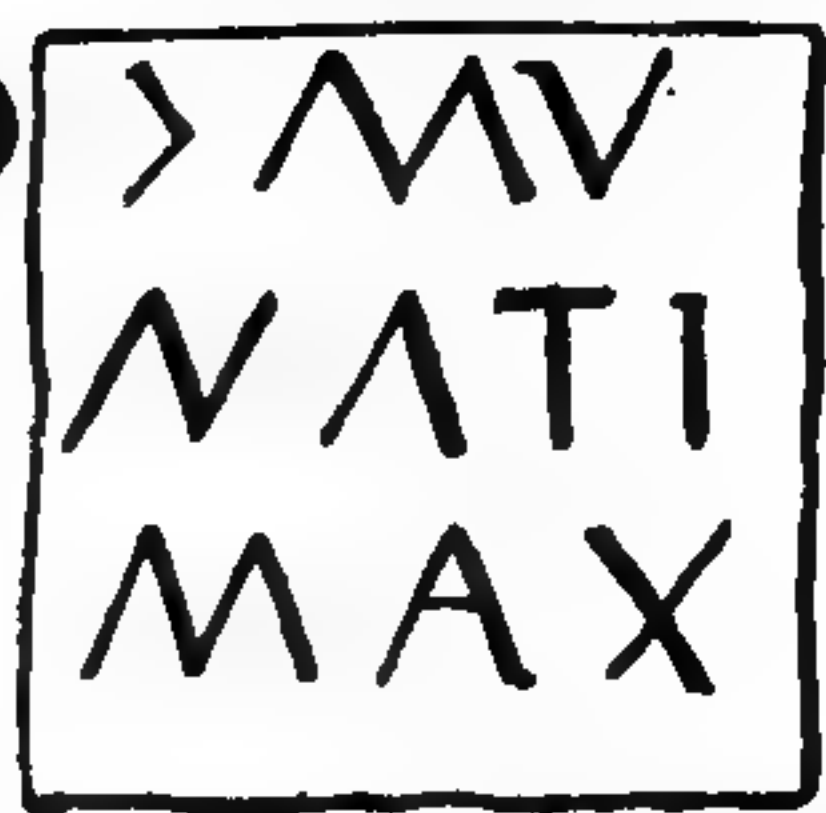
NORTHUMBERLAND

LXXXIX α.



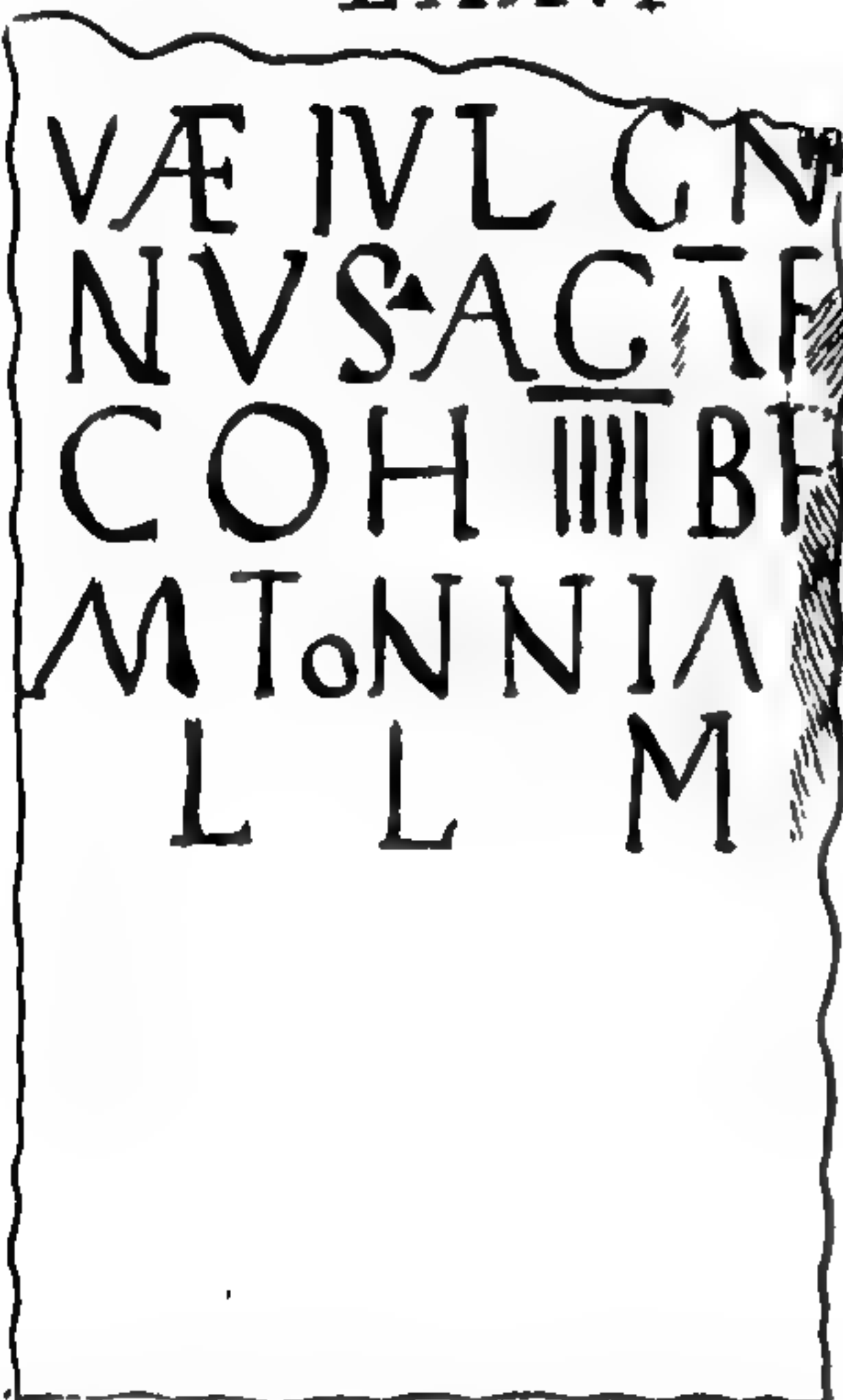
Deo.

F. 192 N. 26.
LXXV α.



Centuria Munatii Maximi

LXXVI



Minervae Iulius Gneius actarius cohortis quartae Brittonum Antoninae votum solvit libentissime merito

LXXVII



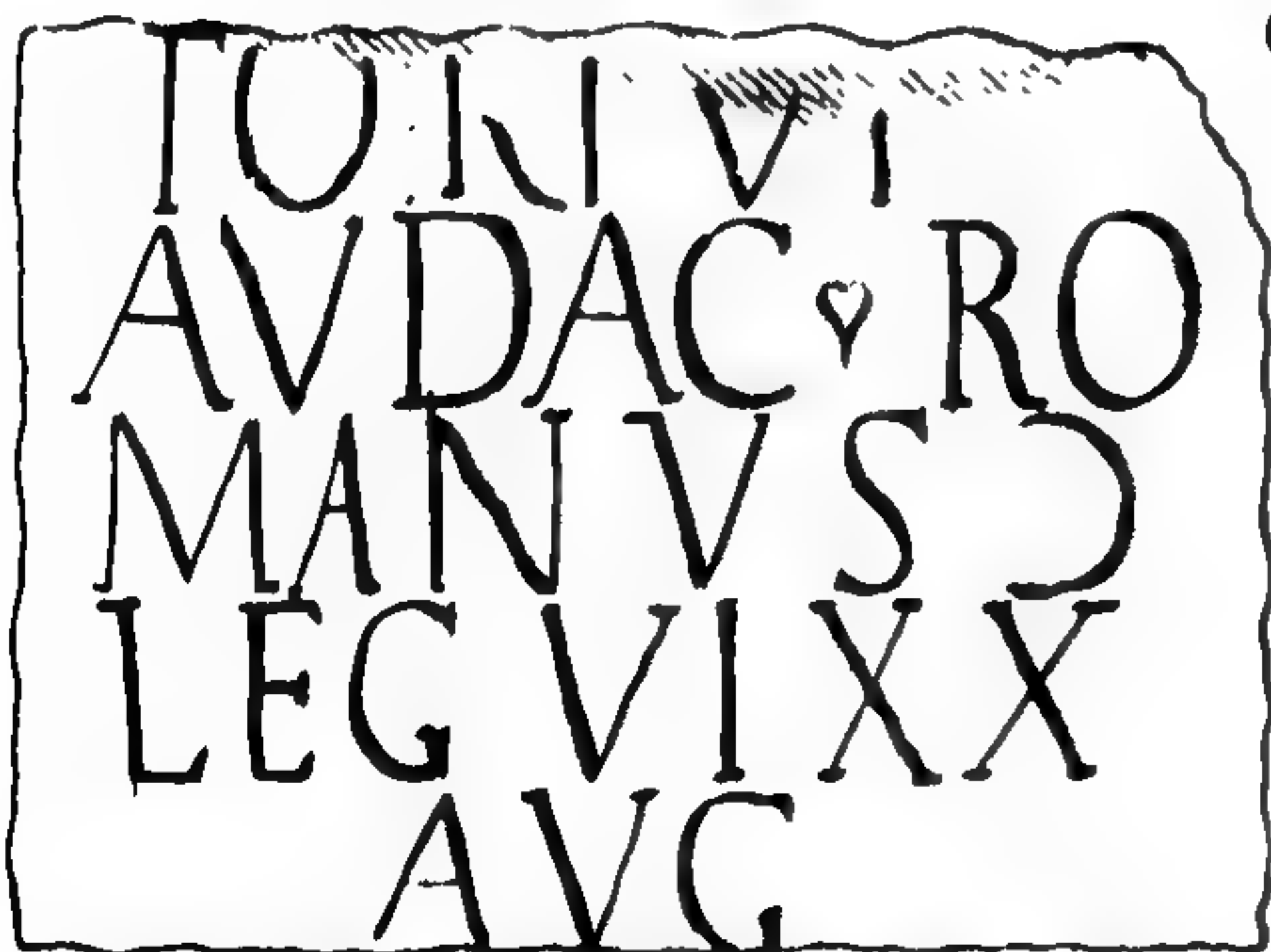
Imperatori Caesari Hadriano legio secunda Apiatorio

LXXV α.



Centuria Vailerii Veri

LXXVIII



Fortunae Audacius Romanus centurio legionis sextae vicesimae Augustae

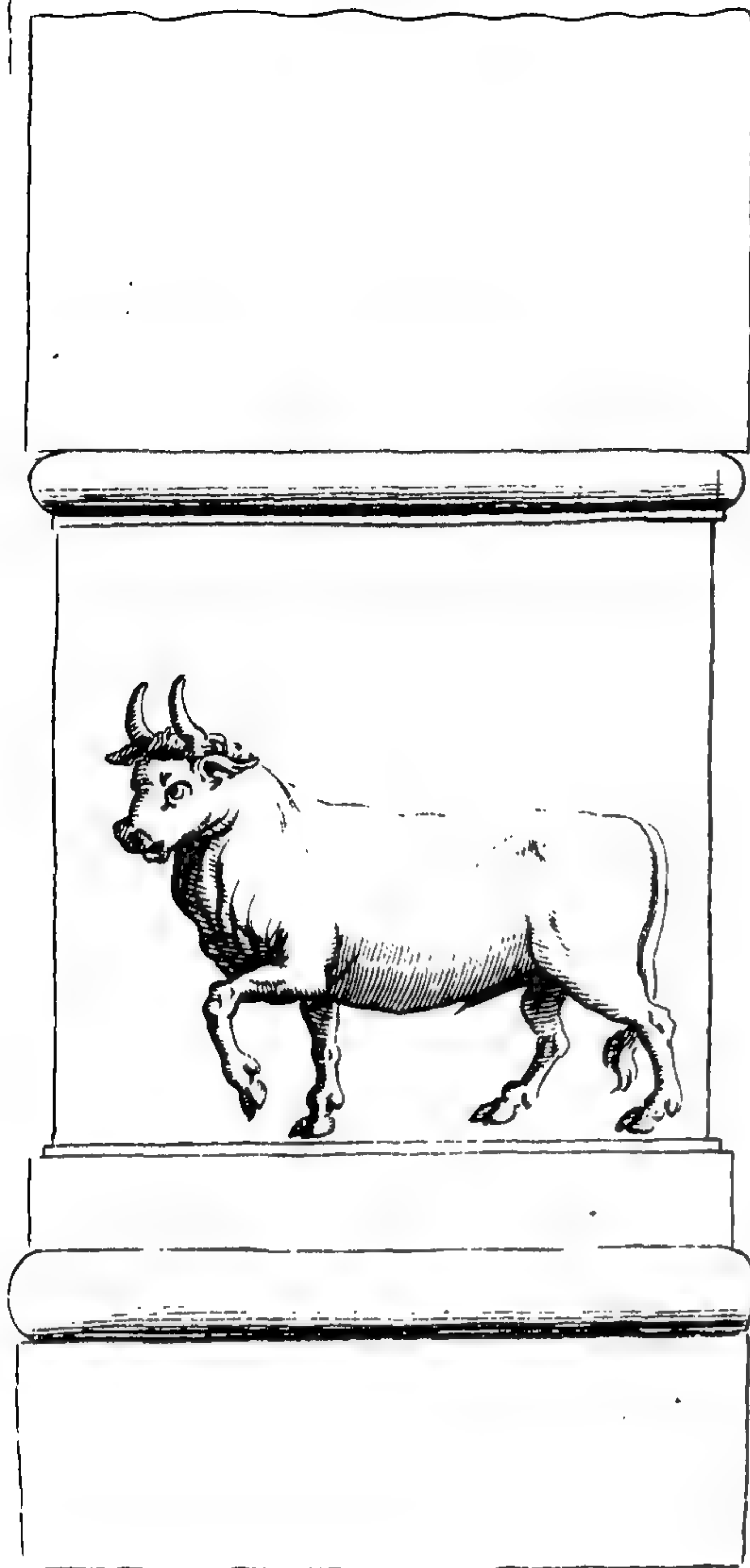
LXXIX



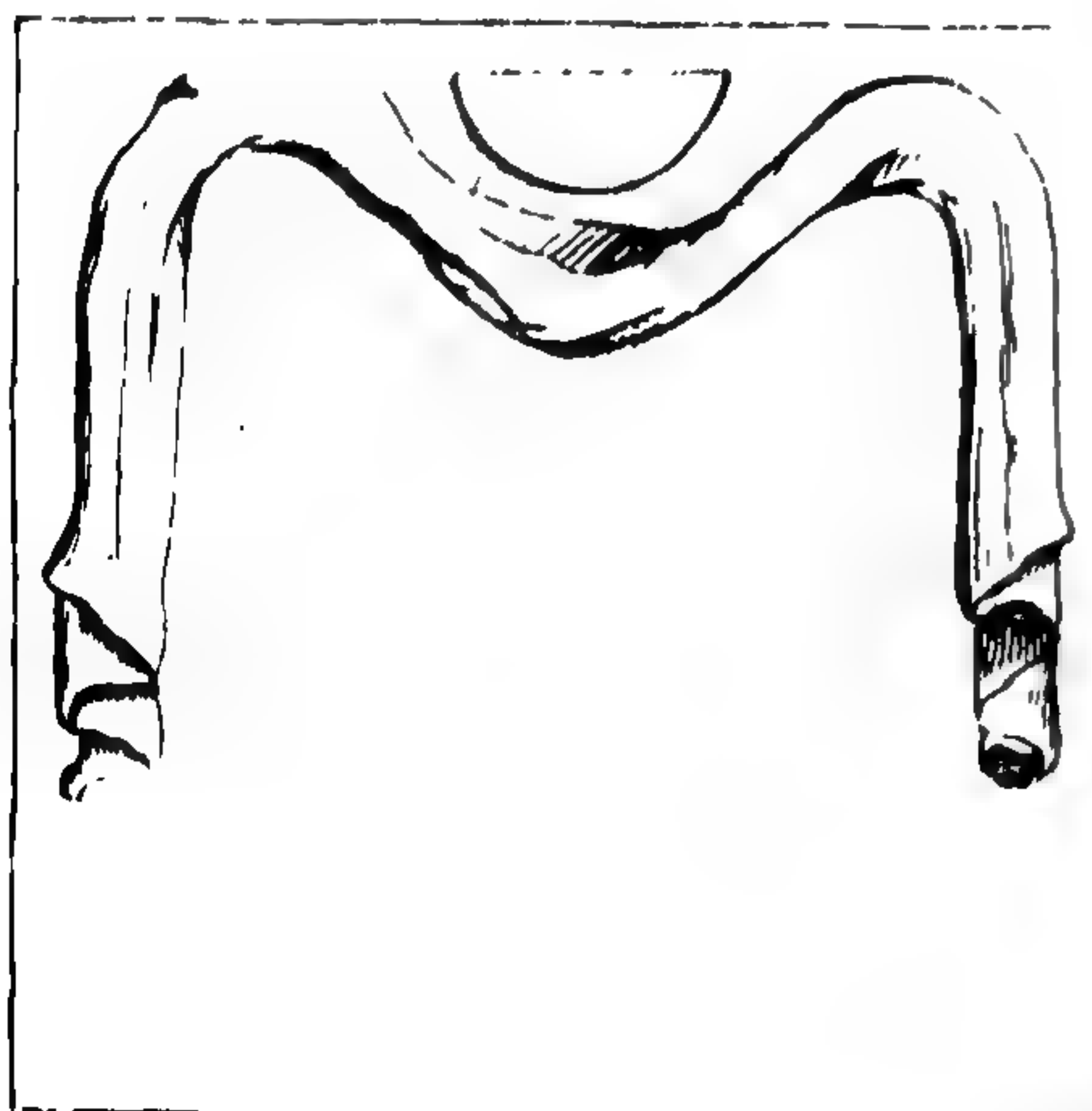
Januaria Secunda solvit

NORTHUMBERLAND ^{P. 192. N. 27}

LXXXI



LXXXI



LXXX

MOGONT CAD
E T N D N A VG
M G SEC ND NVS
BF COS HABITA
NCI PRIM STA
PRO SE ET SVIS POS

*Deo Mogonti Cadenorum et
Numini Domini nostri Augusti
Marcus Gaius Secundinus be-
neficiarius consulis Habitanci
prima statione pro se et suis posuit*

LXXXI

DEO INVICTO
HERCVLI SACR
LAEML SALVANVS
TRB C H T VANGI
V S P M

*Deo invicto Herculi sacrum Lucius Aemi-
lius Salvianus tribunus cohortis primae
Vangionum votum solvens posuit merito*

NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 102 N. 28.

LXXXII

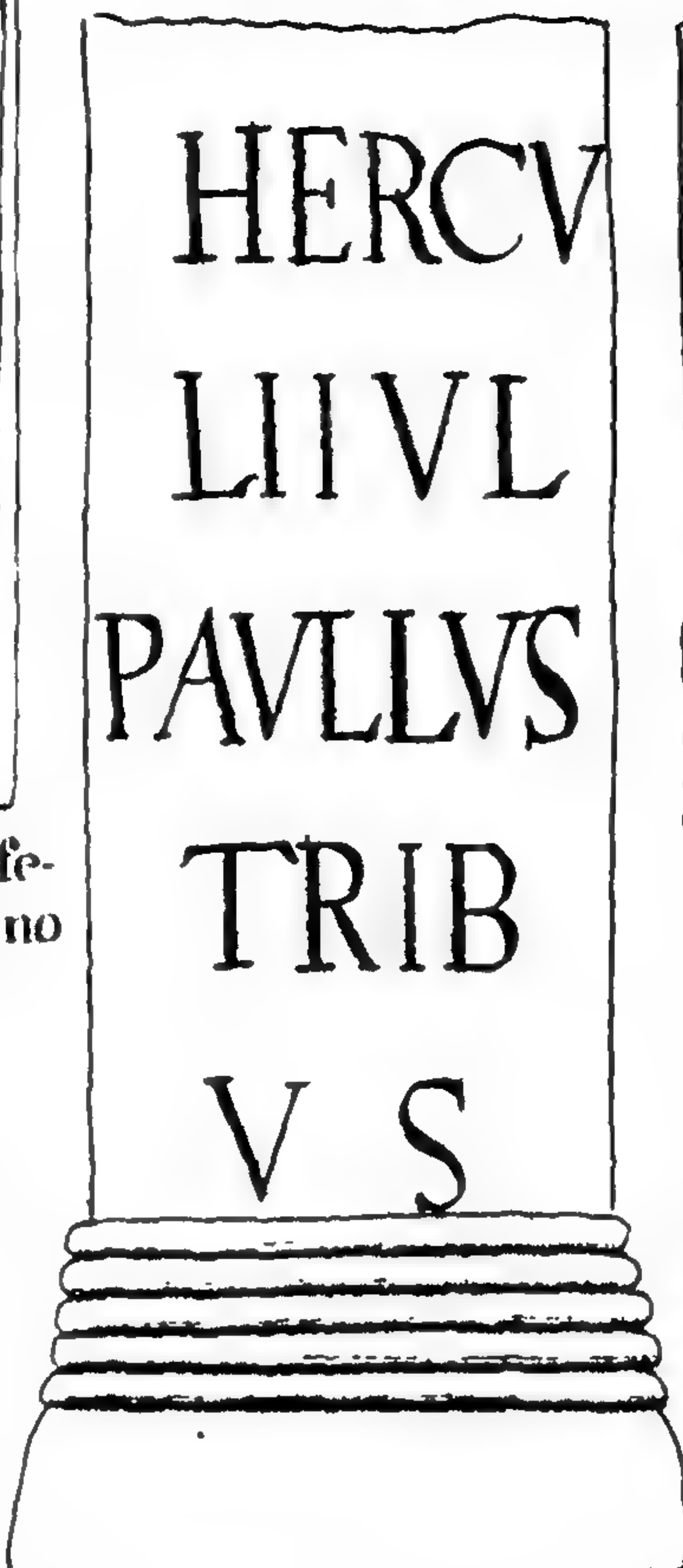


Cohors prima Vangionum fecit curante Julio Paulo tribuno
LXXXVI



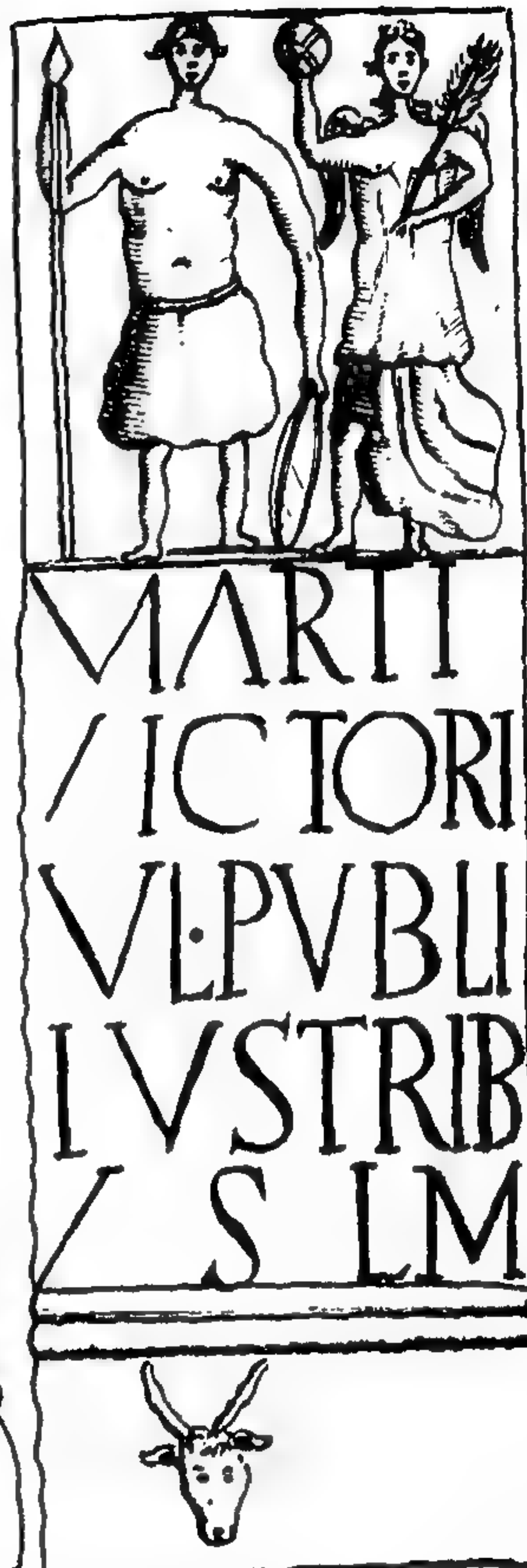
Militum cui praeest Marcus Peregrinus Superstes tribunus

LXXXIII



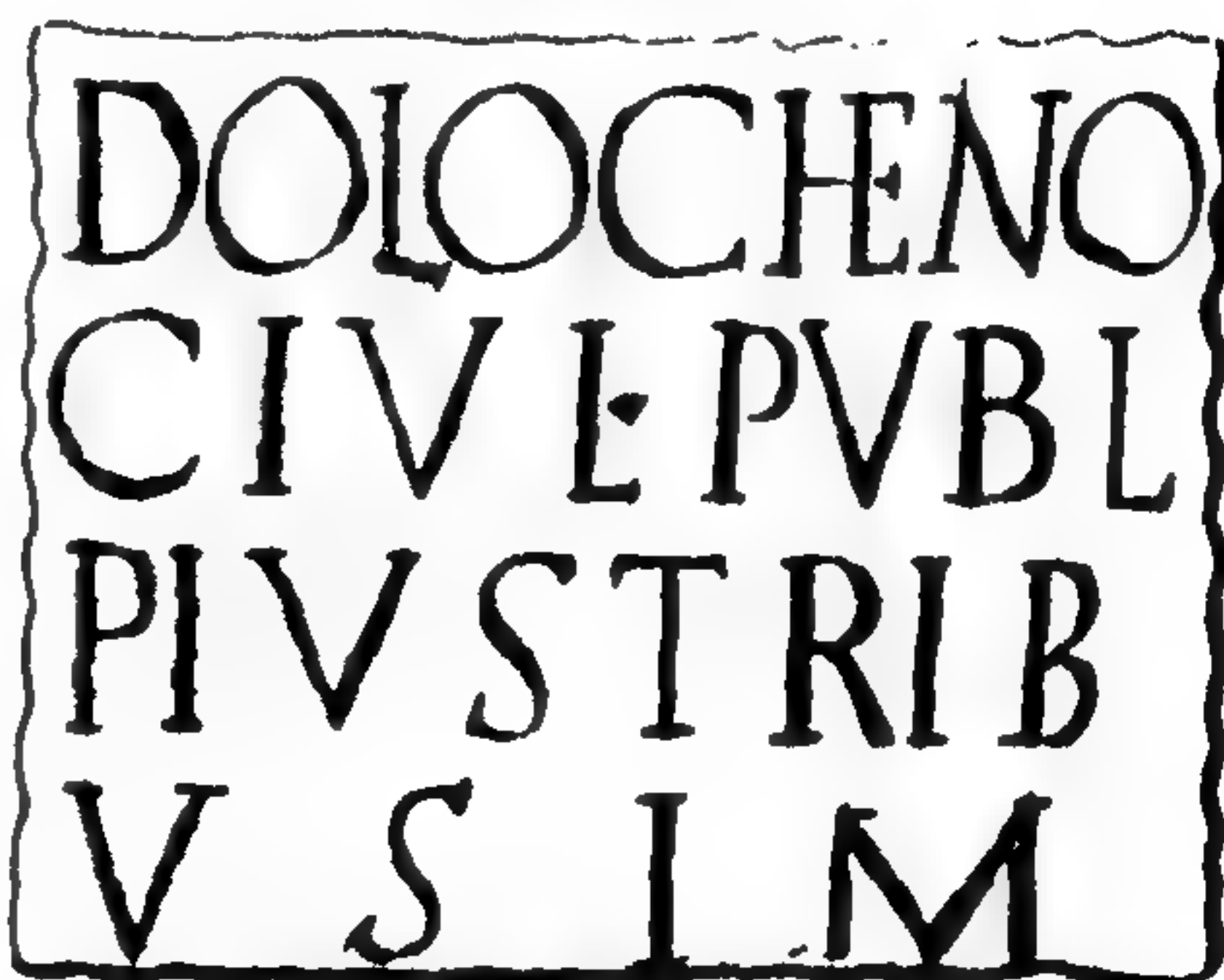
Herculi Julius Paullus tribunus votum solvit

LXXXIII



Marti Victori Julius Publius Pius tribunus votum solvit libens merito

LXXXV

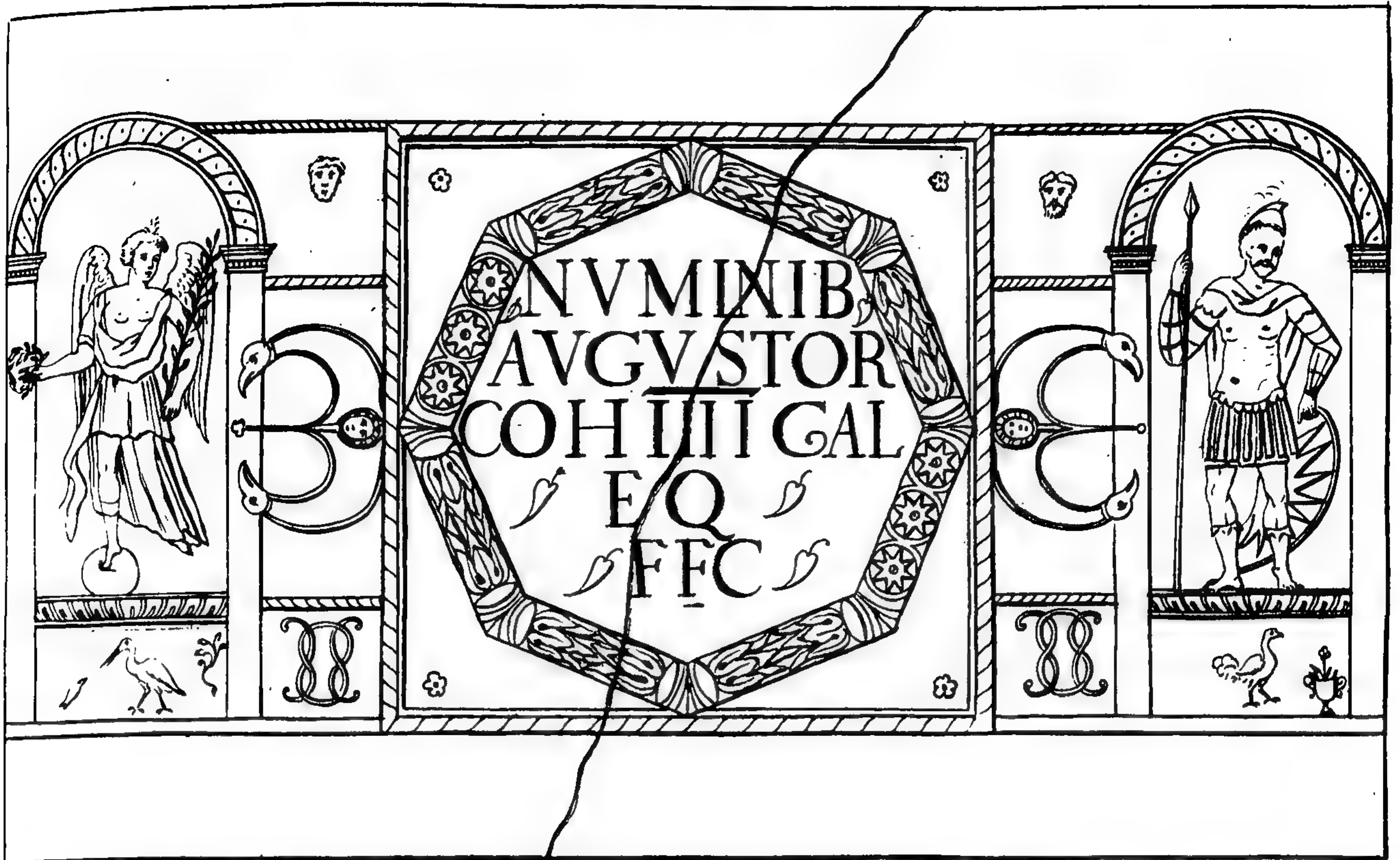


Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolocheno Caius Julius Publius Pius tribunus votum solvit libens merito

NORTHUMBERLAND

LXXXVIII

P. 19 a N. 29



LXXXVII

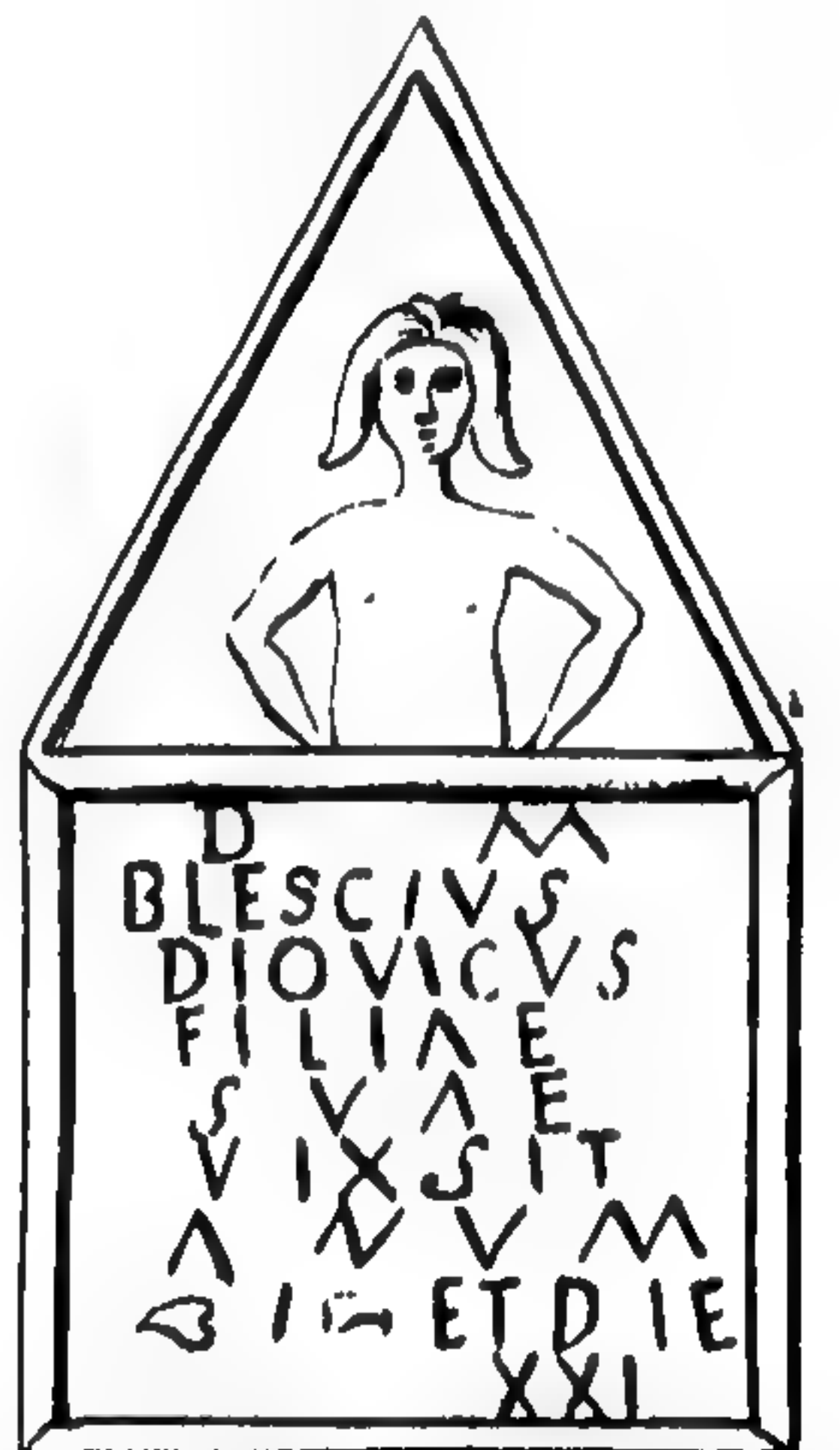
Numinibus Augustorum cohors quarta
Gallorum equitum fecit

AVR ANTONI
NI PI AVGM
MESSORIVS
DILIGENS TRI
BVNVS SACRVM

LXXXIX

ICOSCIPRE
N·AV·ER·CAST
VETVS·TA·EON·ABS

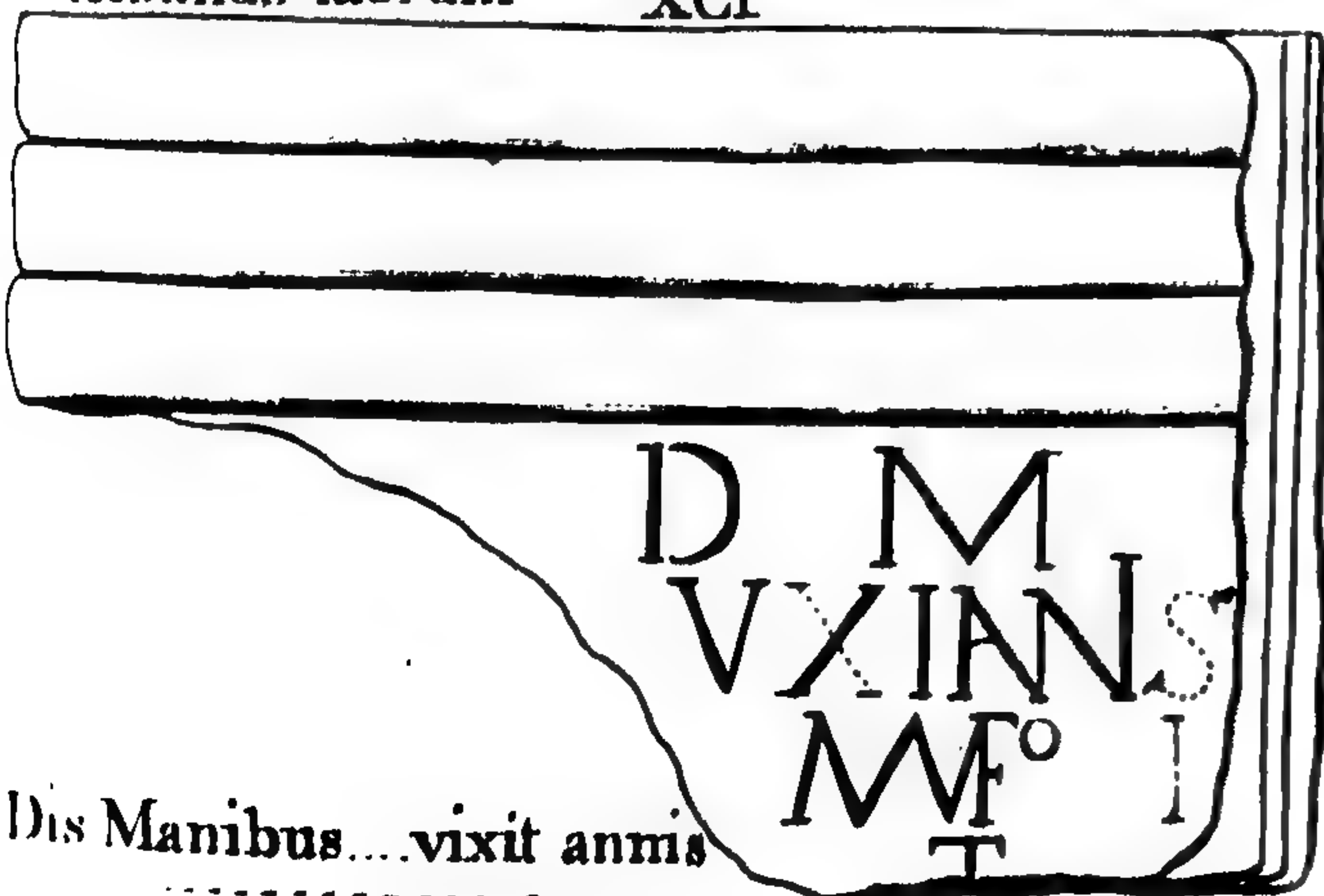
XC



Dis Manibus Bles-
cius Diovicus filiae
suae vixit annum
unum et dies vigin-
ti unum

Aurelii Antonini pii Augusti
Marcus Messorius Diligens
tribunus sacrum XCI

cui praeest Nonnius Au-
relius Castus...vetustate conlatusum XCI a.



Dis Manibus...vixit annis



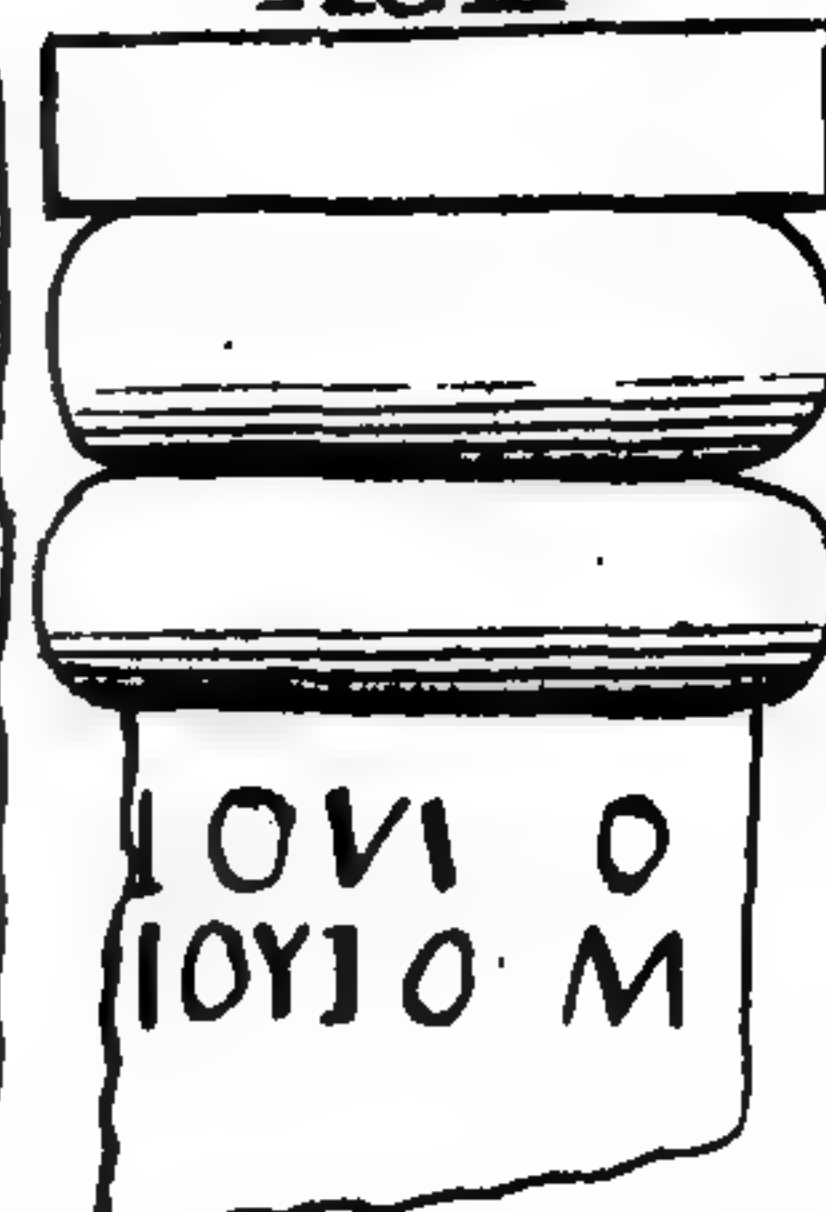
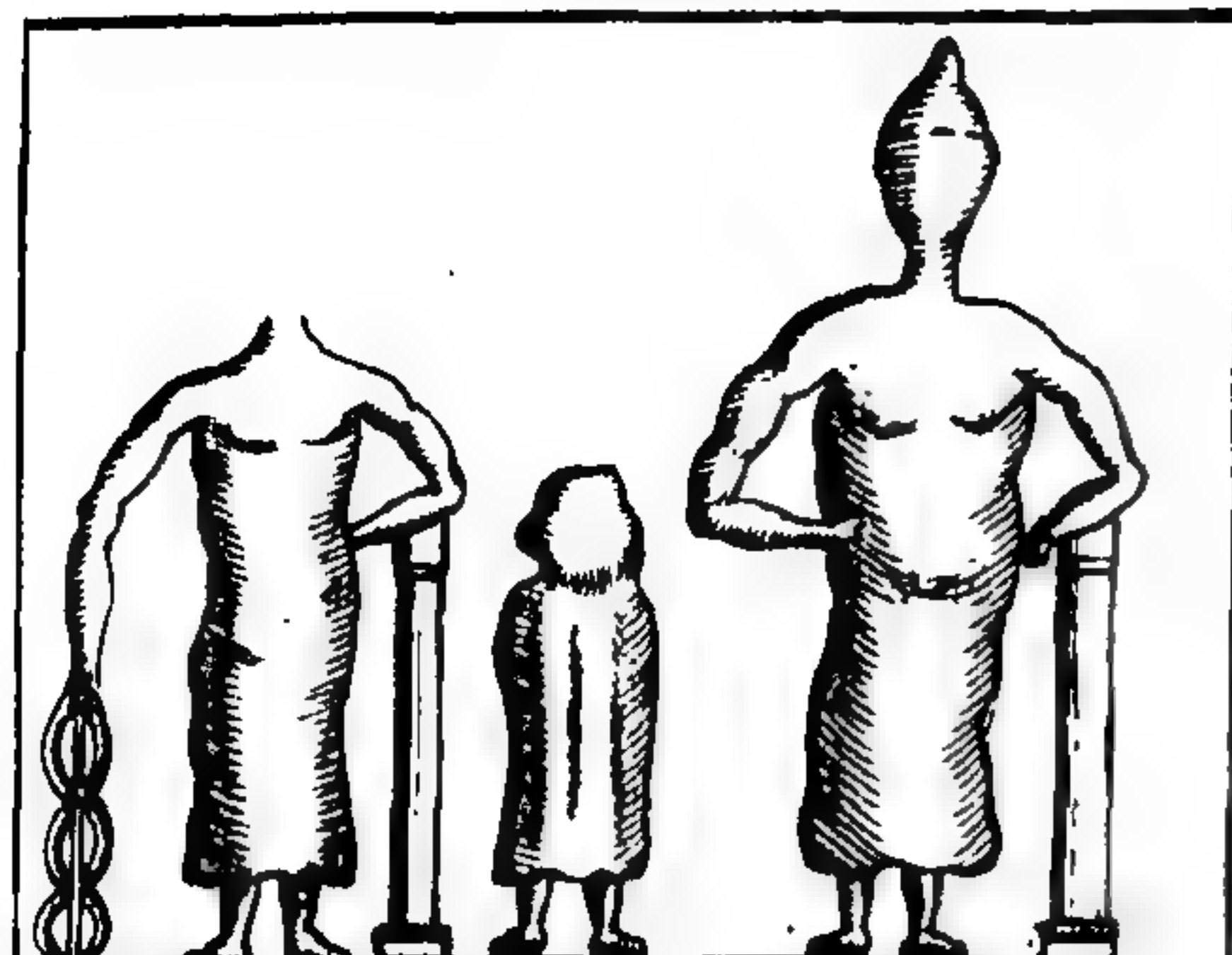
NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192 N. 30.

XCII

XCII

XCIII



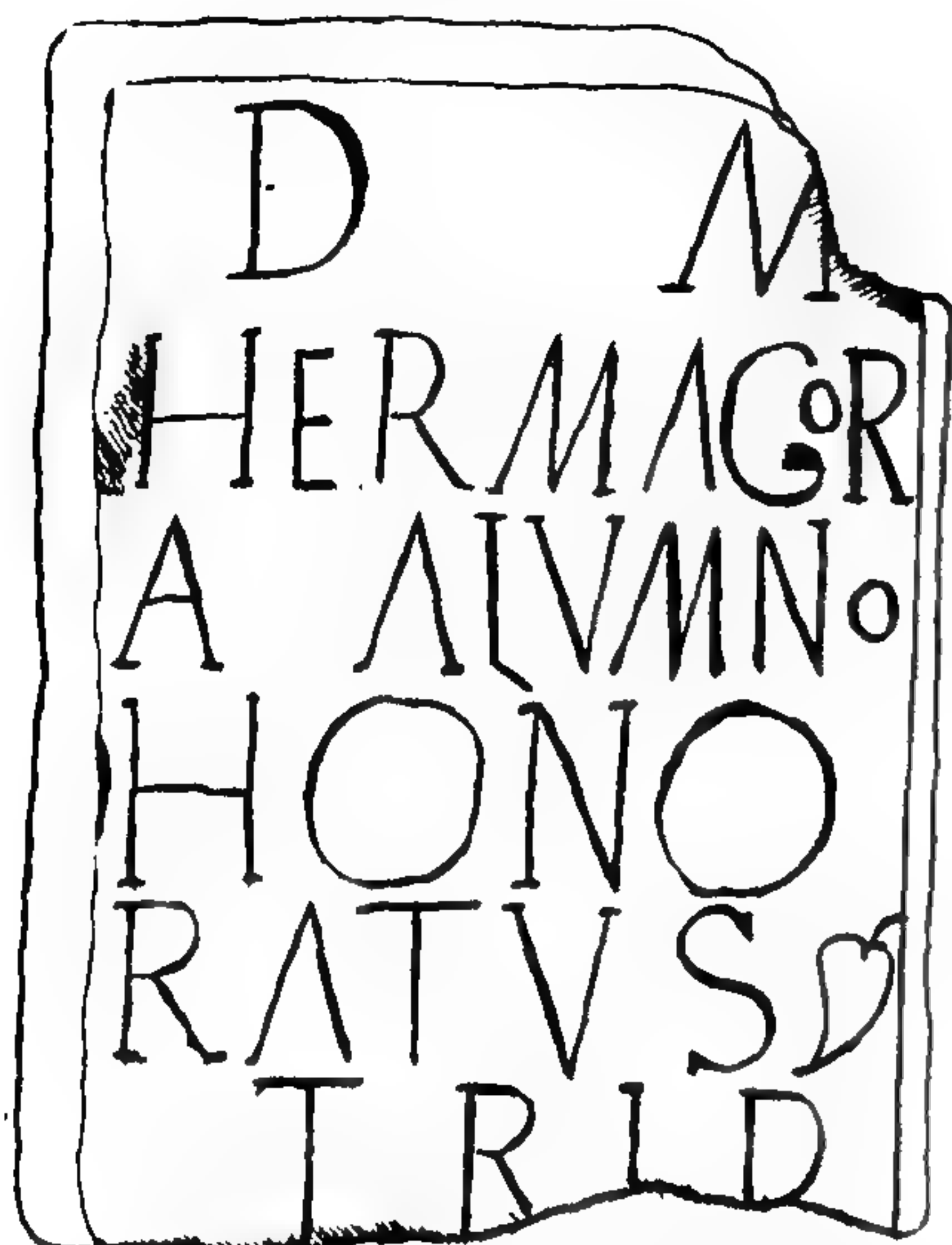
Jovi Optimo
Maximo

XCIV



NORTHUMBERLAND

XCIV α



Dis Manibus Hermagorae
alumno Honoratus tribunus

XCIV β

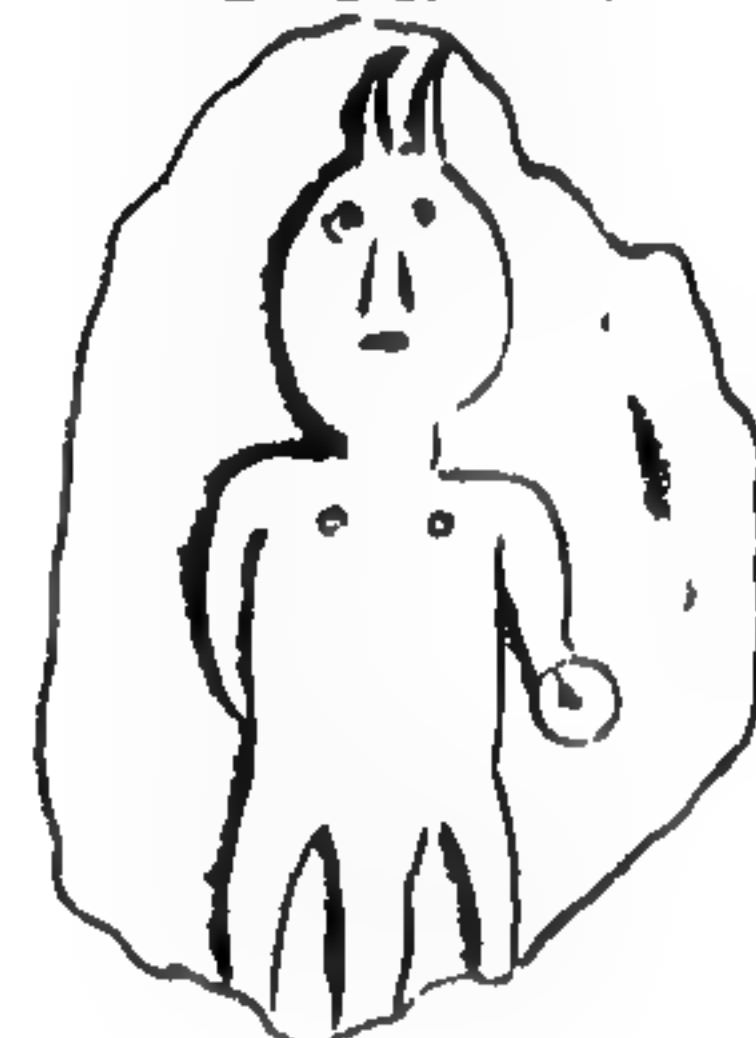


XCIV β



Deo Hercu-
lenti

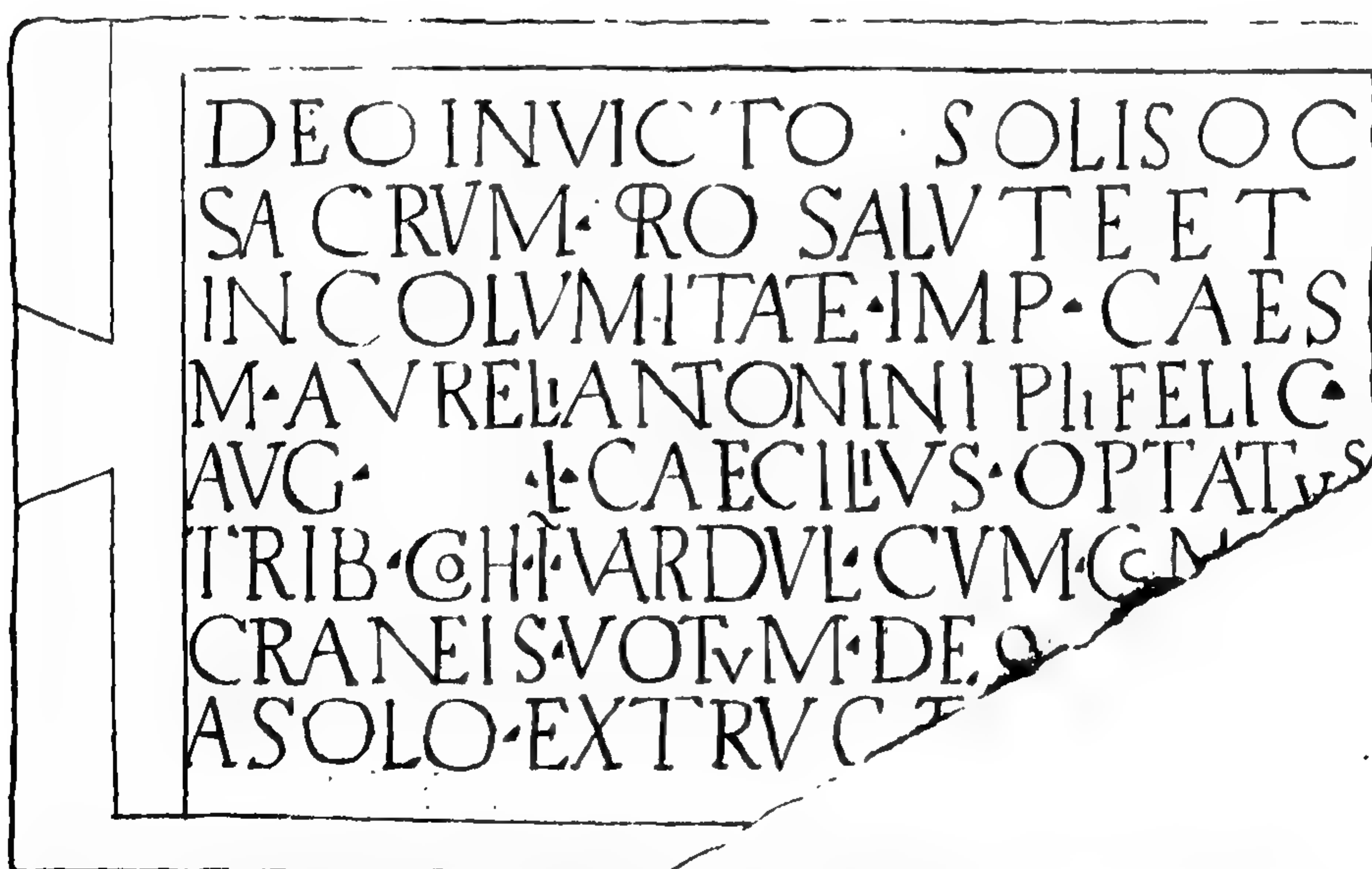
XCIV ε



XCIV γ



XCIV δ

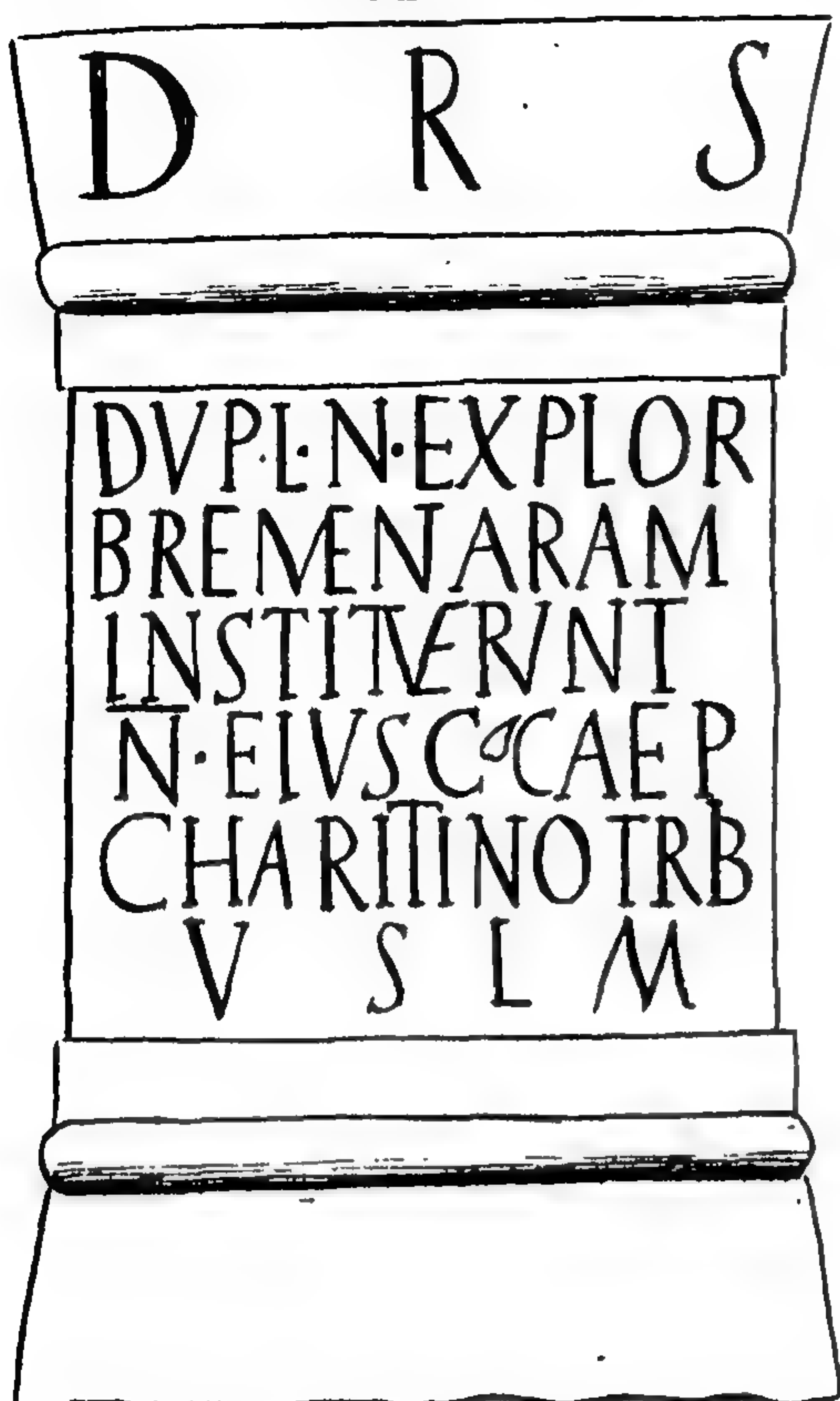


Deo invicto Soli socio sacrum pro salute et incolumitate
imperatoris Caesaris Marci Aurelii Antonini pii feliciis
Augusti Lucius Caecilius Optatus tribunus cohortis primae
Vardulorum cum consecratis votum deo templum a solo
extructum.

NORTHUMBERLAND

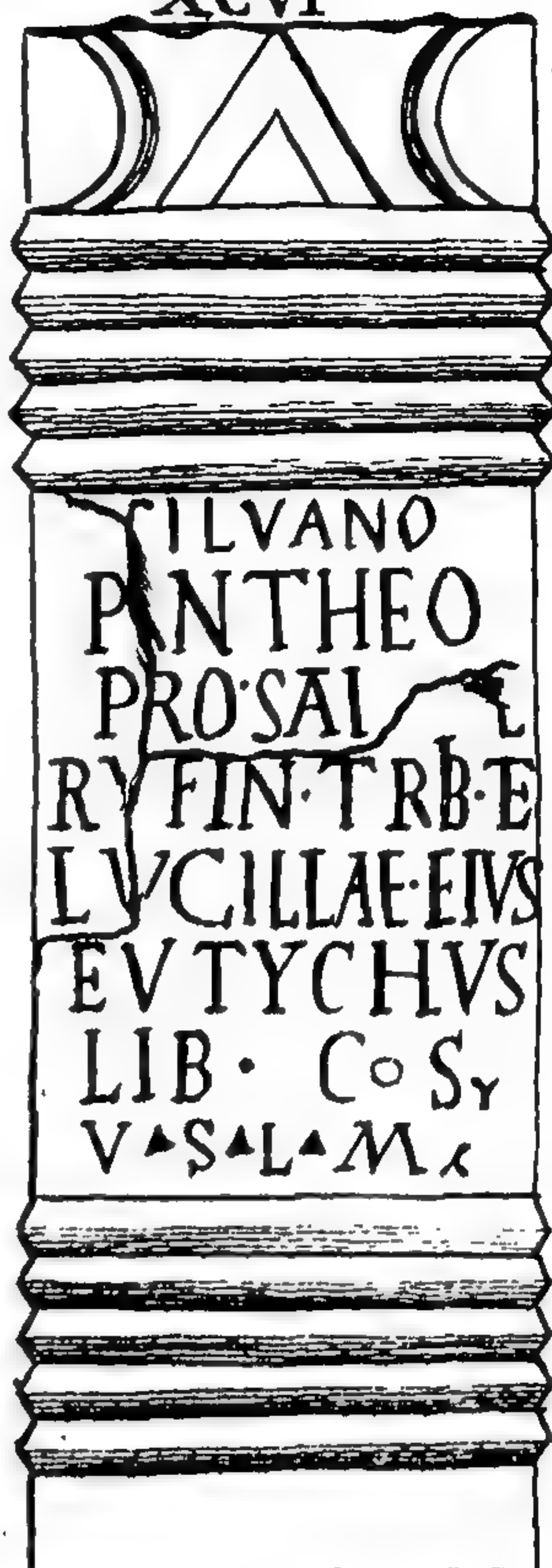
P. 192 N. 32

XCIV



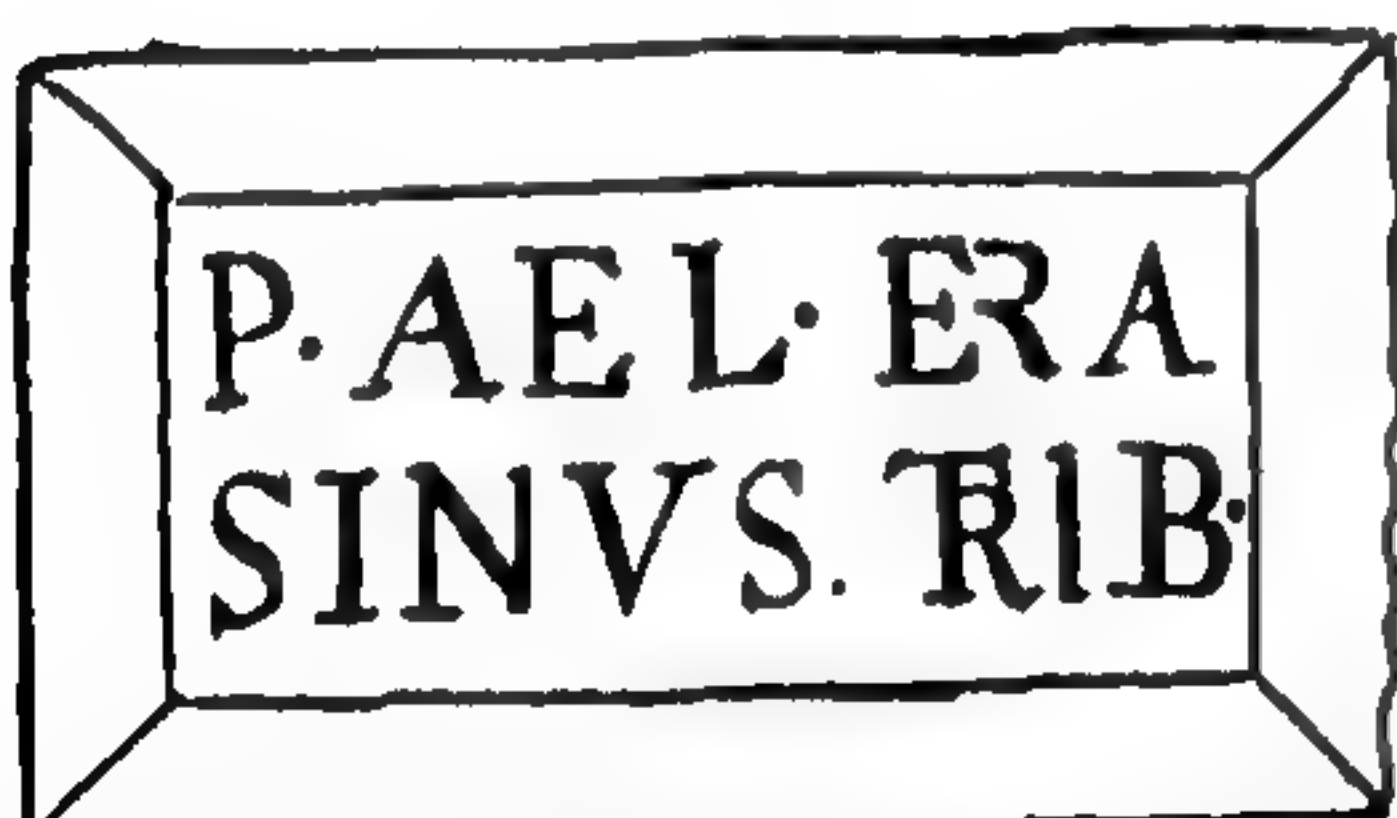
Deae Romae sacrum duplares numeri exploratorum Bremenii aram instituerunt numini ejus Caio Caepione Charitino tribuno votum solverunt libentes merito

XCVI



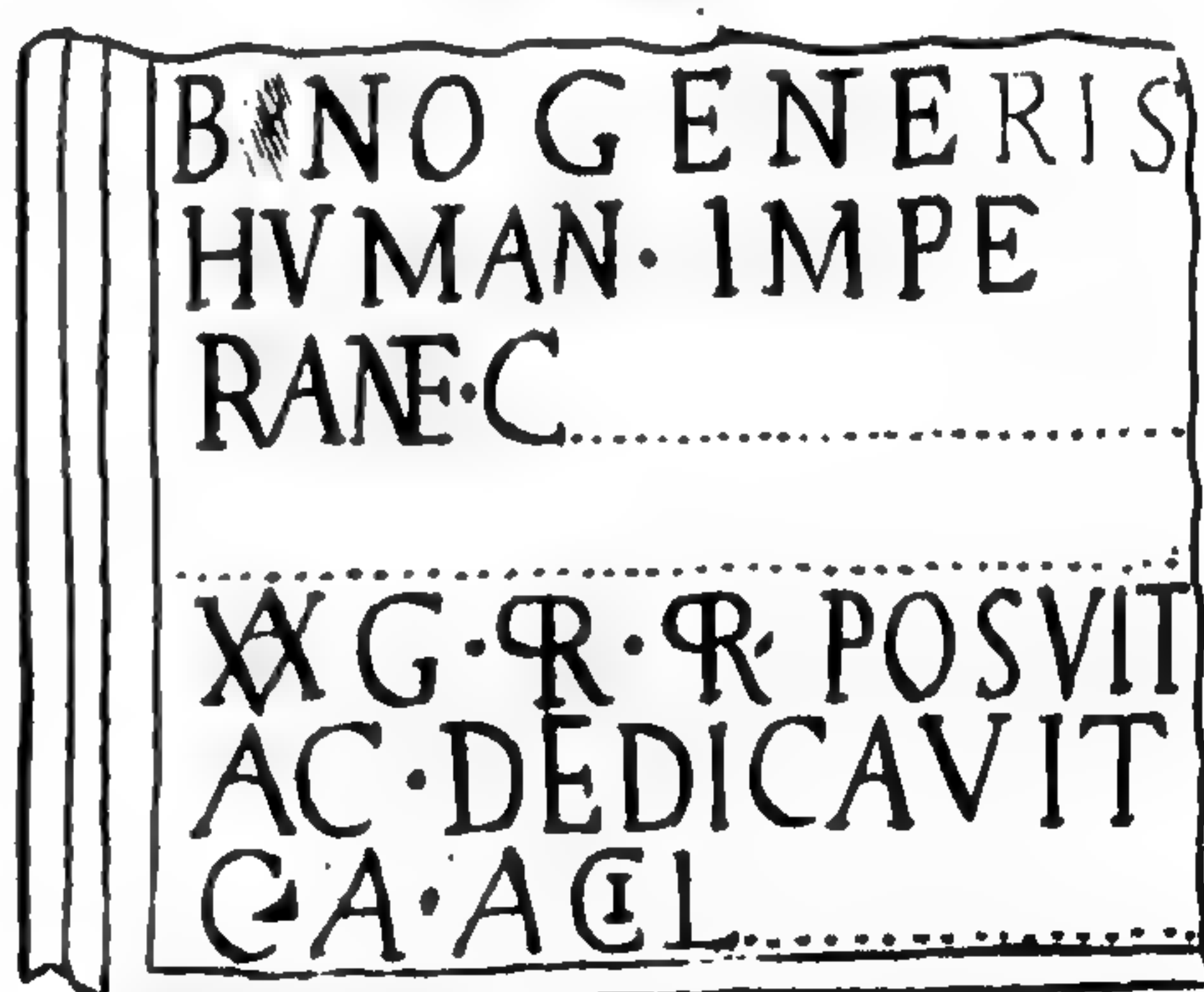
Silvano Pantheo pro salute Rufini tribuni et Lucillae ejus Eutychus libertus consulis votum solvit libens merito

XCVII



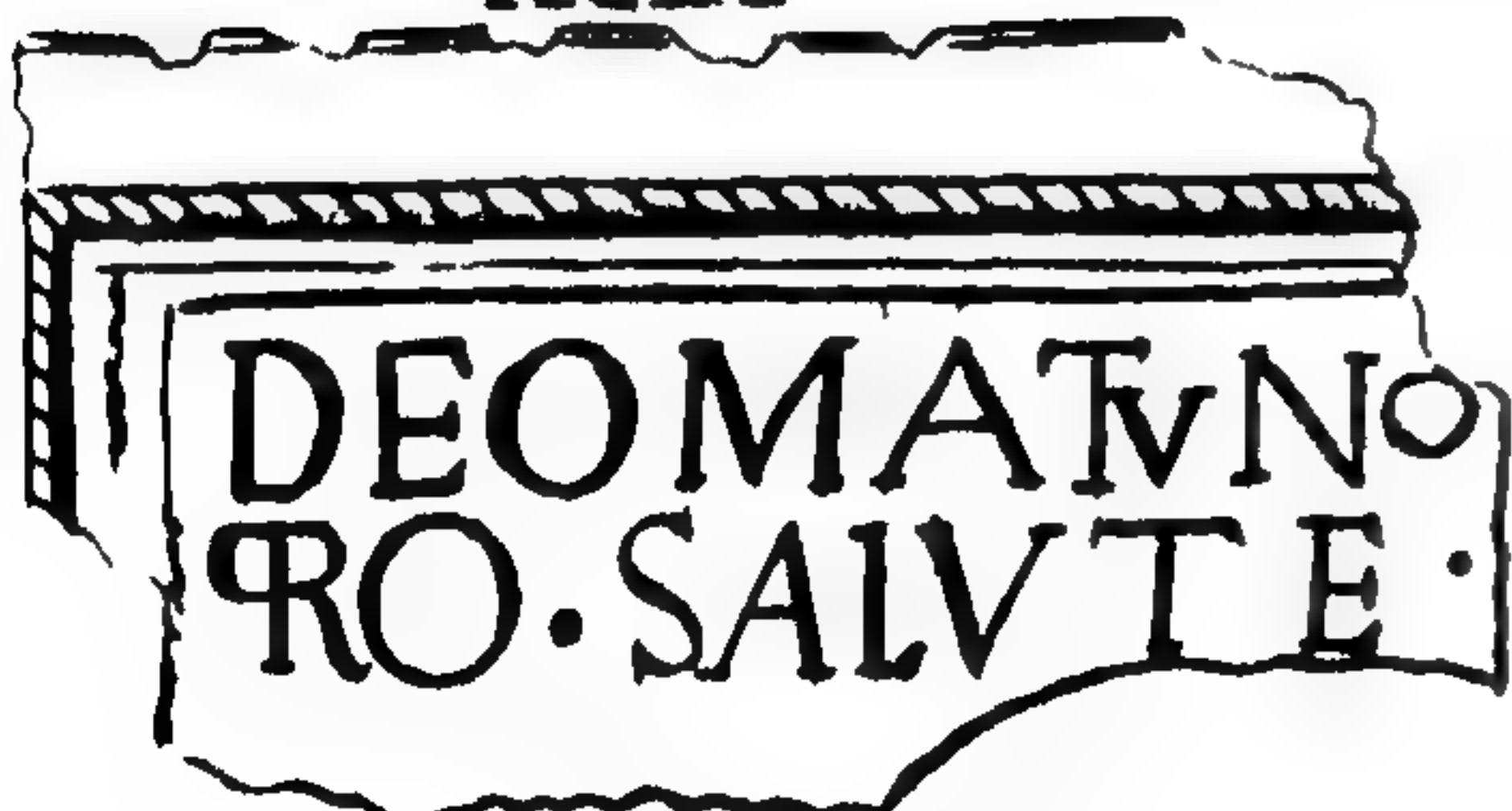
Publius Aelius Erasmus tribunus

XCVIII



Bono generis humani imperante Calpurnio Agricola legato Augustali propraetore posuit ac dedicavit Caius Aulus Acilius

XCIX



Deo Matuno pro salute

NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192. N. 33.

C



Imperator.....Marco Aurelio Anto-
nino *tribunitiae* potestatis.....

CI



Legionis secundae Au-
gustae cohors quarta
fecit

CII

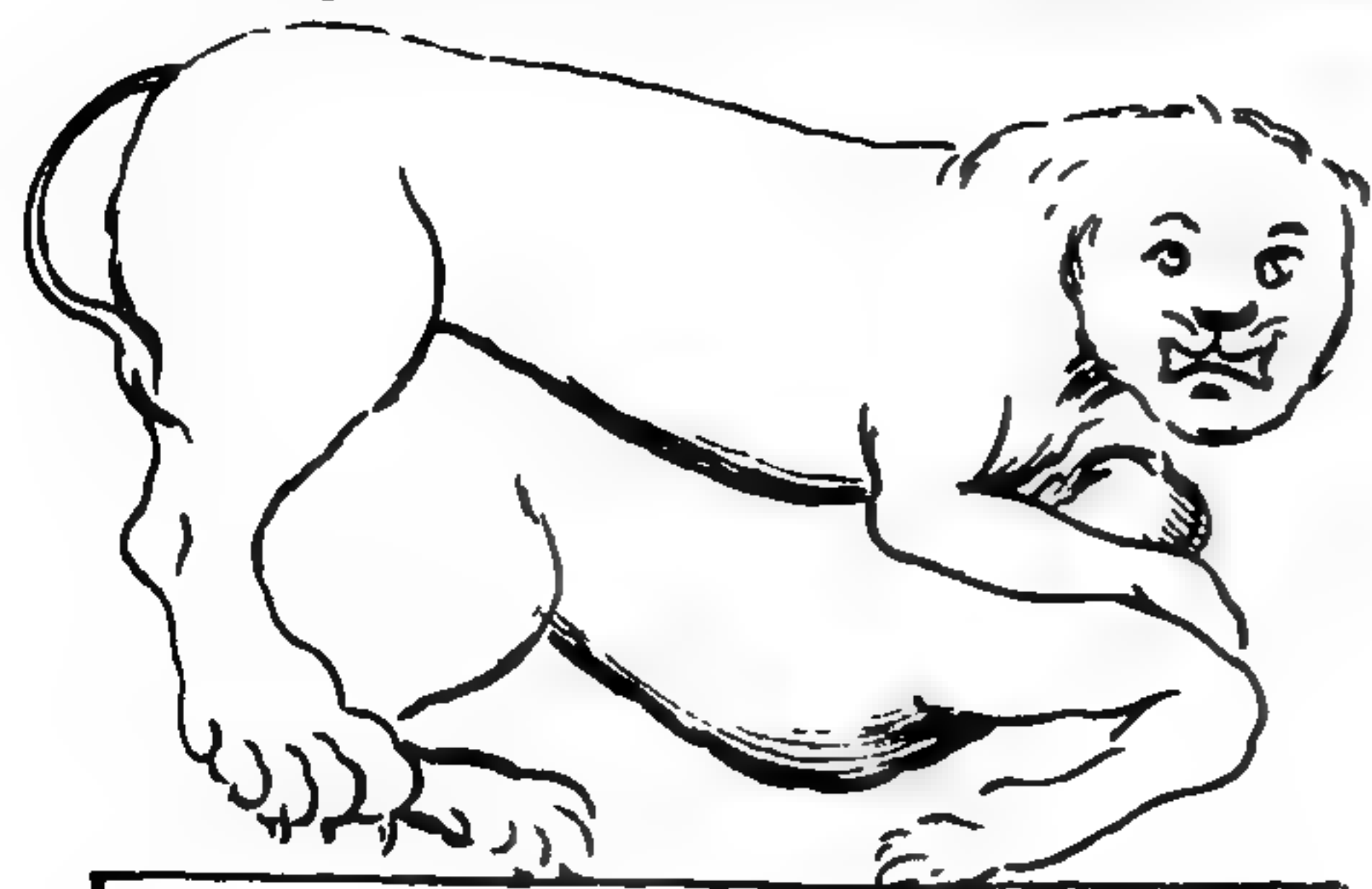


CIII

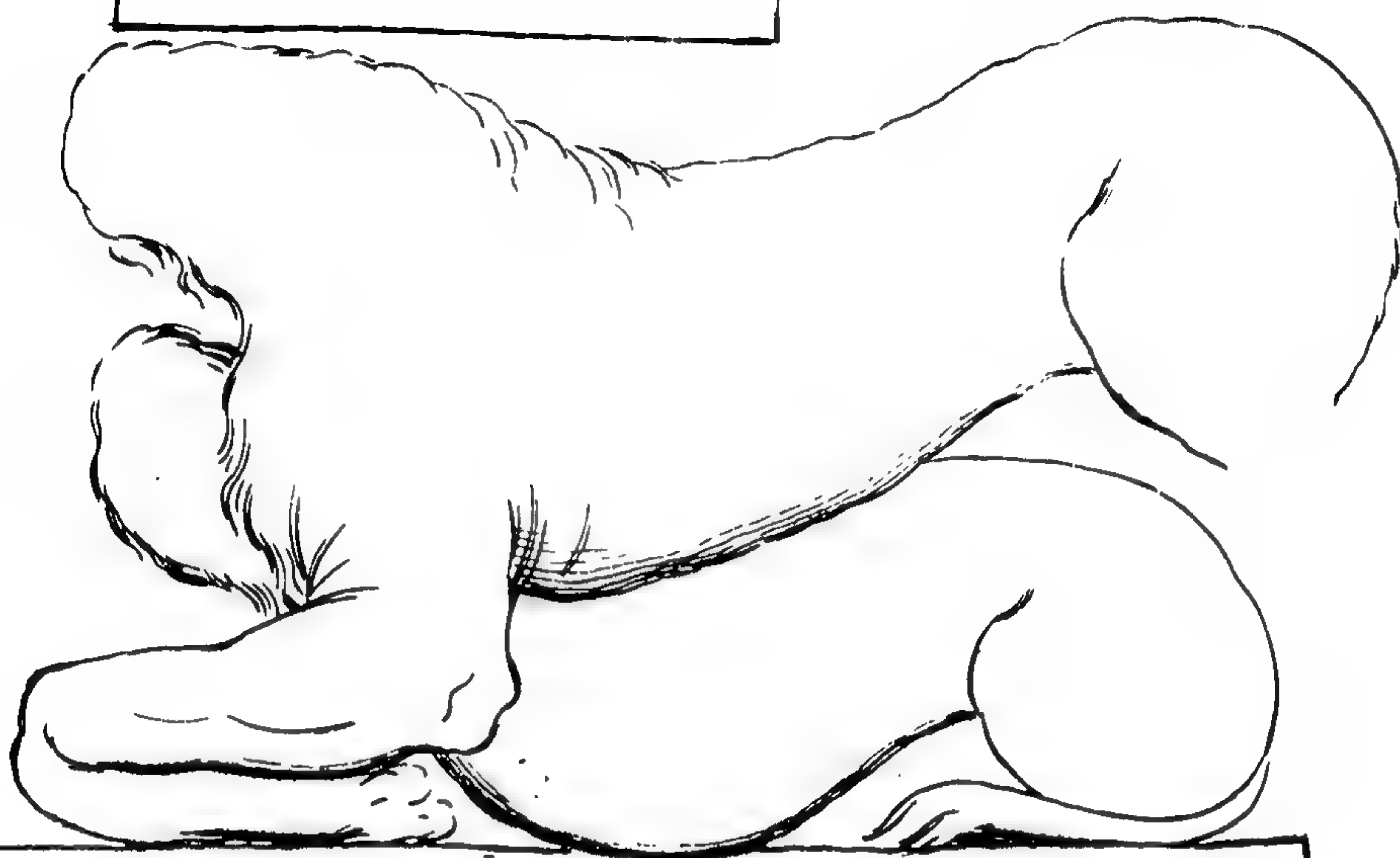


NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192 N34.



CIV



CV



CV



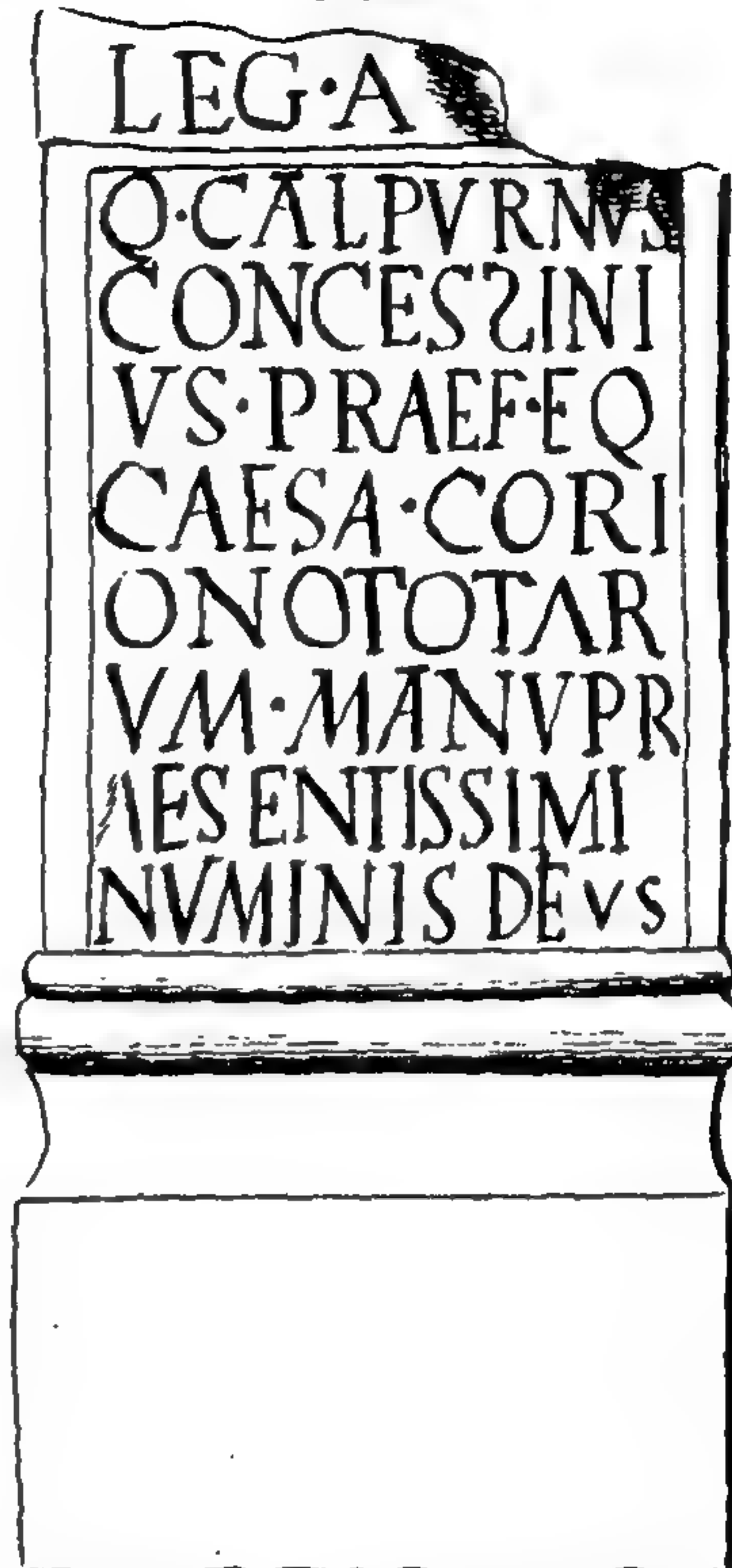
NORTHUMBERLAND

CVI



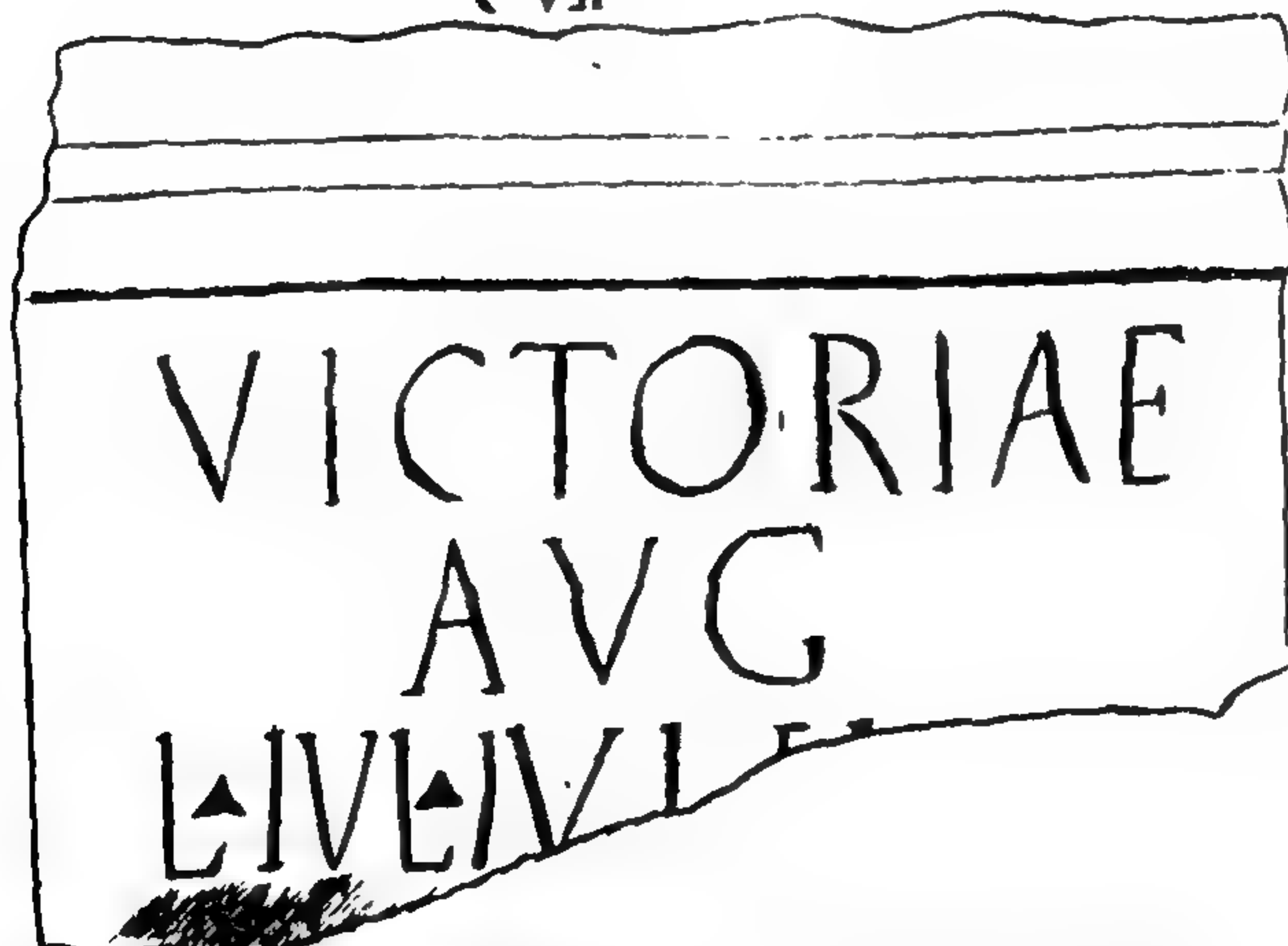
Ἡρακλῆ Στιέειω Διοδῶρα
ἀρχιέρεια h.e. Herculi Tirrio
Diodora princeps sacerdos.

CVIII



Legato Augustali *pro*prae-
tore Quintus Calpurnius
Concessinius praefectus e-
quitum Caesariensium Co-
rionototarum manu prae-
sentissimi numinis dei vo-
tum solvit

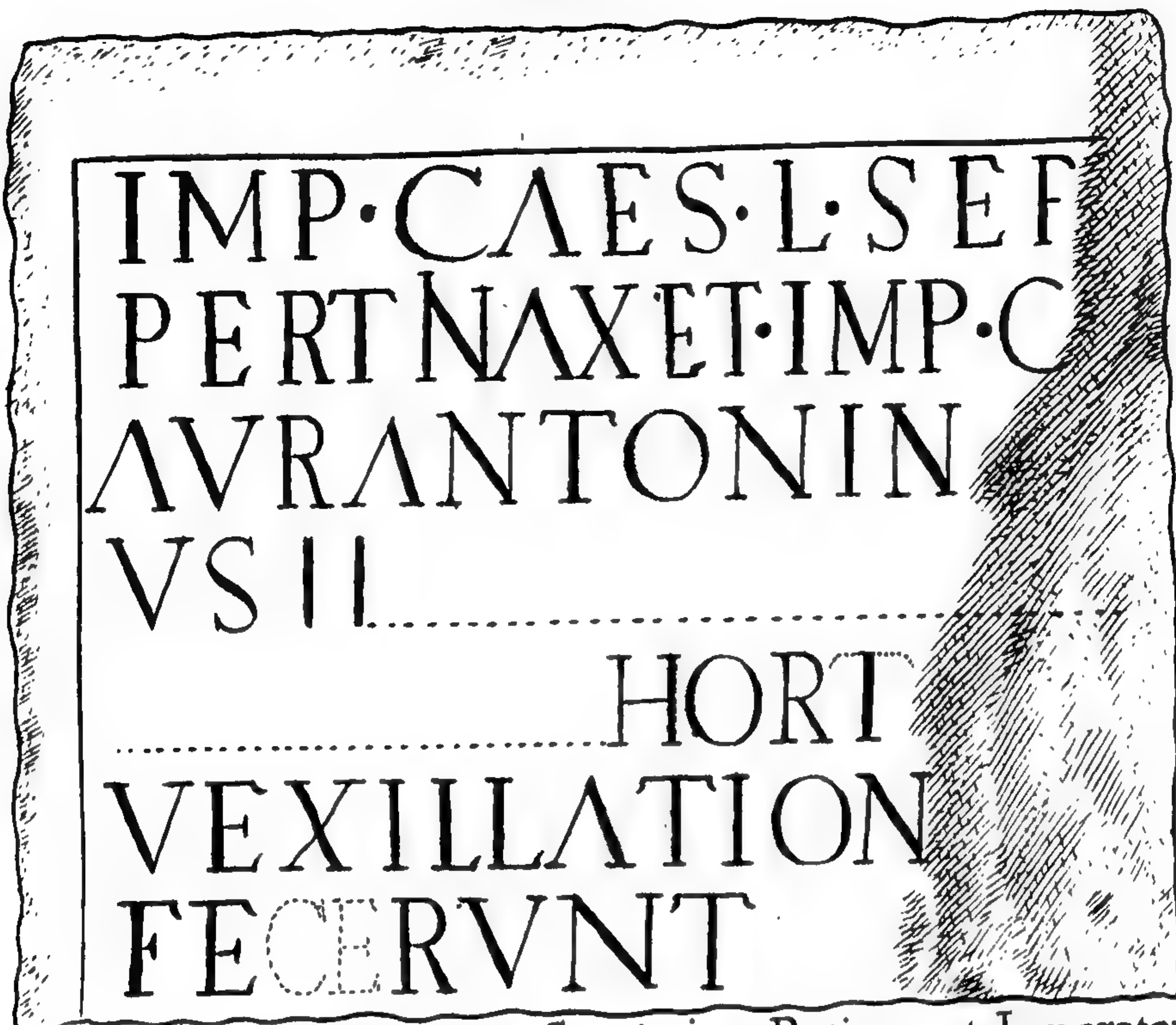
CVII



Victoriae Augusti Lucius Iulius Iulii
filius.....

NORTHUMBERLAND

CIX

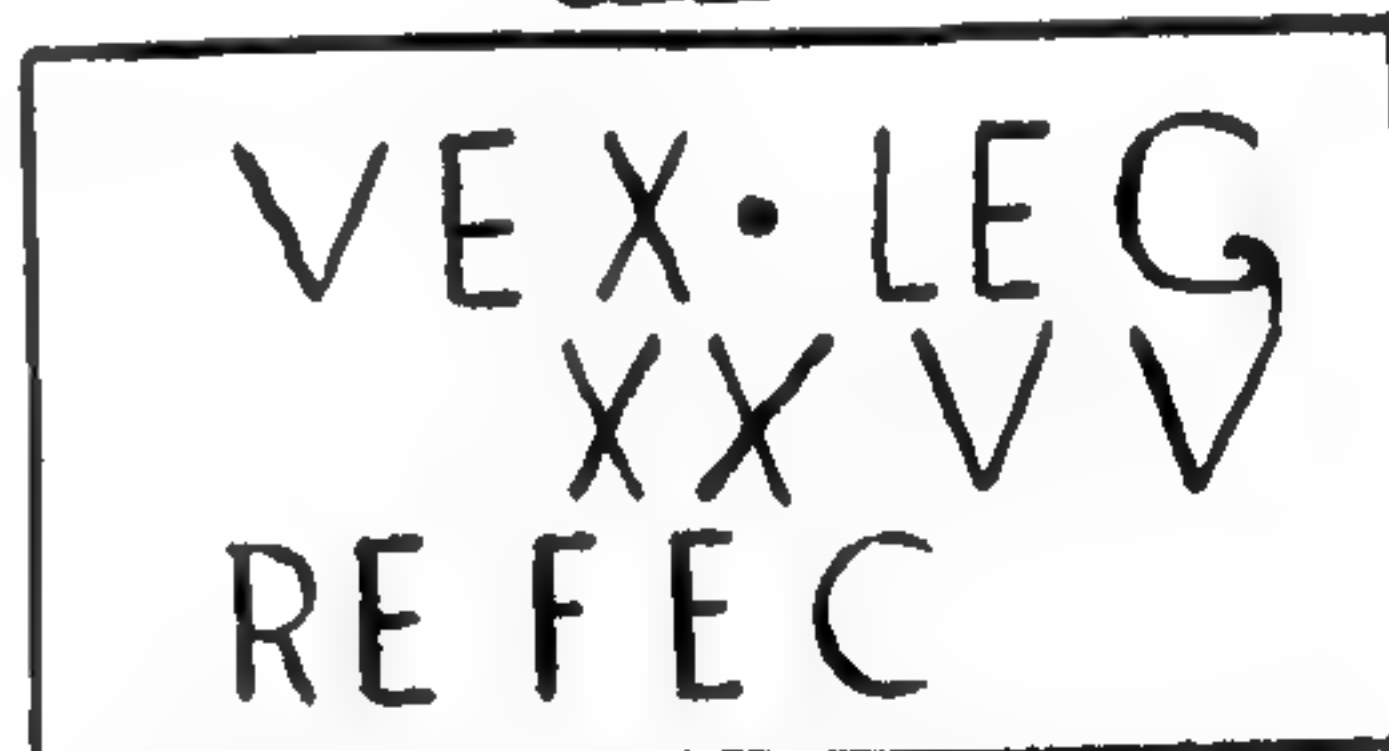


Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Pertinax et Imperator
Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus pius *felix Augustus et*
Geta Caesar cohortium vexillationes fecerunt

CX

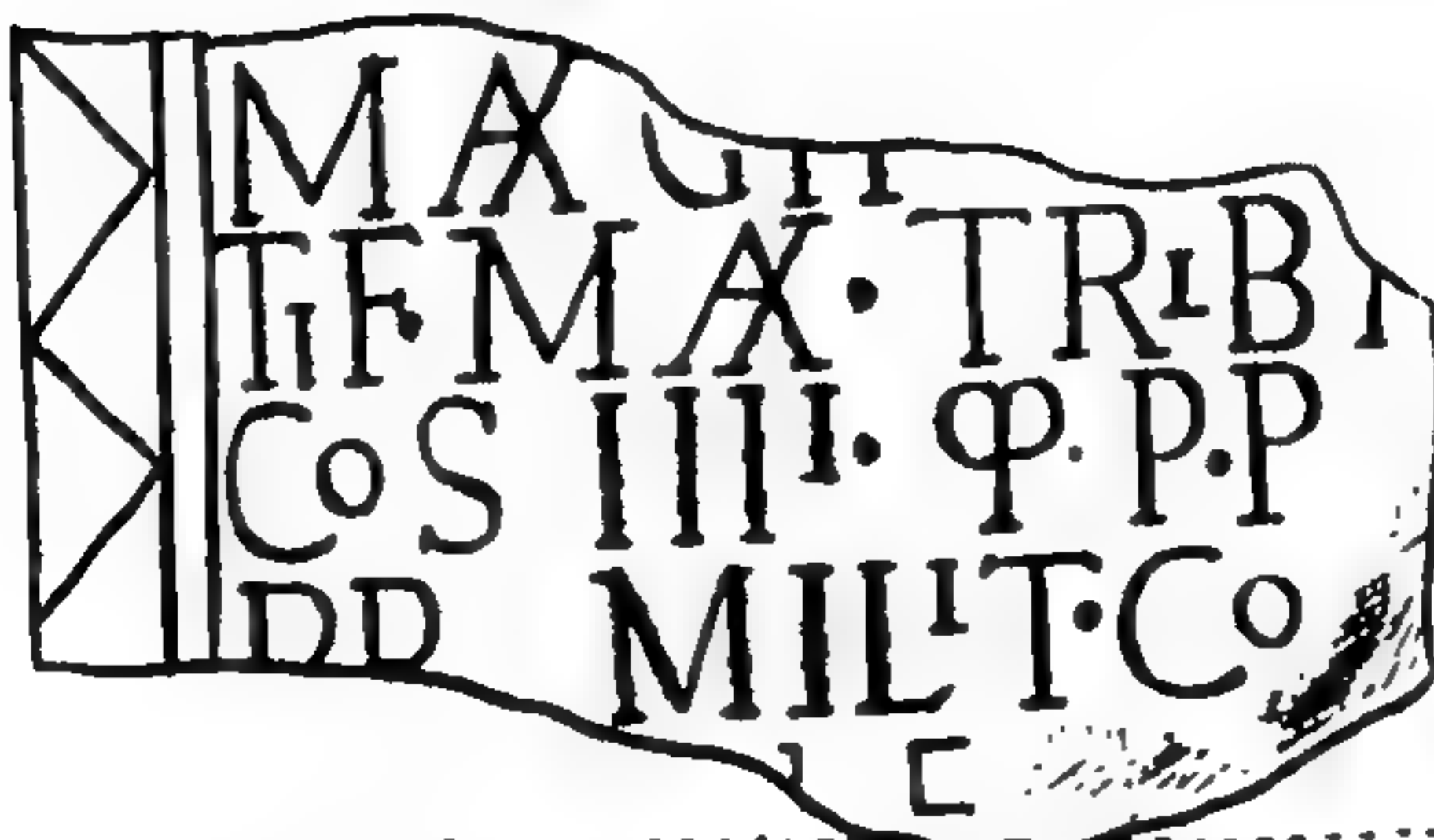


CXI



Vexillatio legionis vi-
cesimae valentis victricis
relecit

CXII



Maximo Germanico pontifici
maximo tribunitiae potestatis
decimum nonum consili quar-
tum patri patriae..... milites
cohortis *tertiae* Nerviorum

NORTHUMBERLAND

P. 192 N. 37.

CXIII

IMP·GES LV
 BIG ADIA
 MAX·FIL·DV ANTONINI
 SARM·NEP·DV·ANTONI·P·RON
 DIVI·HAD·AB·NEP·DV·TRAIA·
 PARTH·ET·DV·NR·VAD·NEP
 M·AVR·ANTONINO PIO
 FEL·AVG
 TR·POTX·IMP·COS·IIII·PP
 PROPIETATE AED·E·VOTO
 COMMVNI CVRANTE
 LEG·AVG
 COH·III·NERVIO
 RVMGR POS·

Imperatoris Caesaris Lucii *Seve-
 ri* Arabici Adiabeni *Parthici*
 maximi filio divi Antonini *pi* Sarm-
 matici nepoti divi Antonini Pii pro-
 nepoti divi Hadriani abnepoti divi
 Trajani Parthici et divi Nervae adne-
 poti Marco Aurelio Antonino pio
 felici Augusto *Germanico pontifici*
maximo tribunitiae potestatis deci-
 mum.....imperator..... consuli quar-
 tum patri patriae pro pietate ae-
 dem ex voto communi curante legato
 Augustali cohors tertia Nerviorum Ge-
 nio Romae posuit

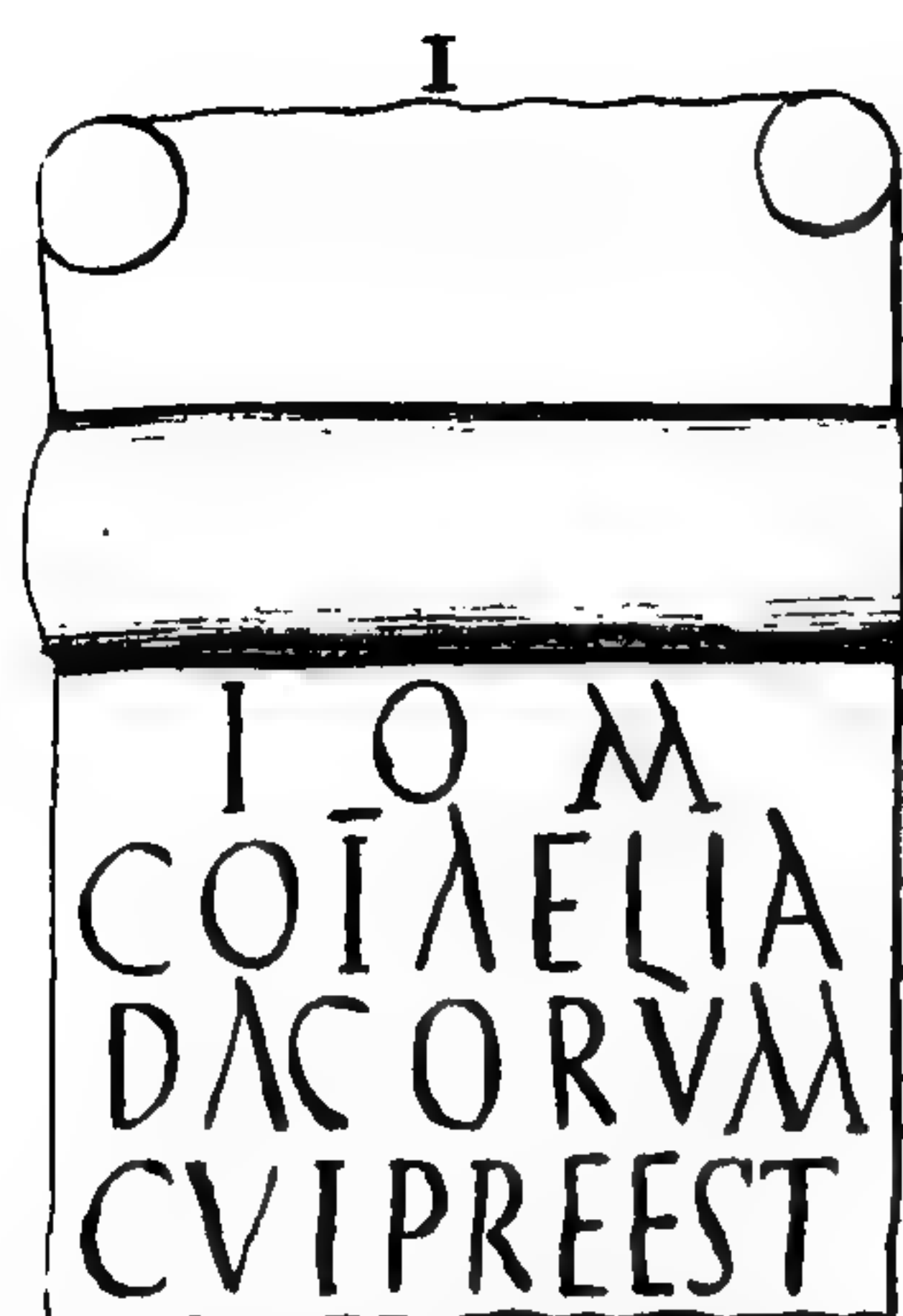
CXIV



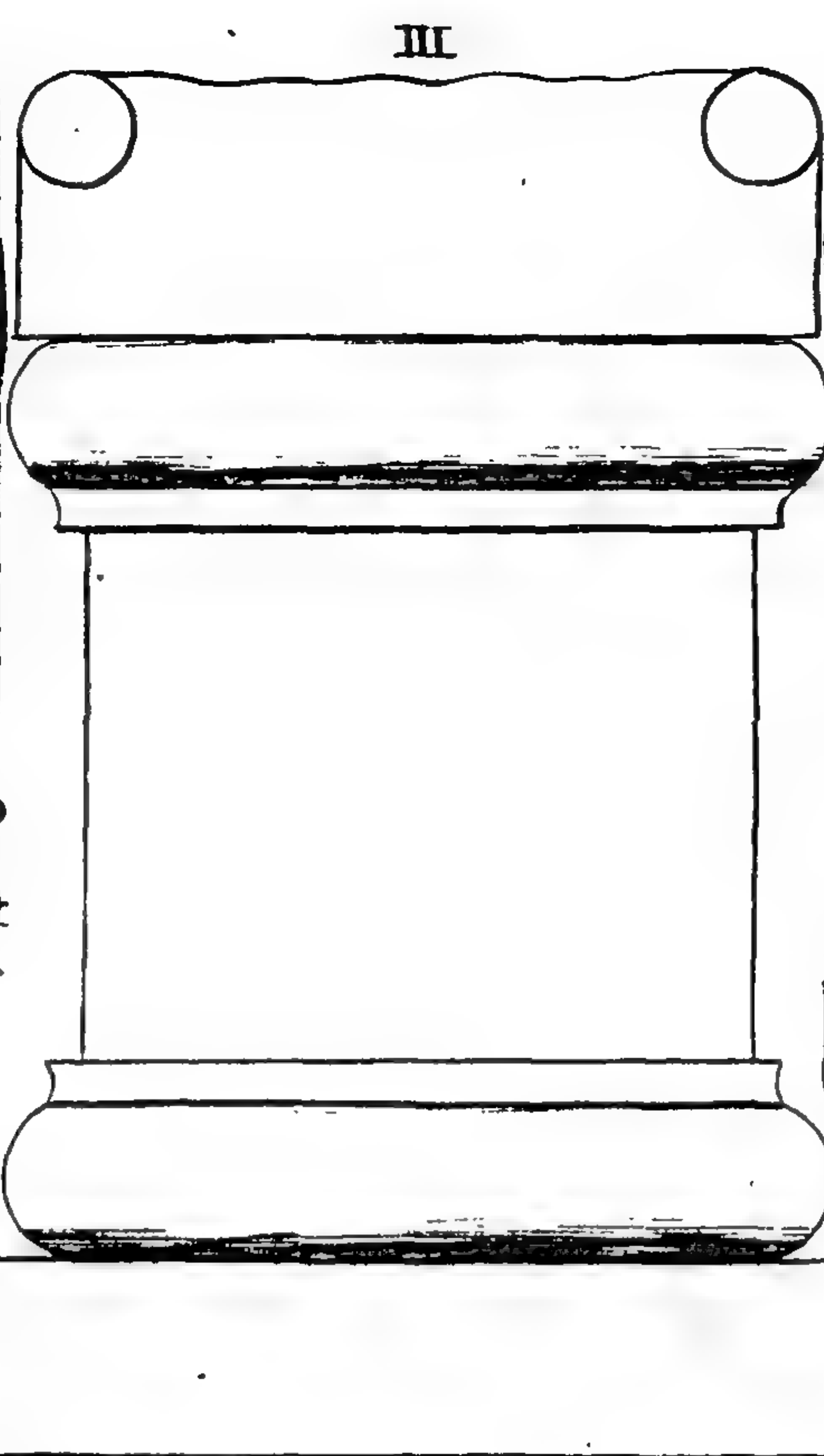
Deae Minervae et Her-
 culi victori

CUMBERLAND

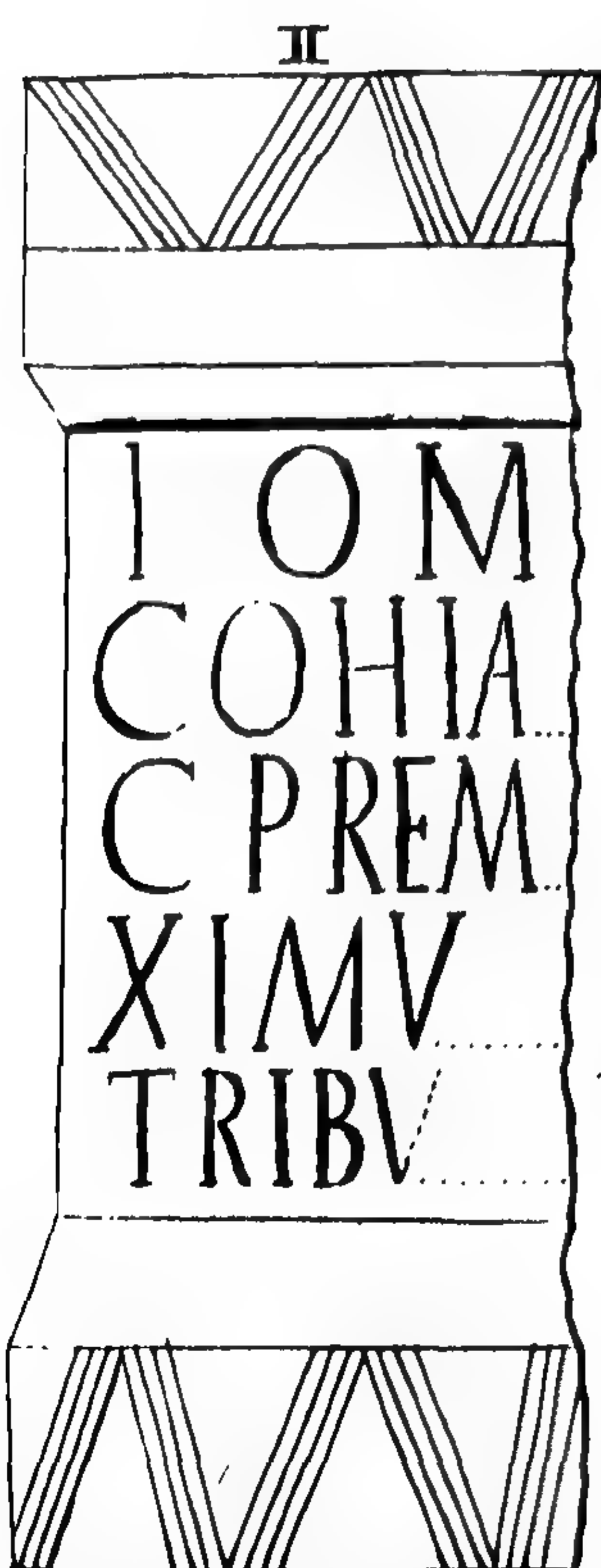
P.192 N.38



Jovi Optimo Maximo
cohors prima Aelia
Dacorum cui praeest



Signifer Toras.
Tuto Aeliae Da-
corum



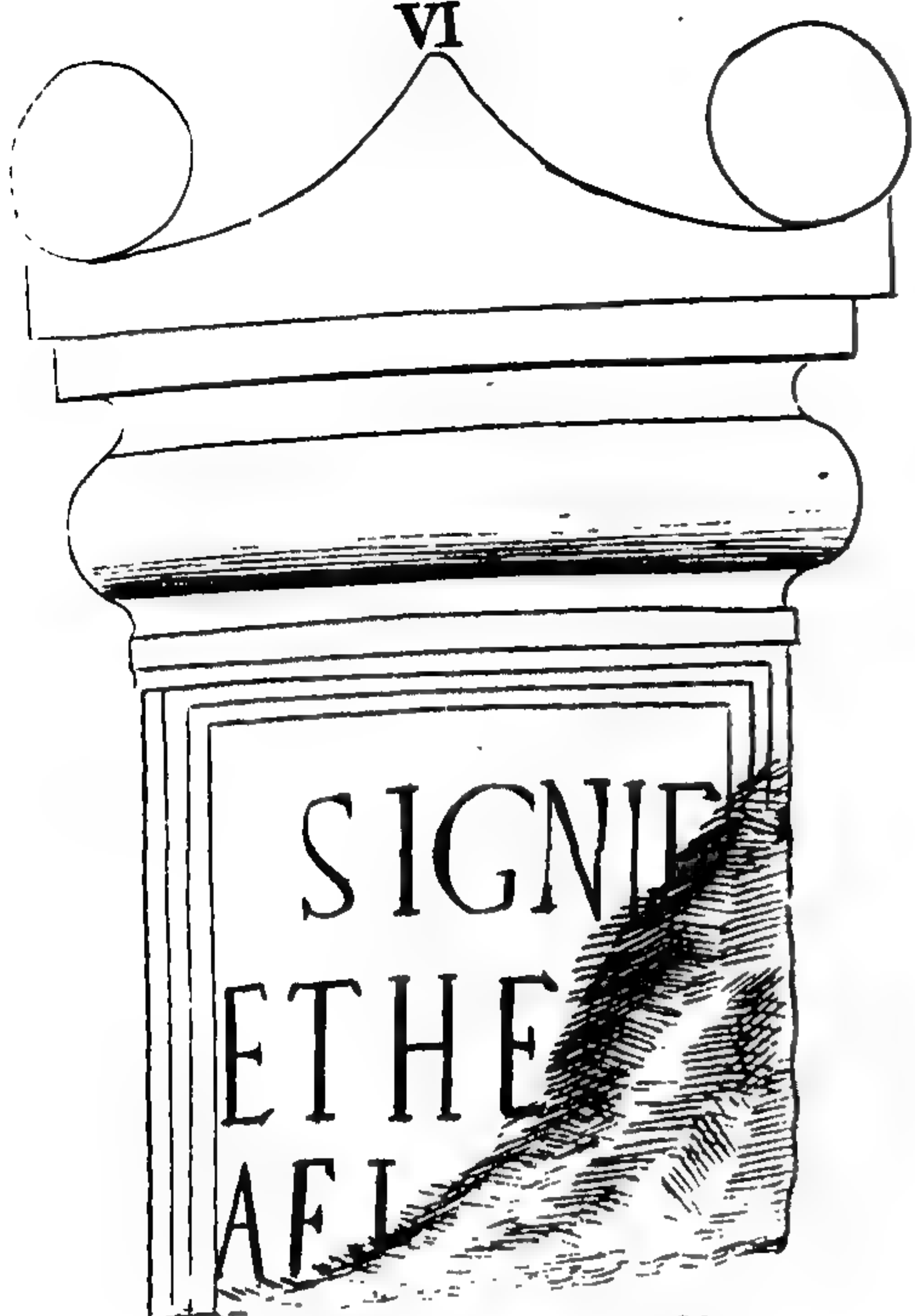
Jovi Optimo Maximo
cohors prima Aelia
Dacorum cui prae-
est Maximus tribunus



Jovi Optimo Maximo cohortis
primae Aeliae Dacorum Anio

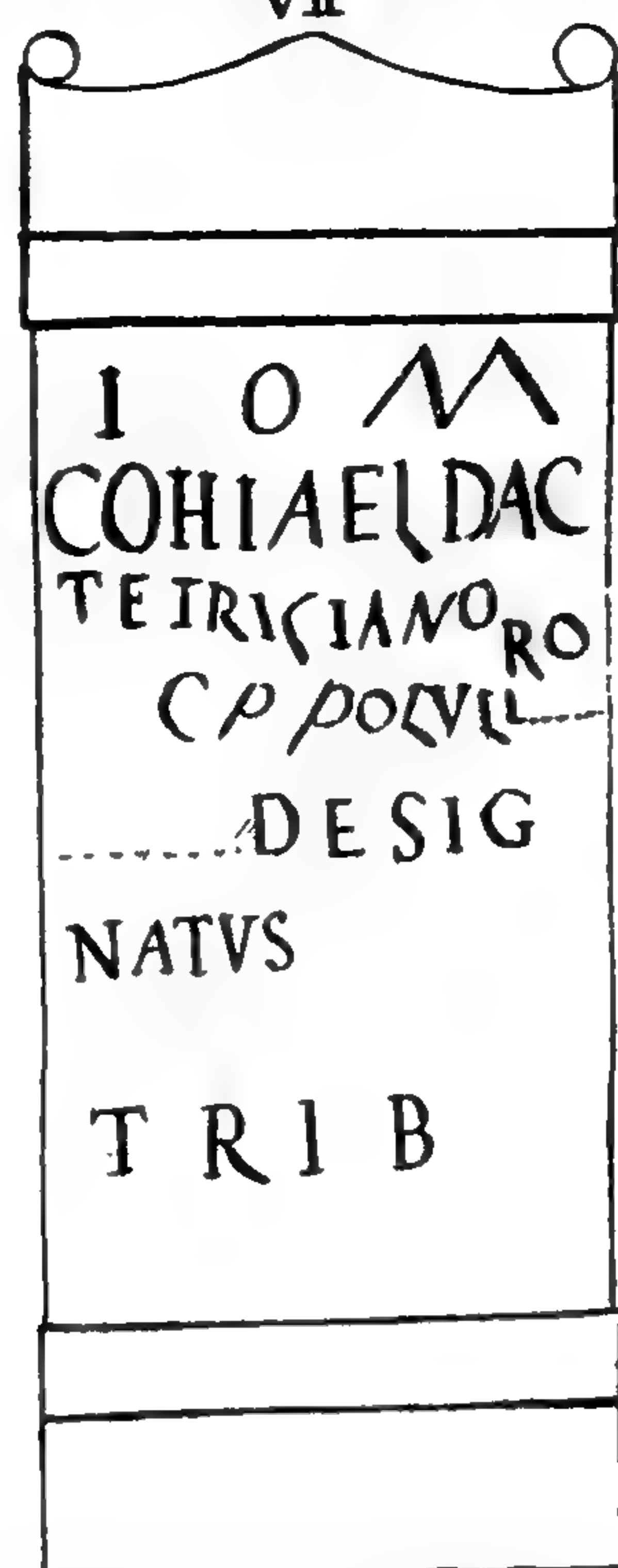
CUMBERLAND

VI



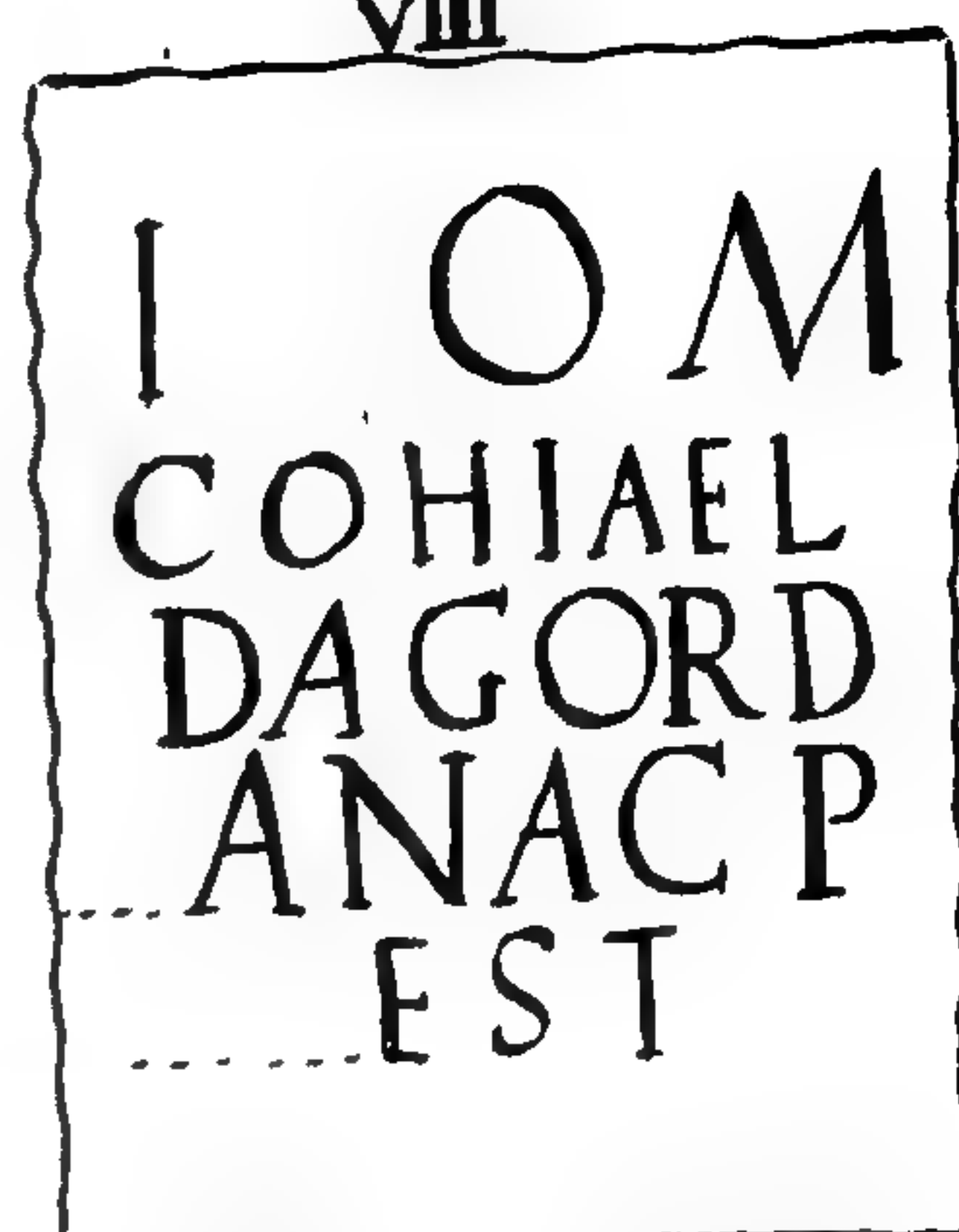
Signifer Ethe. Aeliae
Dacorum

VII



Jovi Optimo Maximo
cohors prima Aelia
Dacorum Tetriciana
Romana [vel Tetrici-
anorum] cui praeest
Publius Olulictius
designatus tribunus

VIII



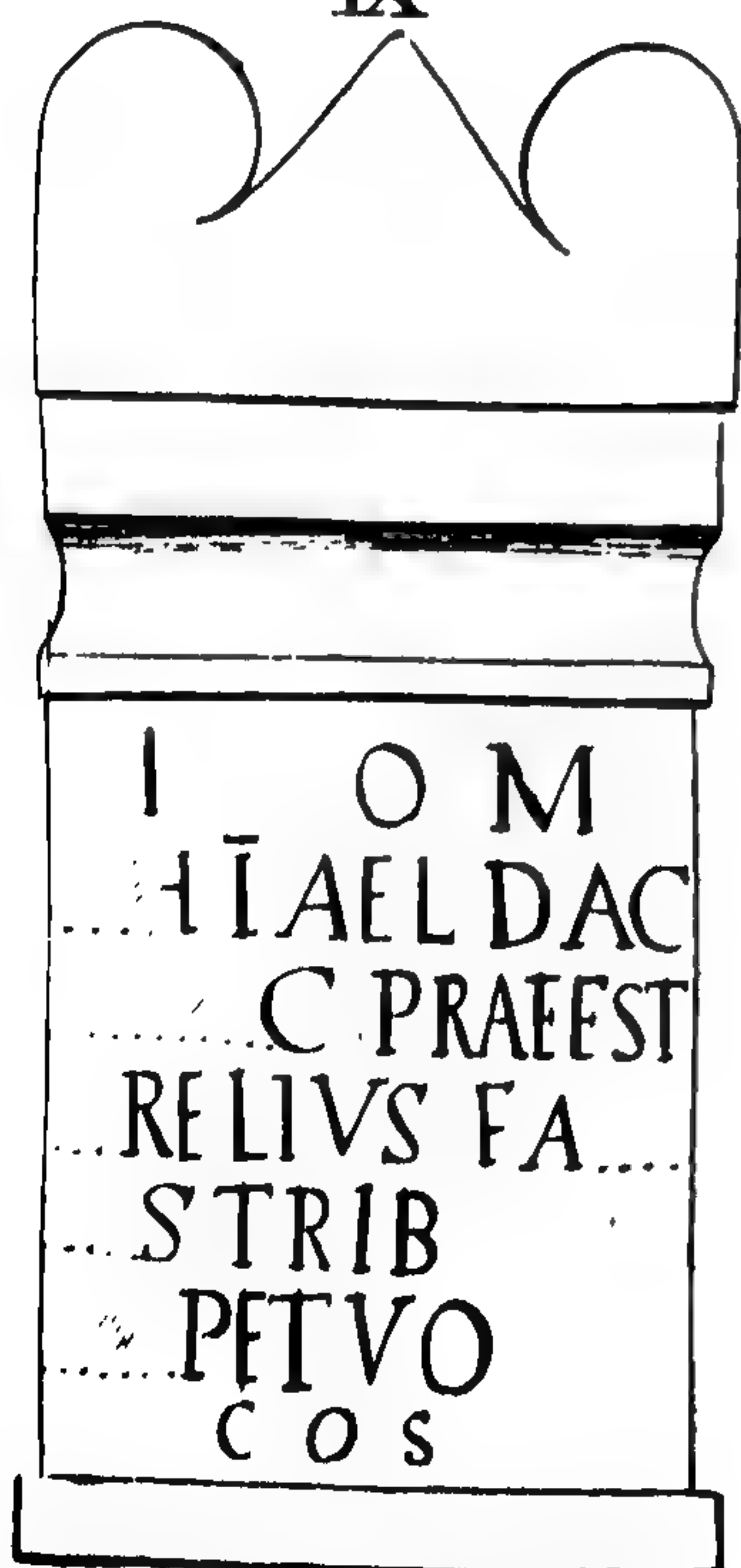
Jovi Optimo Maximo
cohors prima Aelia Da-
corum Gordiana cui prae-
est

XI



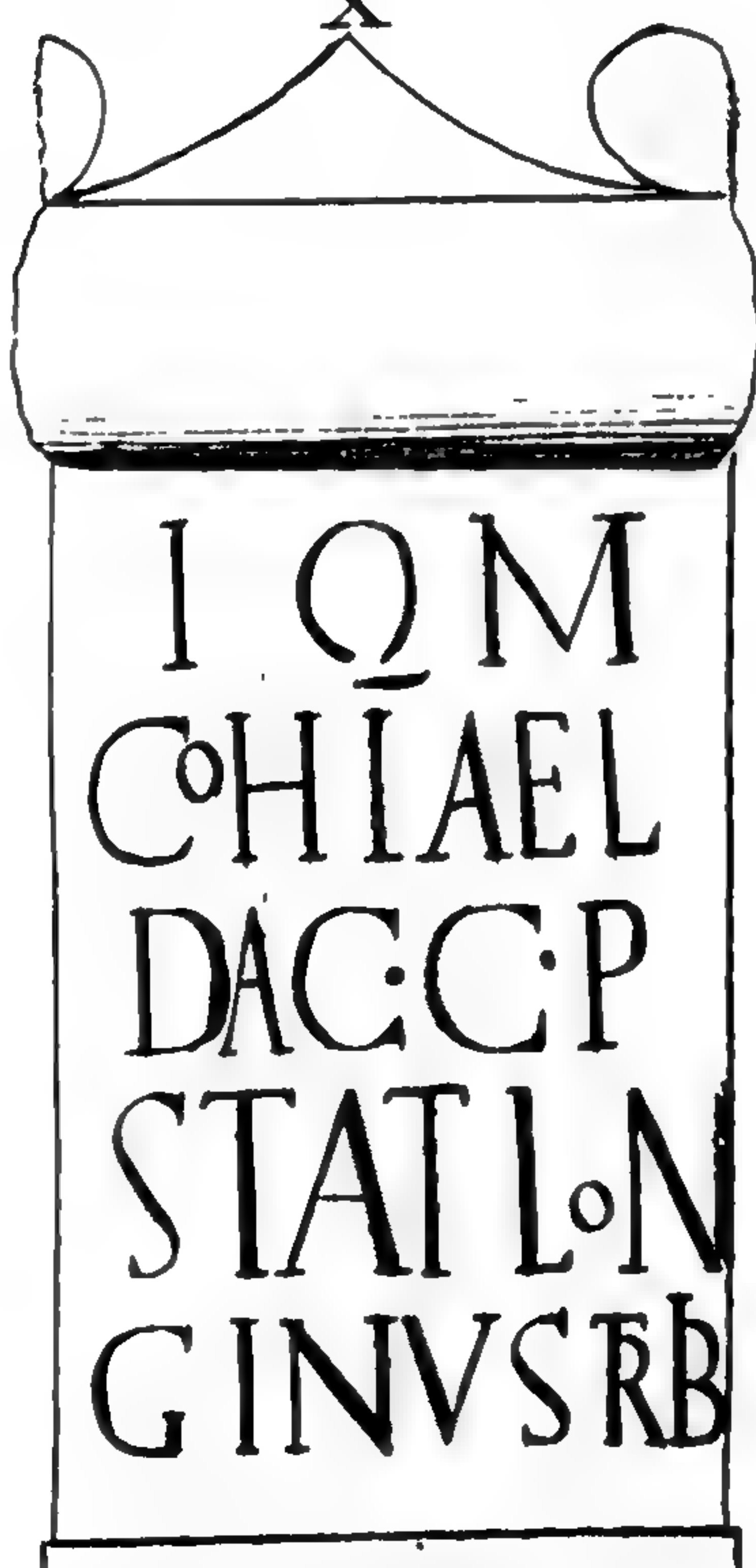
Jovi Optimo Maximo co-
hors prima Aelia Dacorum
cui praeest Ig.

IX



Jovi Optimo Maximo co-
hors prima Aelia Daco-
rum cui praeest Aurelius
Fabius tribunus Perpetuo
consule

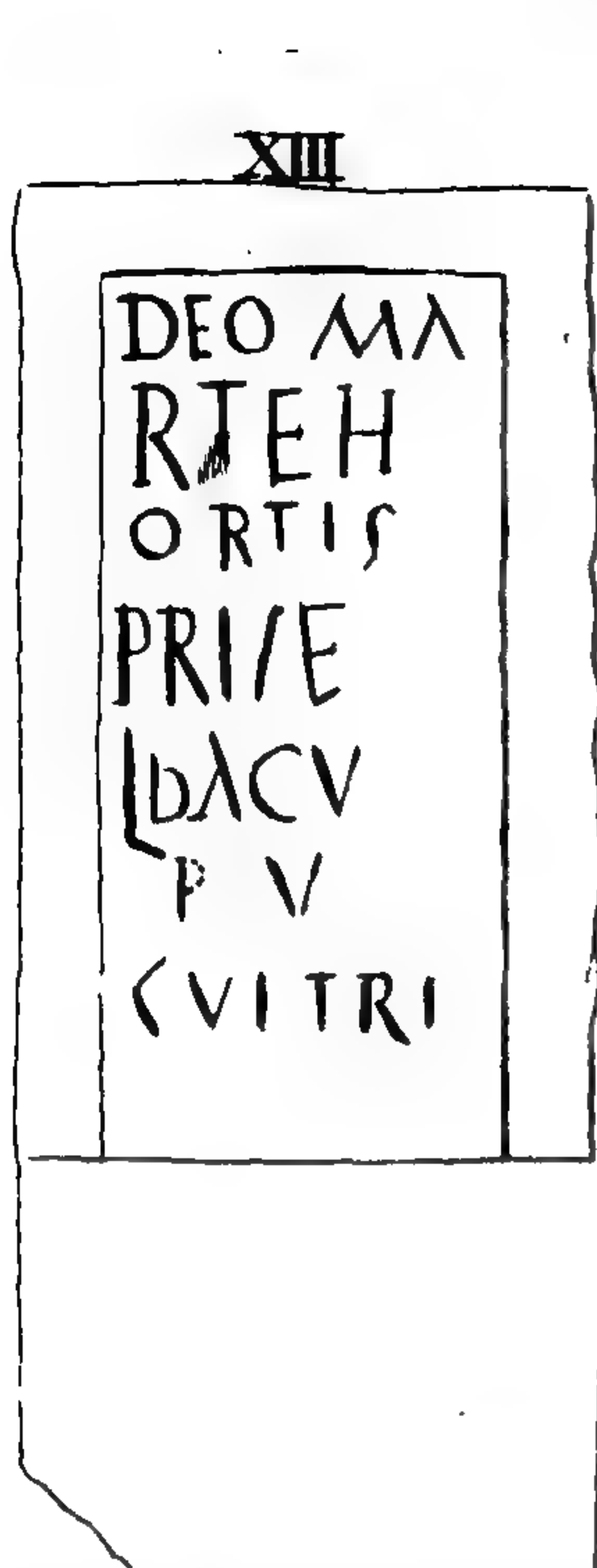
X



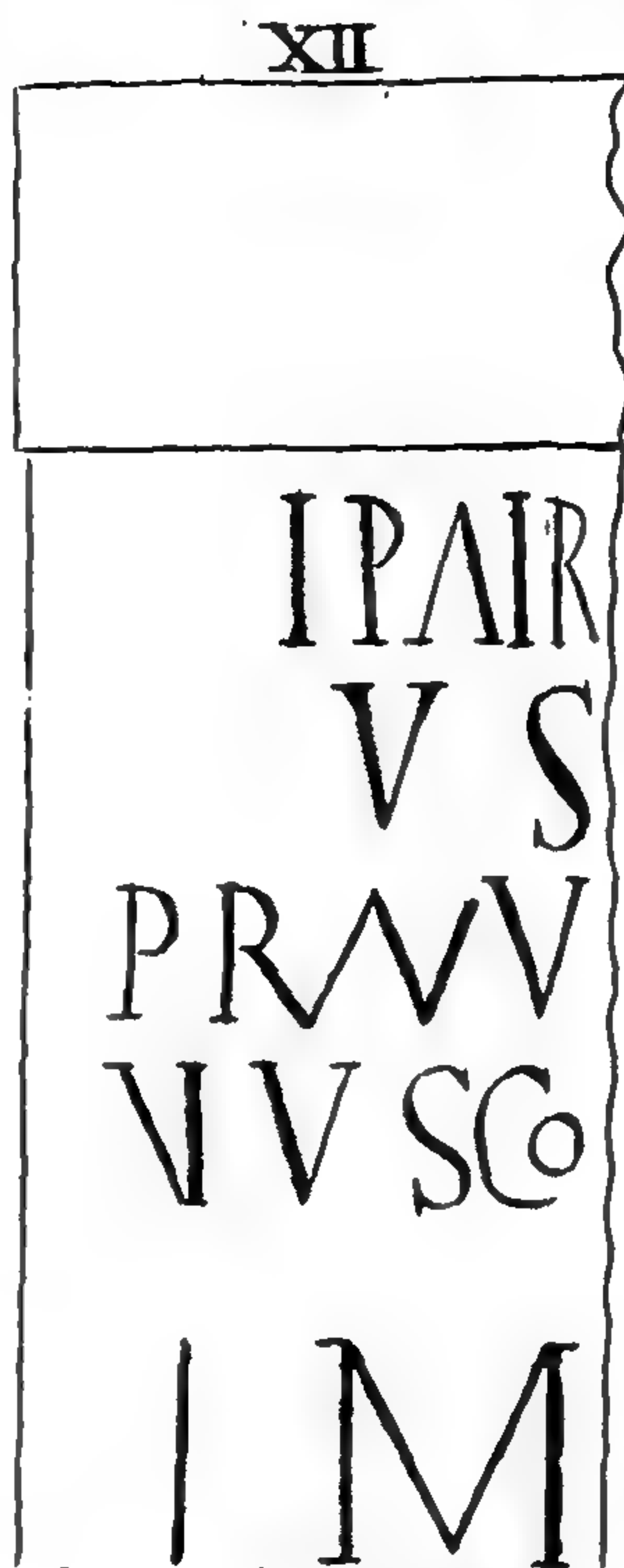
Jovi Optimo Maximo
cohors prima Aelia Da-
corum cui praeest Stati-
us Longinus tribunus

CUMBERLAND

Page N. 40.



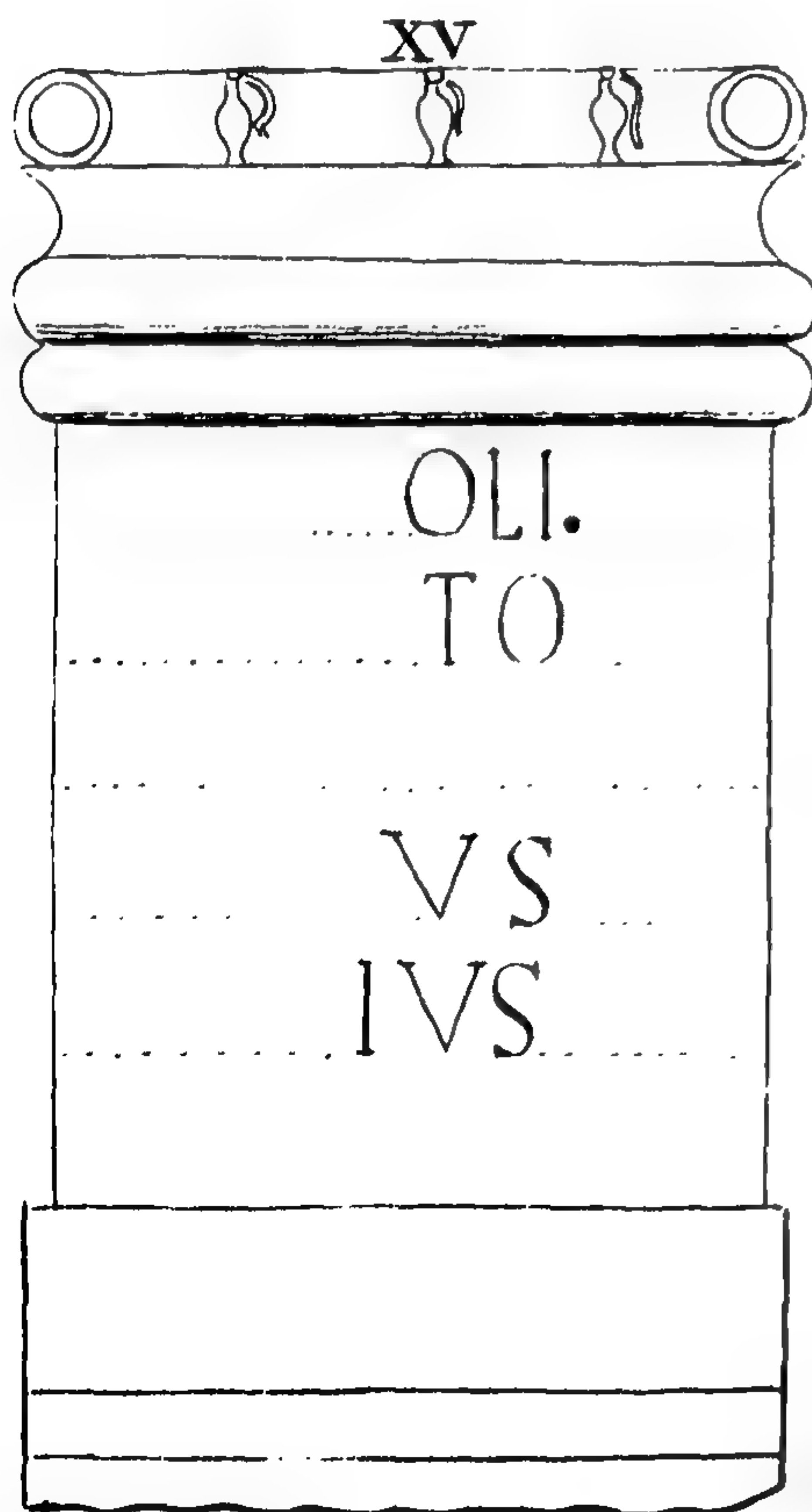
Deo Marti emeritus co-
hortis primae Aeliae Da-
corum cui praest
tribunus



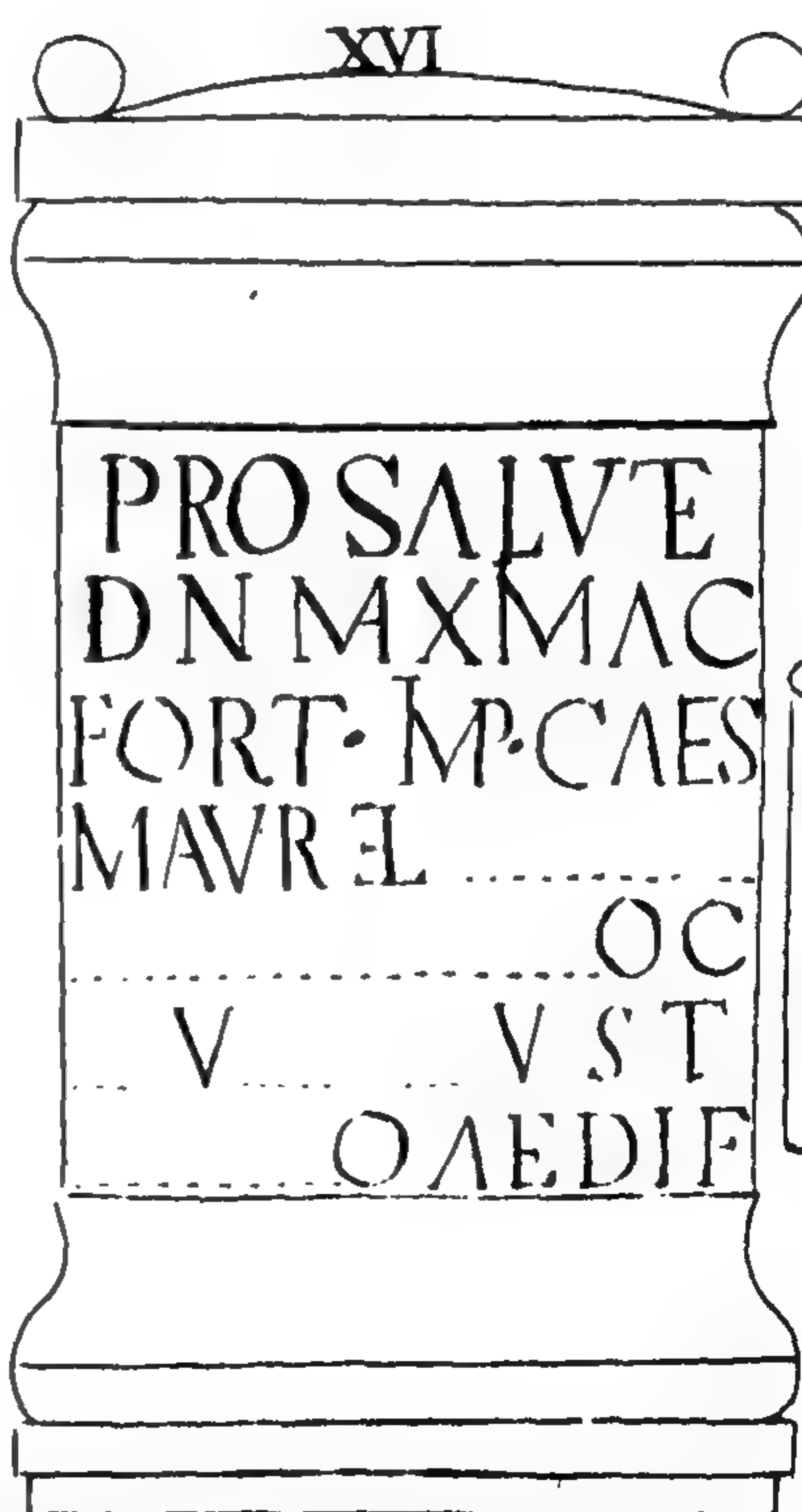
votum solvit
tribunus cohortis li-
bens merito



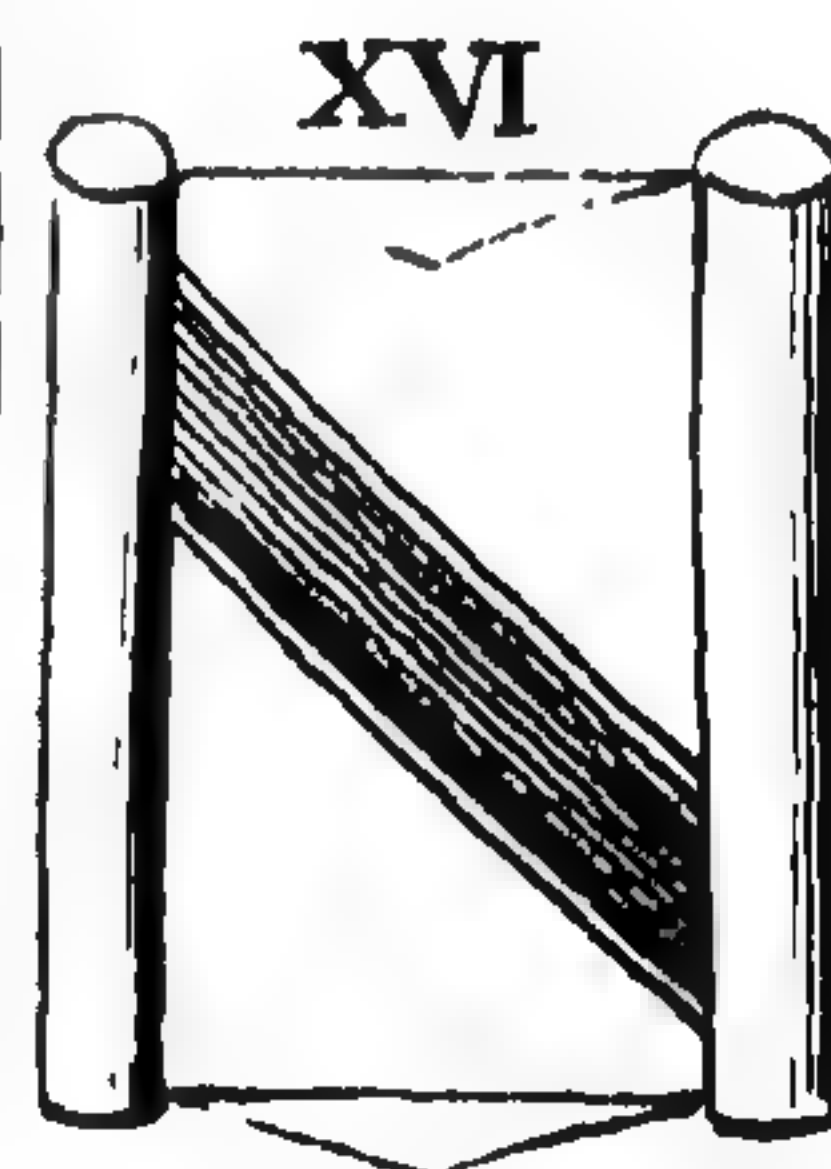
Ammianus Victorinus tribunus



Soli invicto

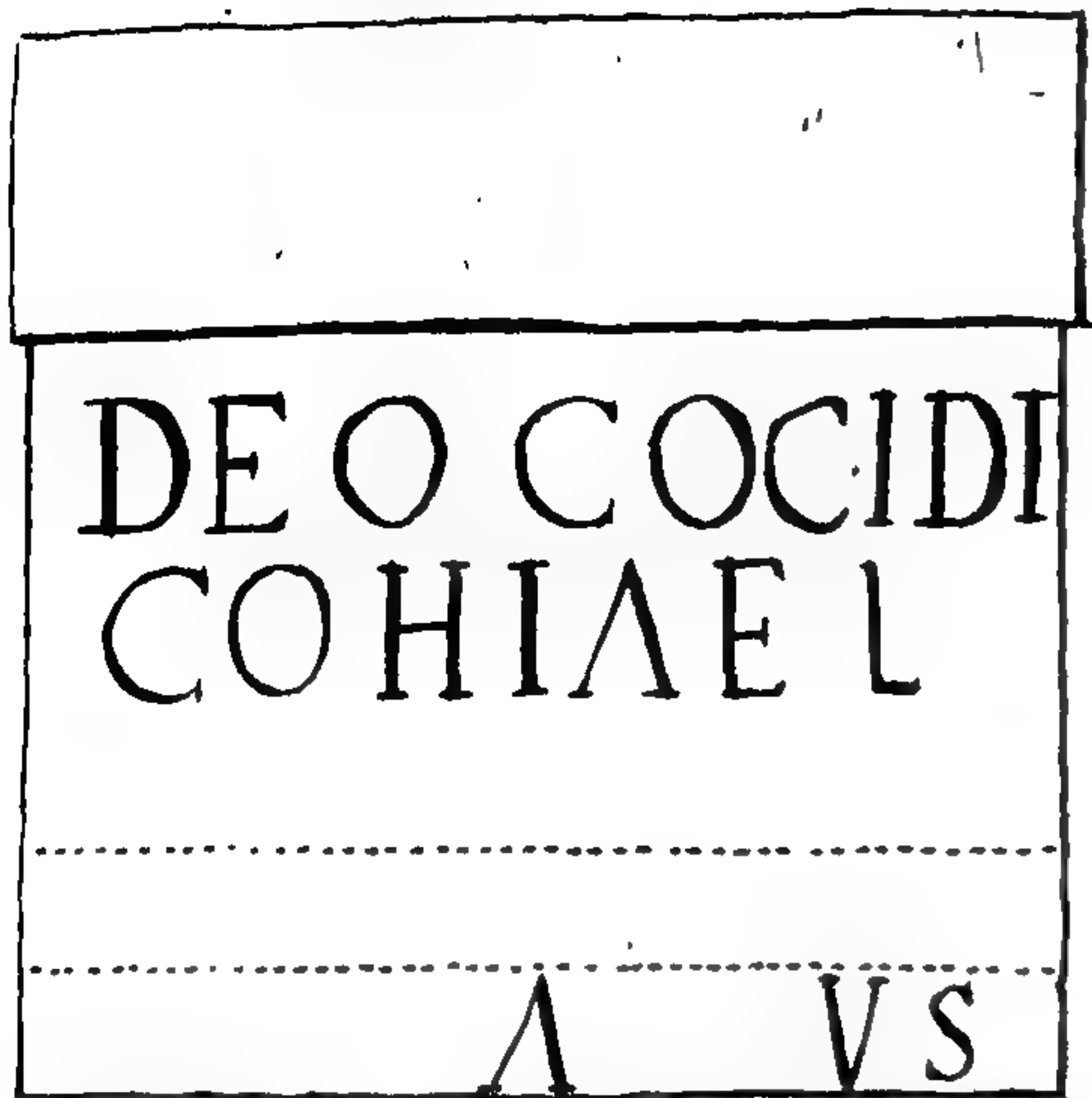


Pro salute domini nostri
maximi ac fortissimi impe-
ratoris Caesaris Marci Aurelii
Maximiani... aedificavit



CUMBERLAND

XVII



Deo Cocidi cohors prima Aelia
Dacorum.....
.....praefectus votum solvit

XVIII



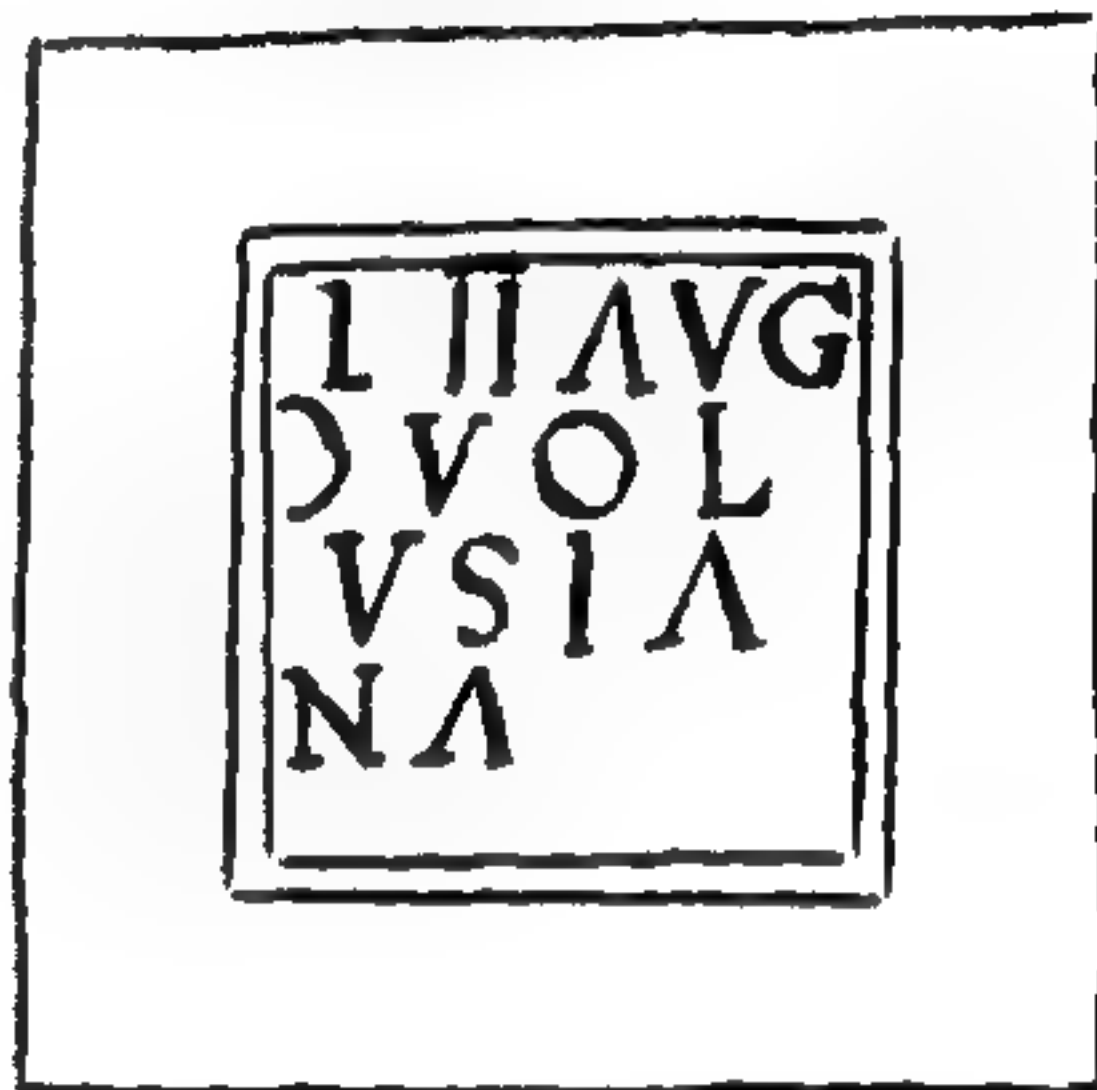
Centuria Cassi Prisci co-
hortis sextae
posuit

XX



Cohortis octavae cen-
turia Iulii Tertulliani
posuit

XXI



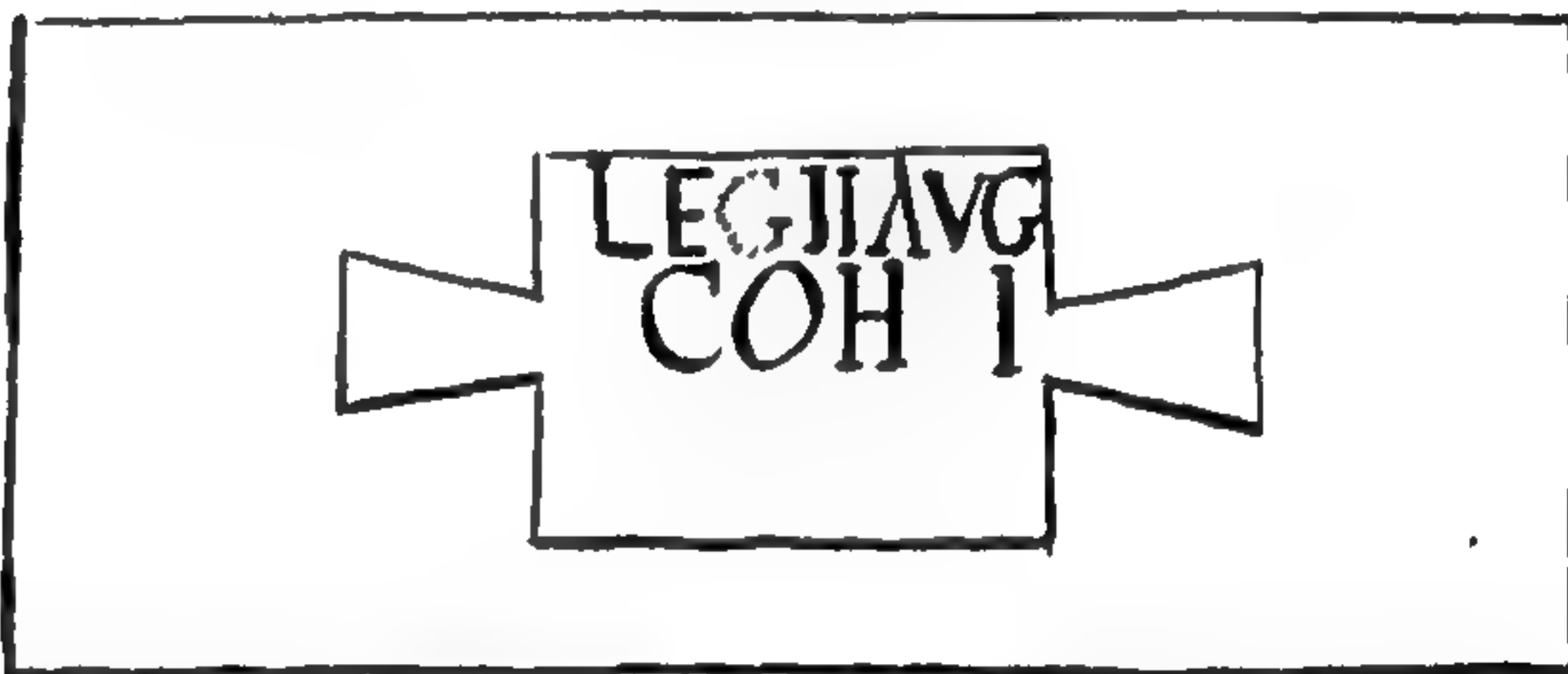
Legionis secundae
Augustae centuria
Volusiana posuit

XIX



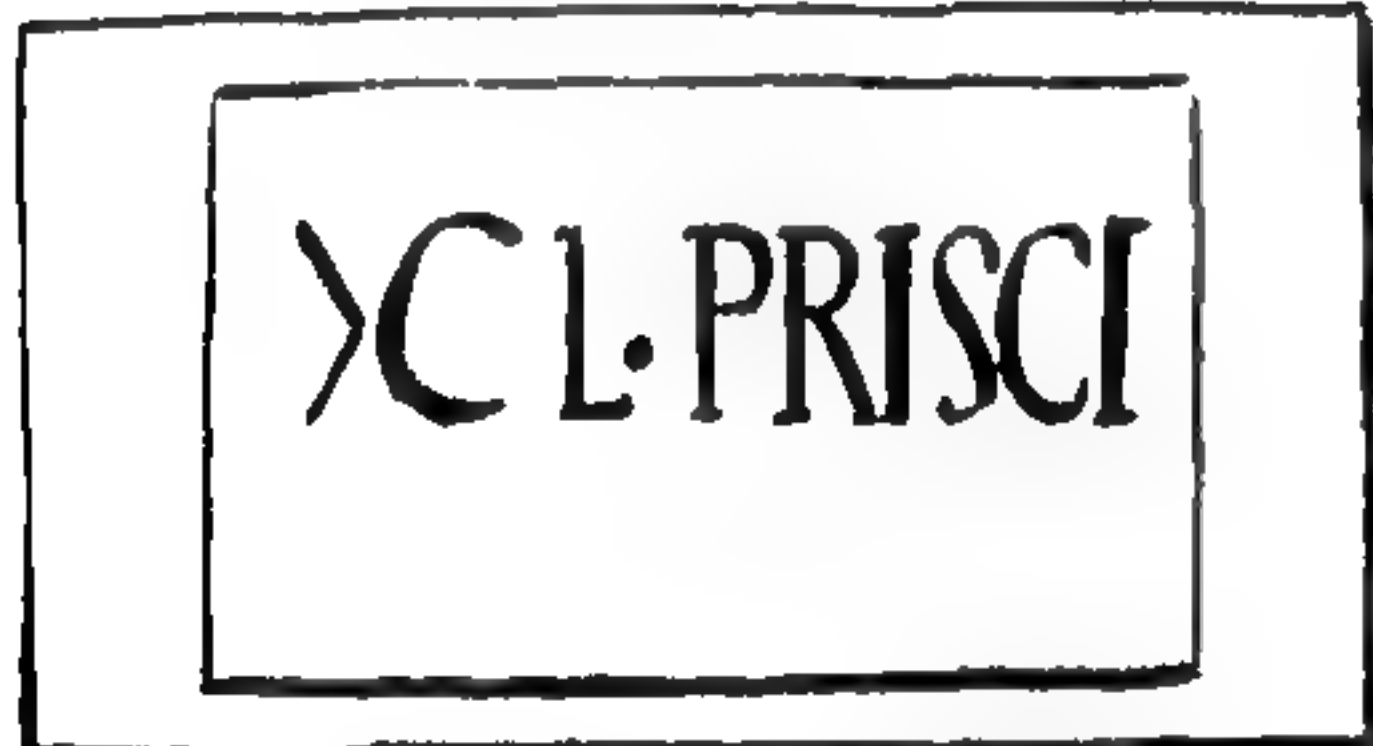
Centurio Dada

XXIII



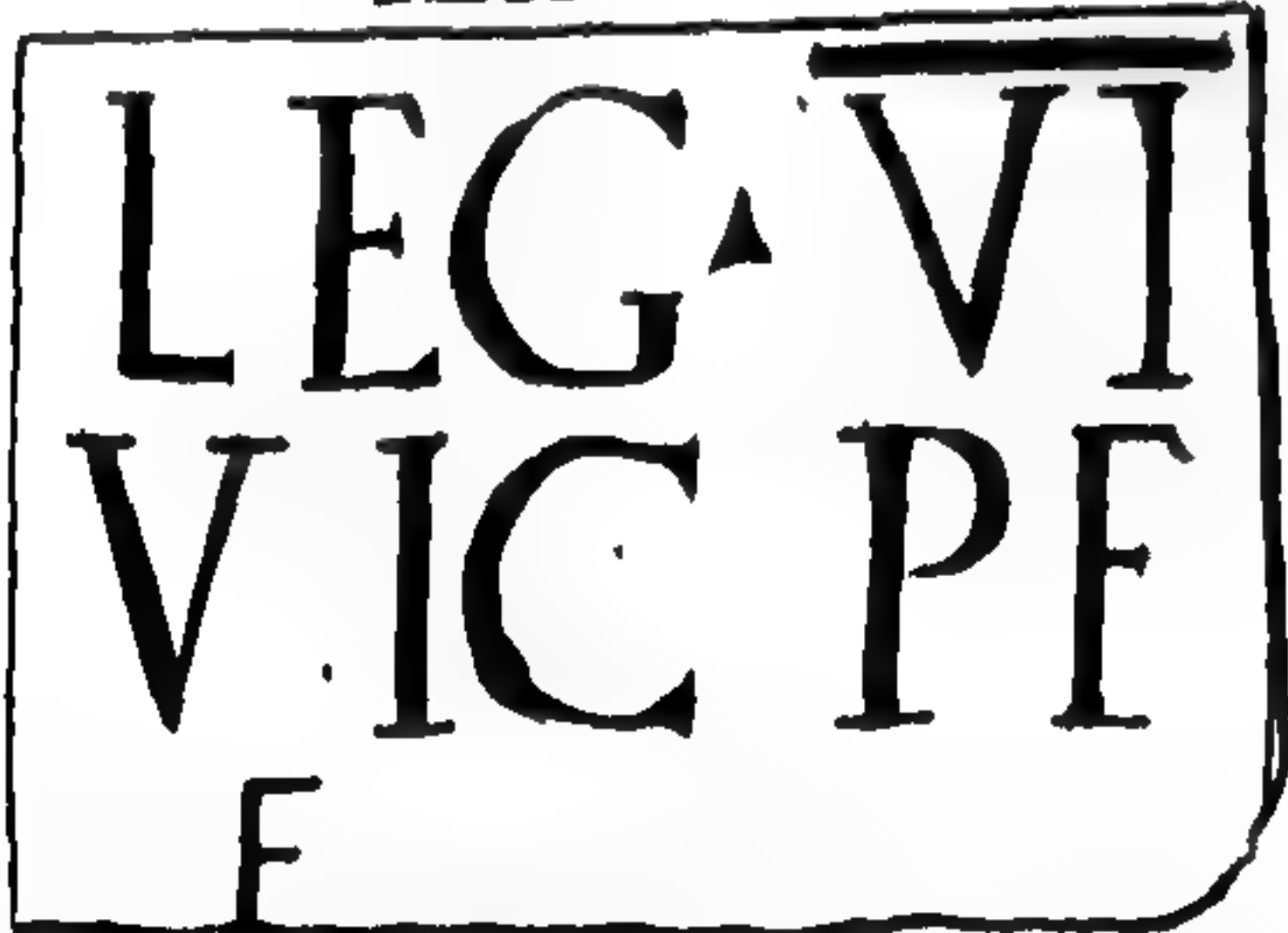
Legionis secundae Augustae cohors
prima posuit

XXII



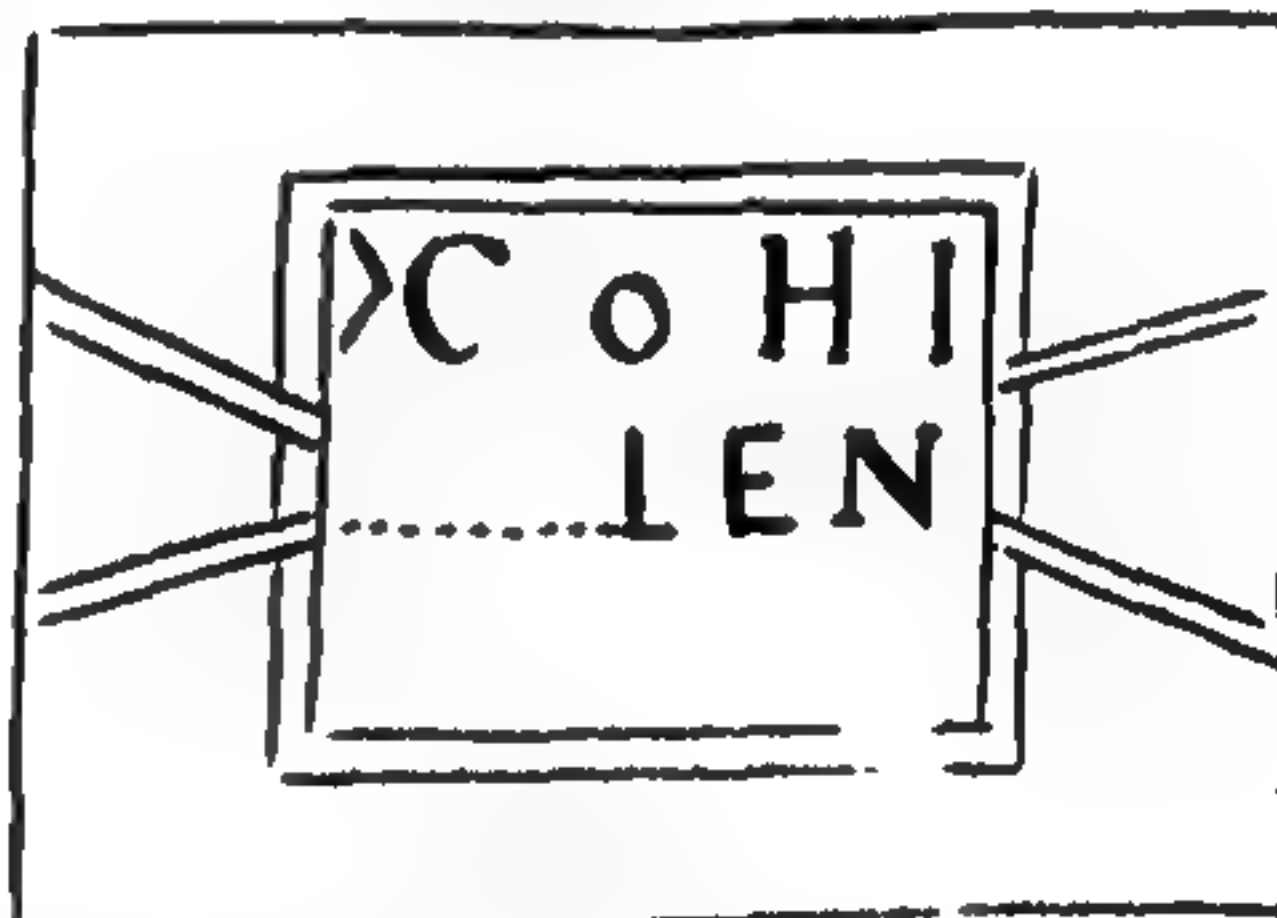
Centuria Claudii Prisci
posuit

XXIV



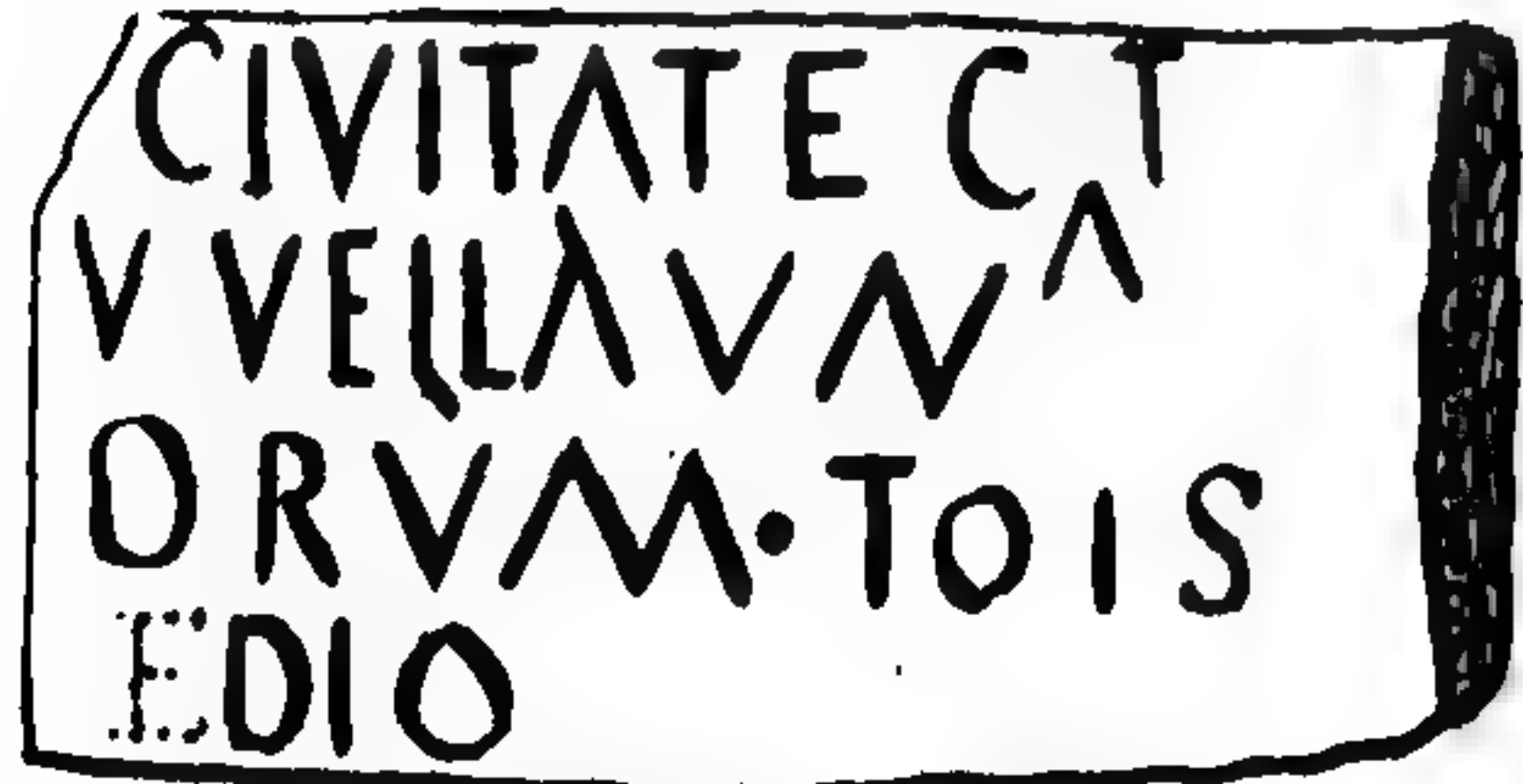
Legio sexta victrix pia
fidelis fecit

XXV



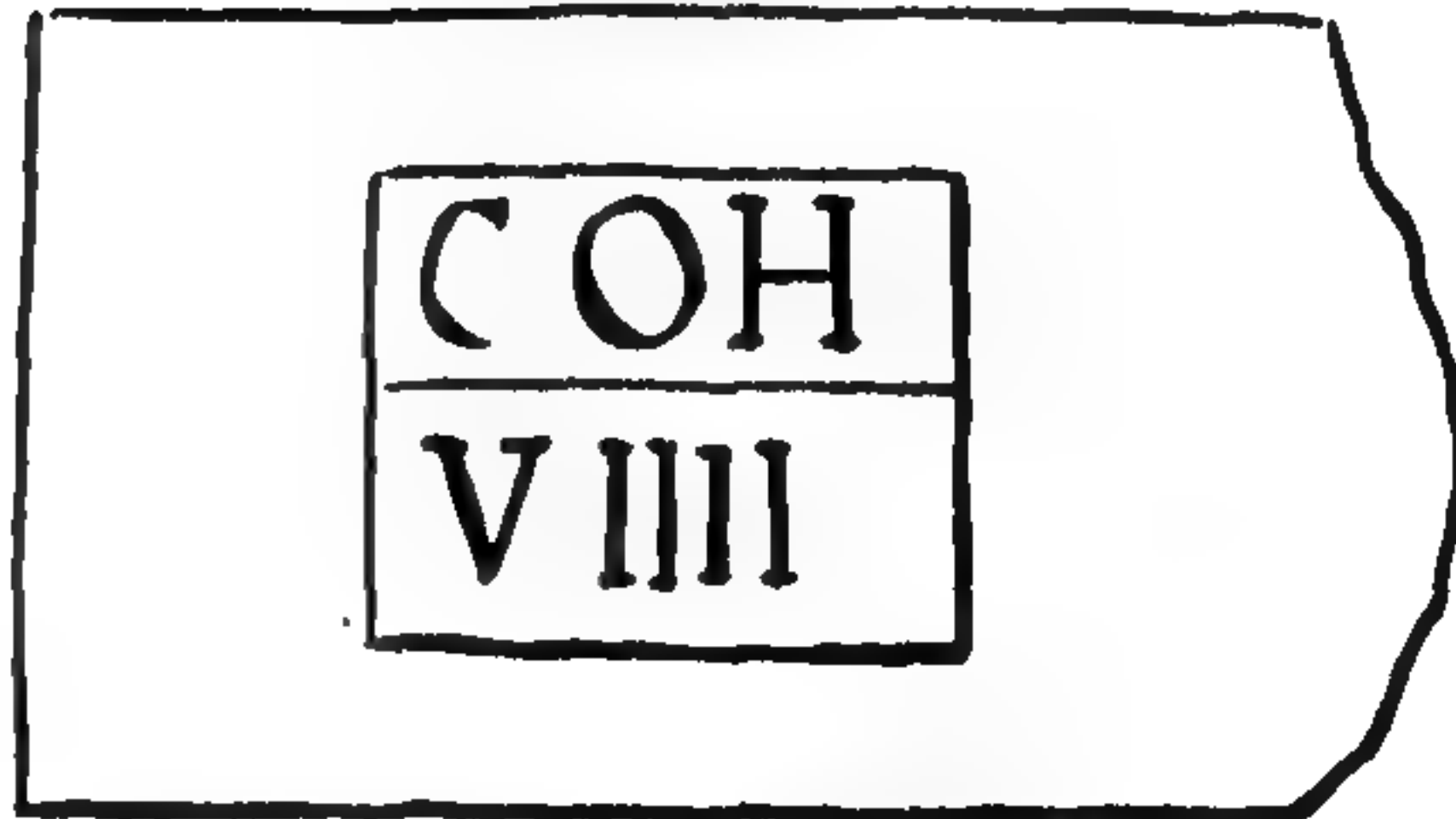
Centurio cohortis pri-
mae.....posuit

XXVII



E civitate Catuvellaunorum
Titus Oisedio posuit

XXVI



Cohors nona posuit

CUMBERLAND

P. 192. N. 42.

XXVIII



SOLI
INVICTO
SEX· SEVE
RIVS· SA
LVATOR
AEF
L·M

Soli invicto Sextus Severi-
us Salvator praefectus *vetum solvit*
libens merito

XXIX



DEO SOLI MIR
VIS
COR

Deo Soli Mitrae

XXX



I
COH IIII
GALLORVM
CPVOLCA
VSHOSPEIS
PR FE Q

Jovi *Optimo Maximo*
cohors quarta Gallo-
rum cui praeest Vol-
catius Hopes praefec-
tus equitum

XXXII



XXXII



Victoria Augusti

XXXI



Deo sancto Be-
latuadro Aulus
Domitius Paulli-
nus votum solvit

XXXIII



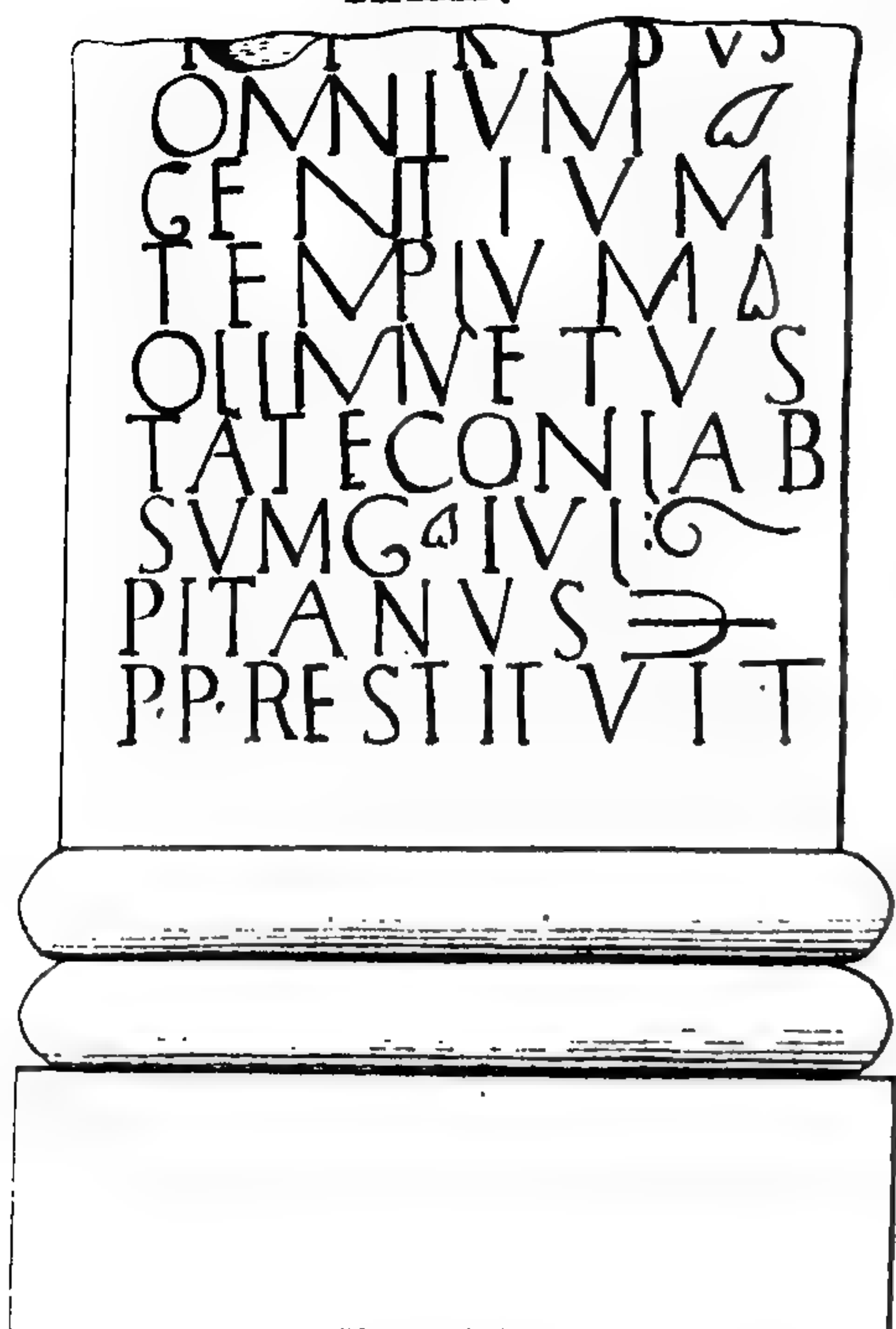
LEGVI·V
F

Legio sexta victrix
fecit

CUMBERLAND

P. 192. N. 43.

XXXIV



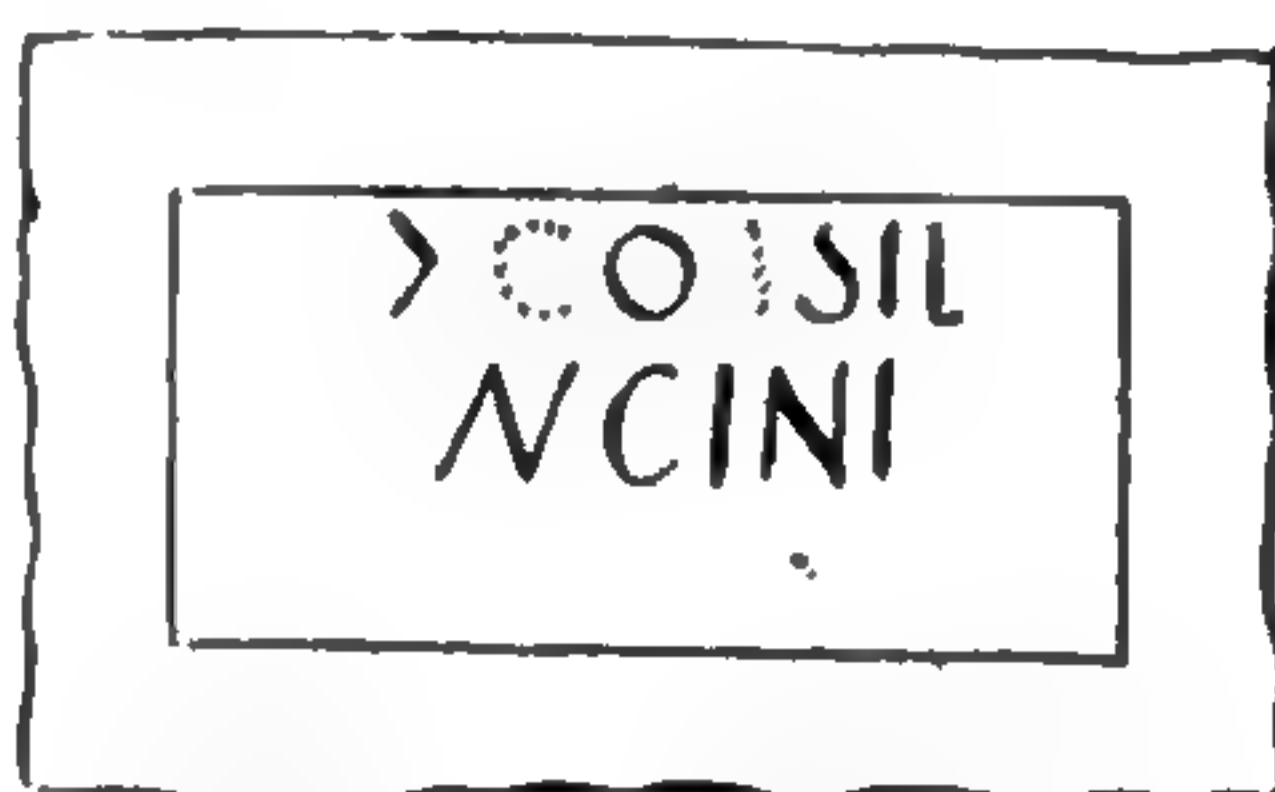
..... omnium gentium tem-
plum olim vetustate conlab-
sum Gaius Julius Pitanius provin-
ciae praefes restituit.

XXXV



Deo sancto Marti Ve-
nustinus Lupus vo-
tum solvit libens me-
rito

XXXVII



Centuria cohortis Silii
Aucinii posuit

XXXVI



Legionis secundae
Augustae centuria
Julii Tertulliani
posuit
XL



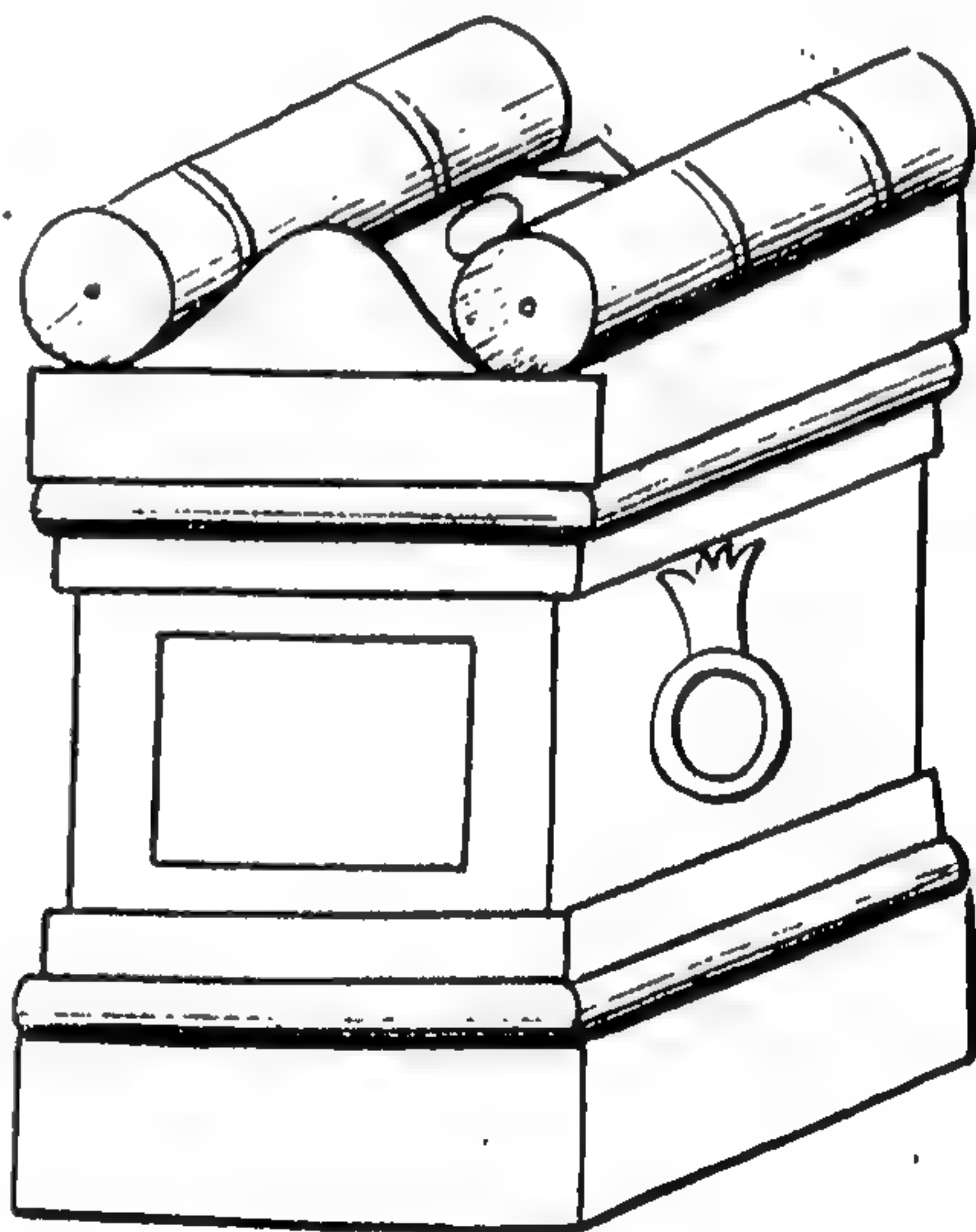
Matribus domesticis.....
Messorius signifer votum
solvit libentissime

XXXIX

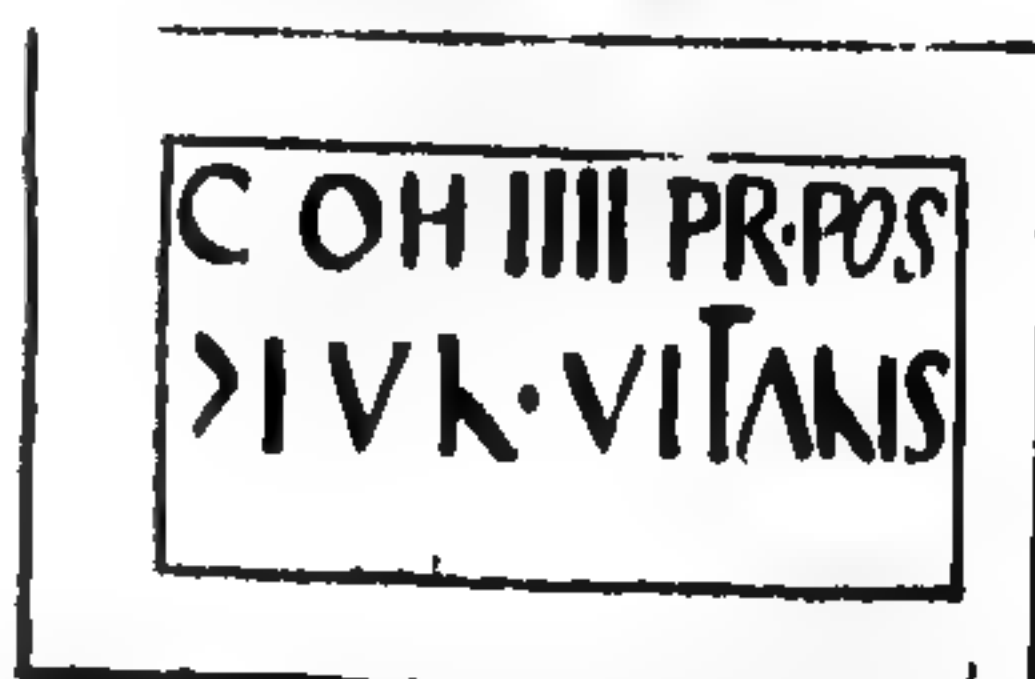


Dis Manibus Marci Trojani Augustinii tumulum
faciendum curavit Aelia Ammilla Lusima con-
jux karissima.

XLI



XXXVIII

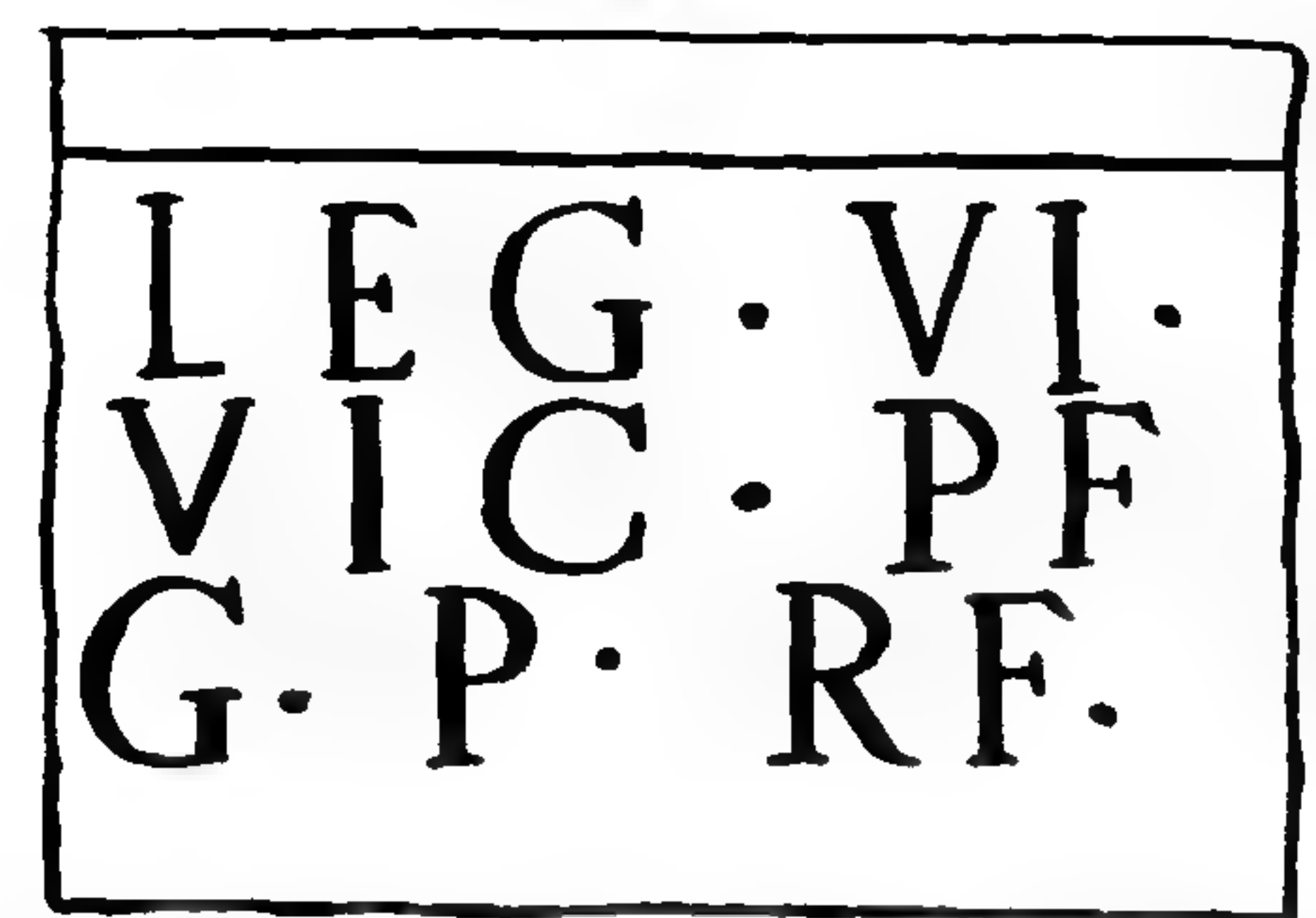


Cohortis quartae
praetorianae posuit
centuria Julii Vitalis

CUMBERLAND

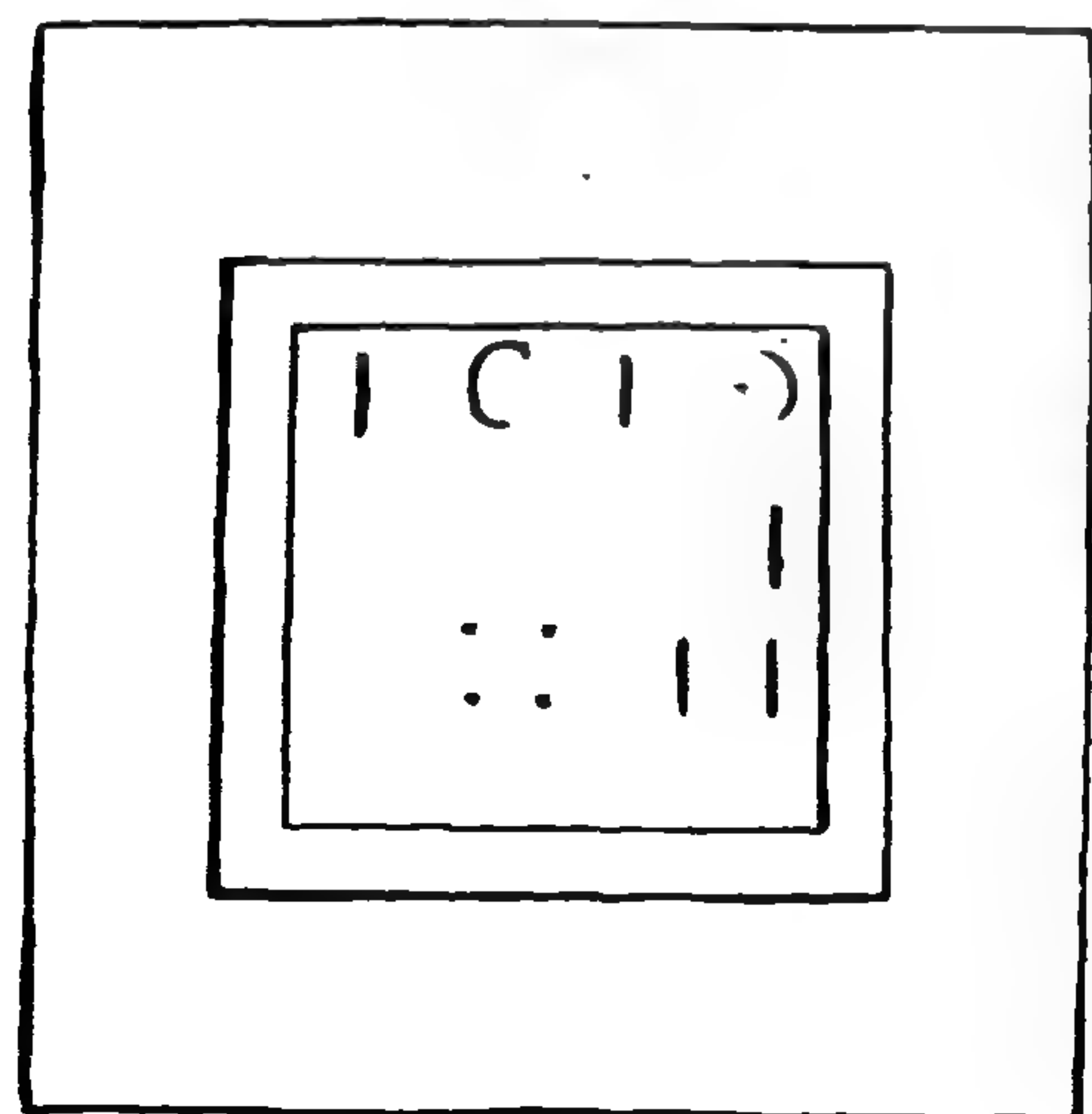
¹Cohors ²Cohors
nona decima XLIV

XLII



Legio sexta victrix pia fidelis
Genio populi Romani fecit

XLIII



Vexillatio legionis secundae Augustae ob
virtutem appellatae sub Agricola optione

Apro et Maximo consulibus
ex officina Mercatii

Mercatius *filius*
Fermin.

CUMBERLAND

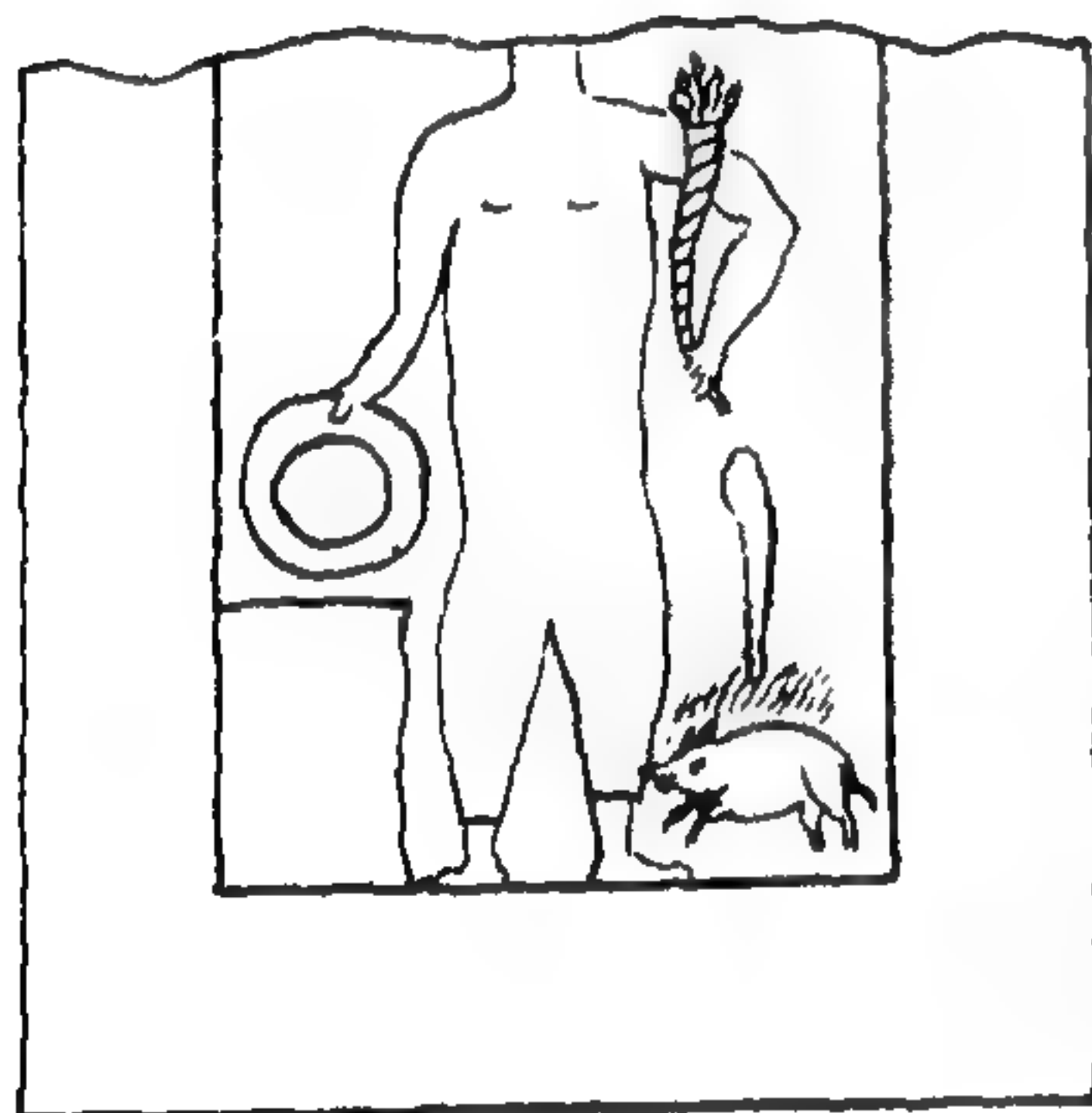
P.192. N.45.

XLV



Legio secunda Augusta fecit

L



XLVIII



XLVI



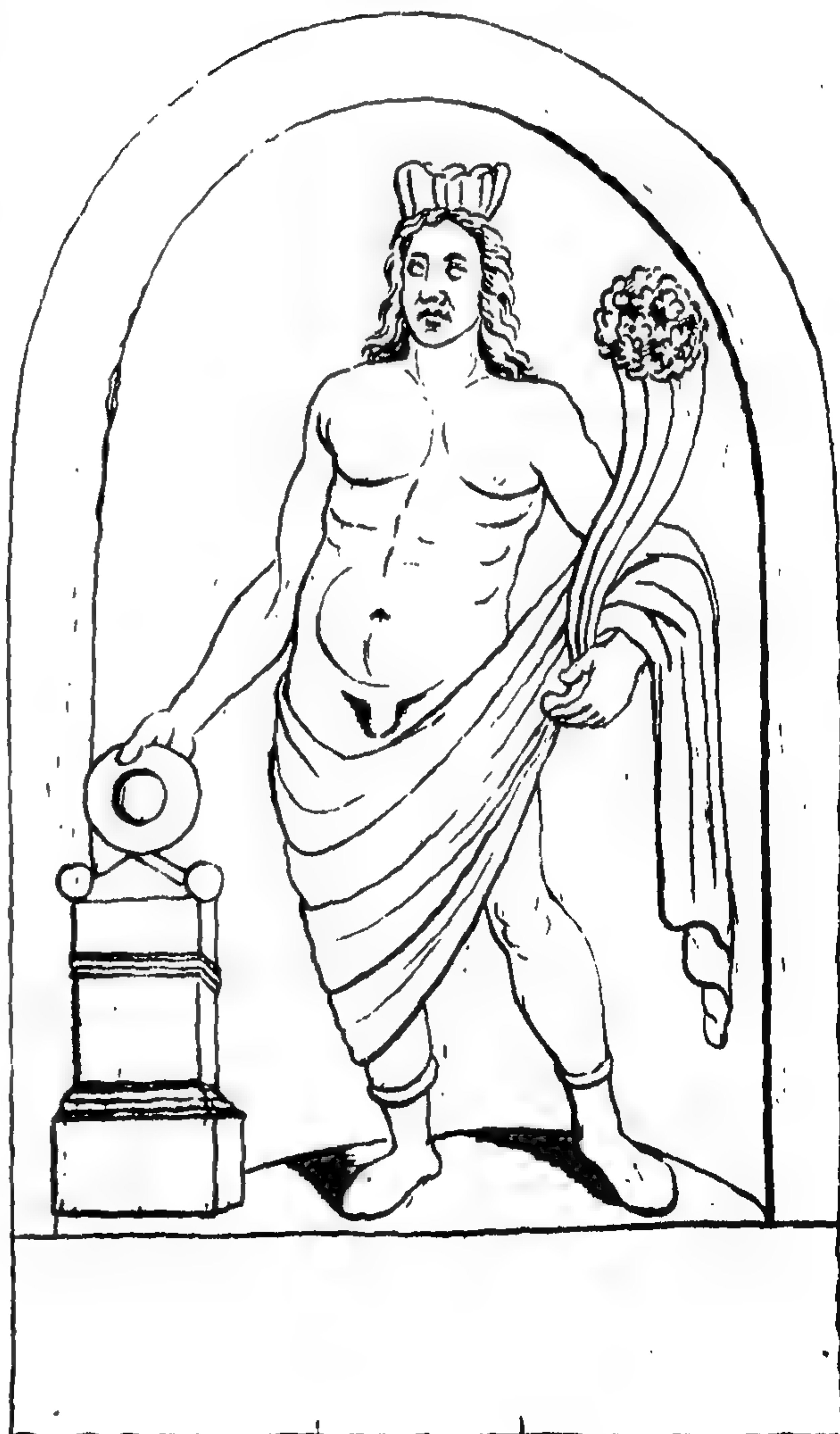
Imperatori Caesari Trajano Hadriano Augusto legiones secunda Augusta et vicesima valens victrix sub Licinio Prisco legato Augustali propraetore

XLVII



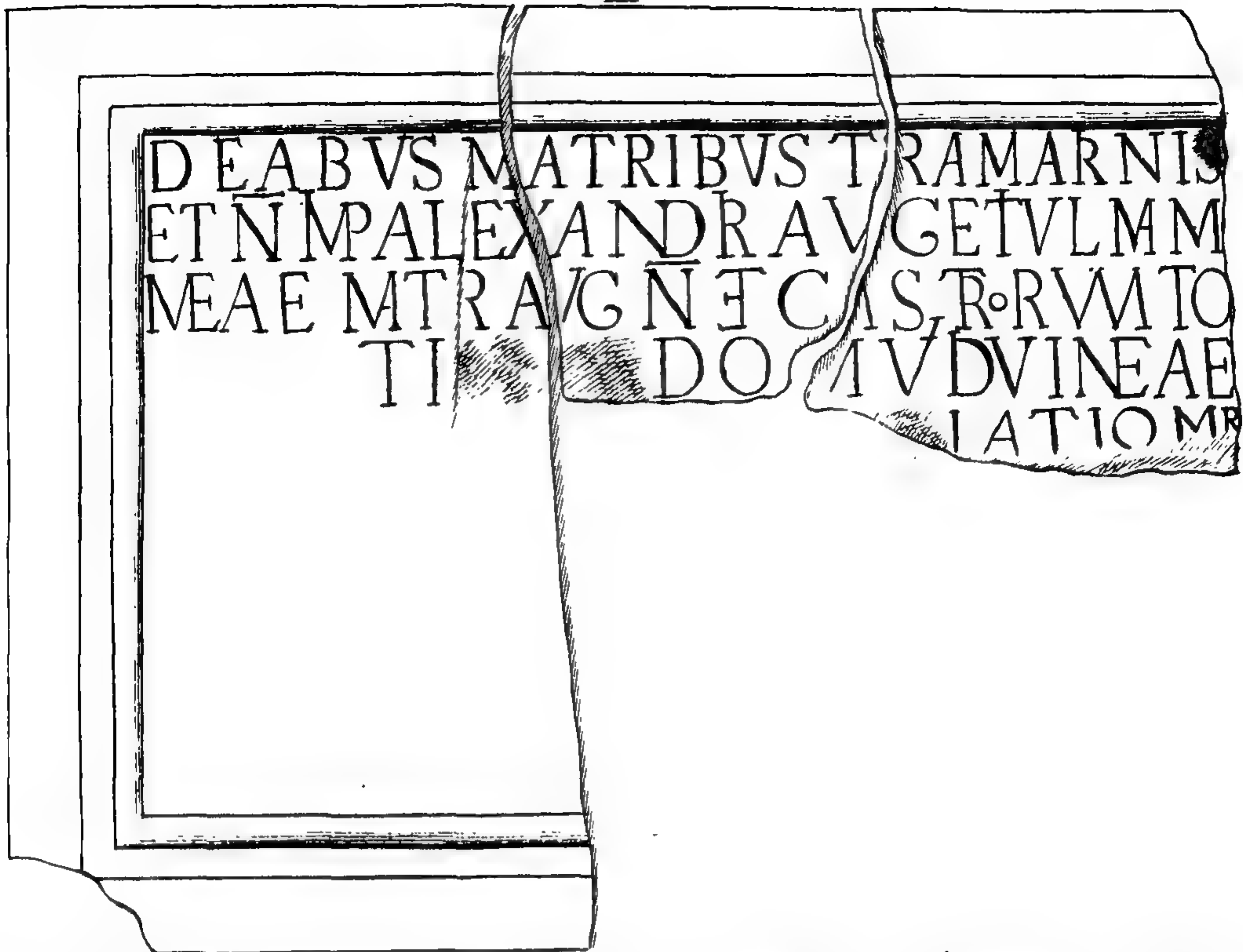
Deo Mogontivatae restit. Flavius Aelius Secundus votum solvit libens merito

XLIX



CUMBERLAND

LI



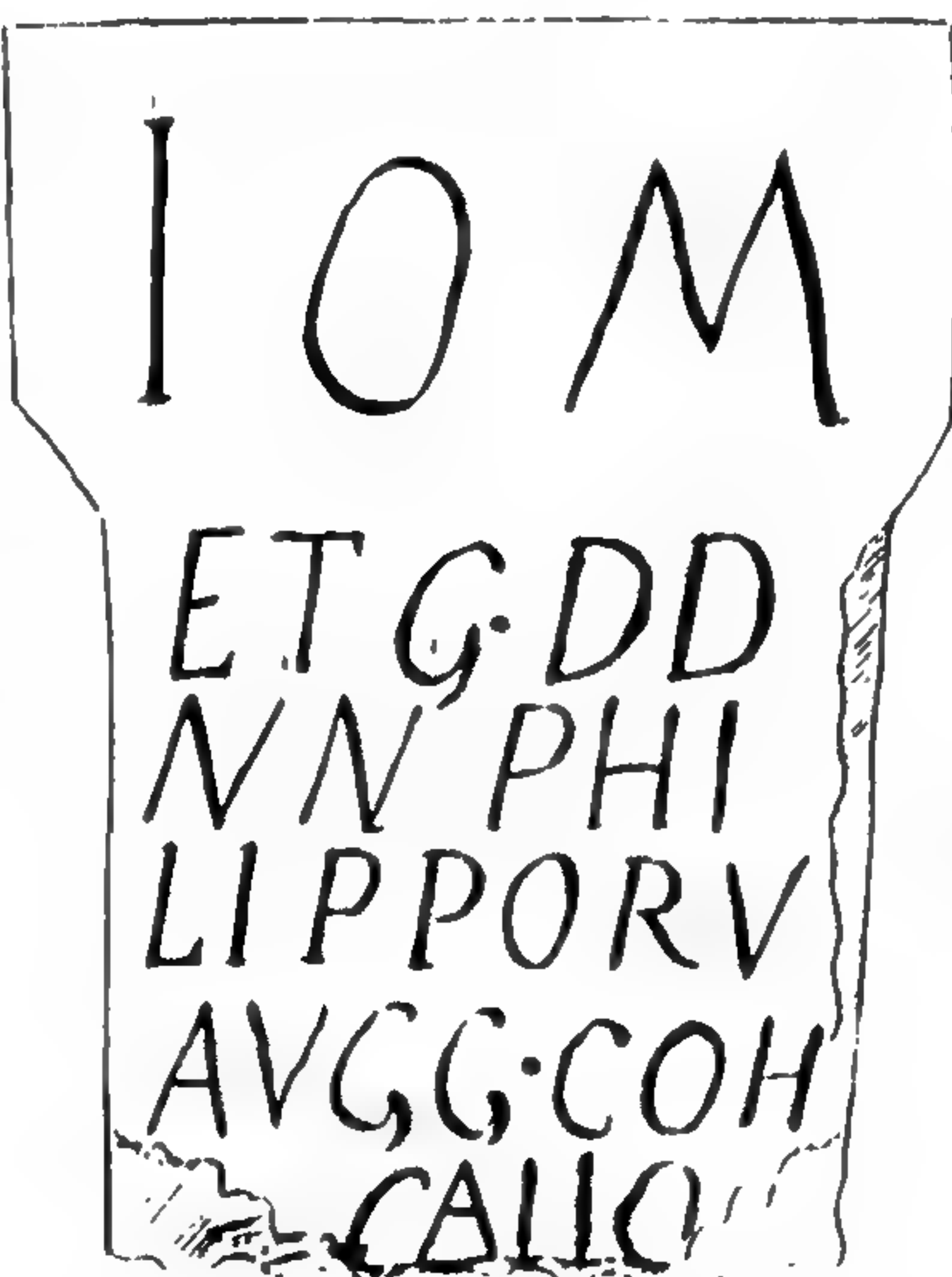
Deabus Matibus tramarinis et Numini imperatoris Alexandri Augusti
et Juliae Mammeae matri Augusti nostri et castrorum totique domui divinae
aeternaeque vexillatio posuit

LII



Jovi Optimo Maximo
cohortis secundae Gat-
lorum equitum Titus
Domitius Heron de
Nicomedia praefectus

LII^a



Jovi Optimo Maximo
et Genio dominorum
nostrorum Philippo-
rum Augustorum co-
hors Gallorum

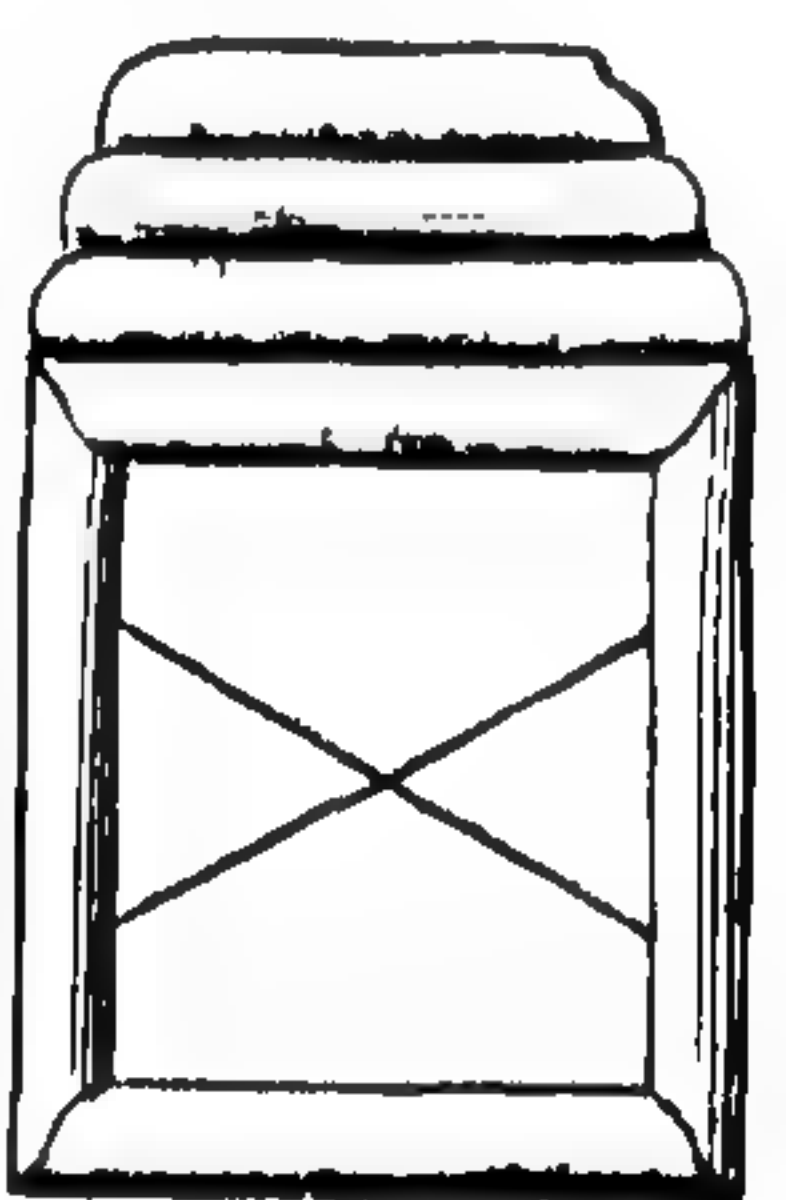
See the preface, p. XX.

LIII

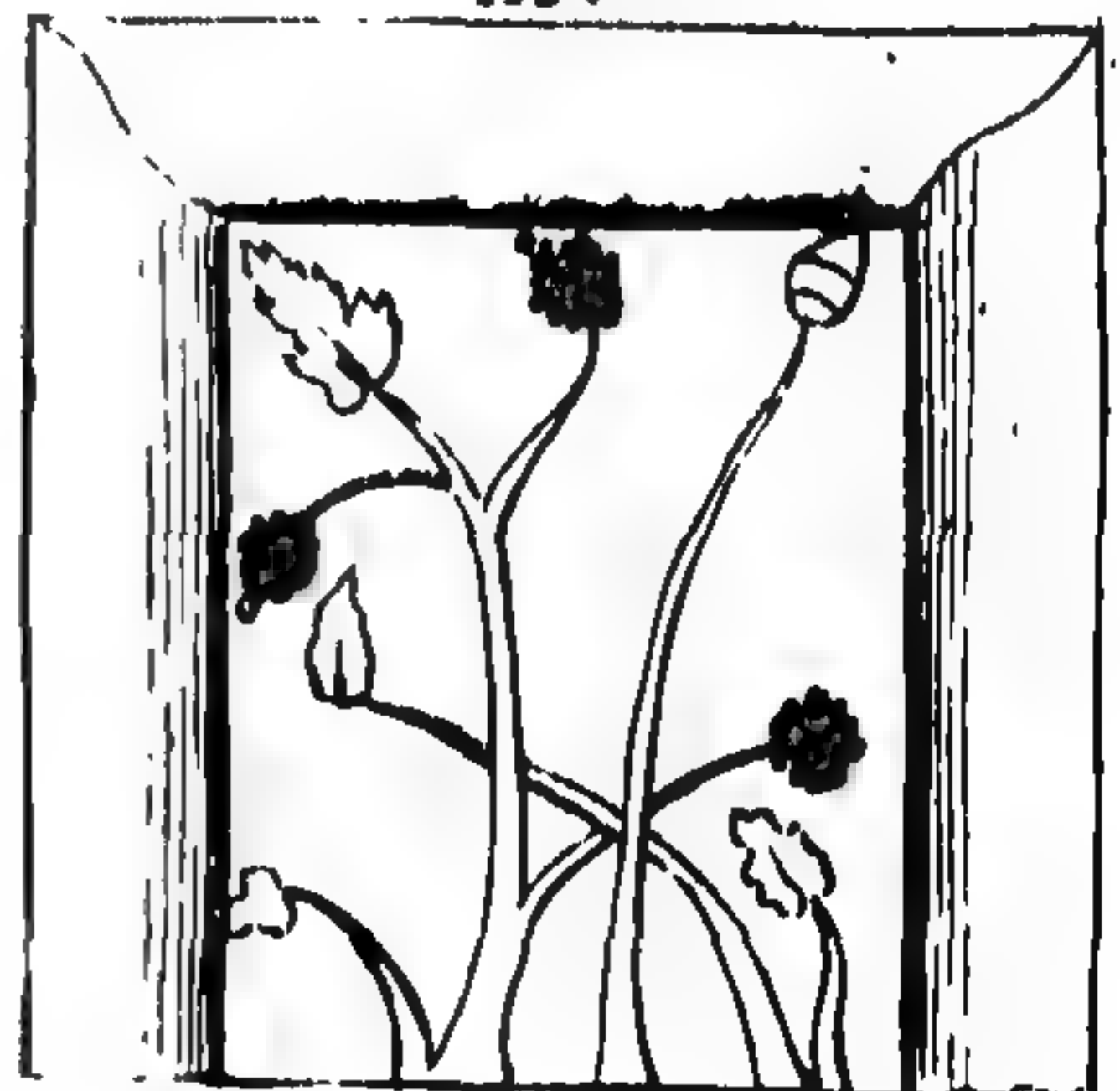


Deo Mogonti

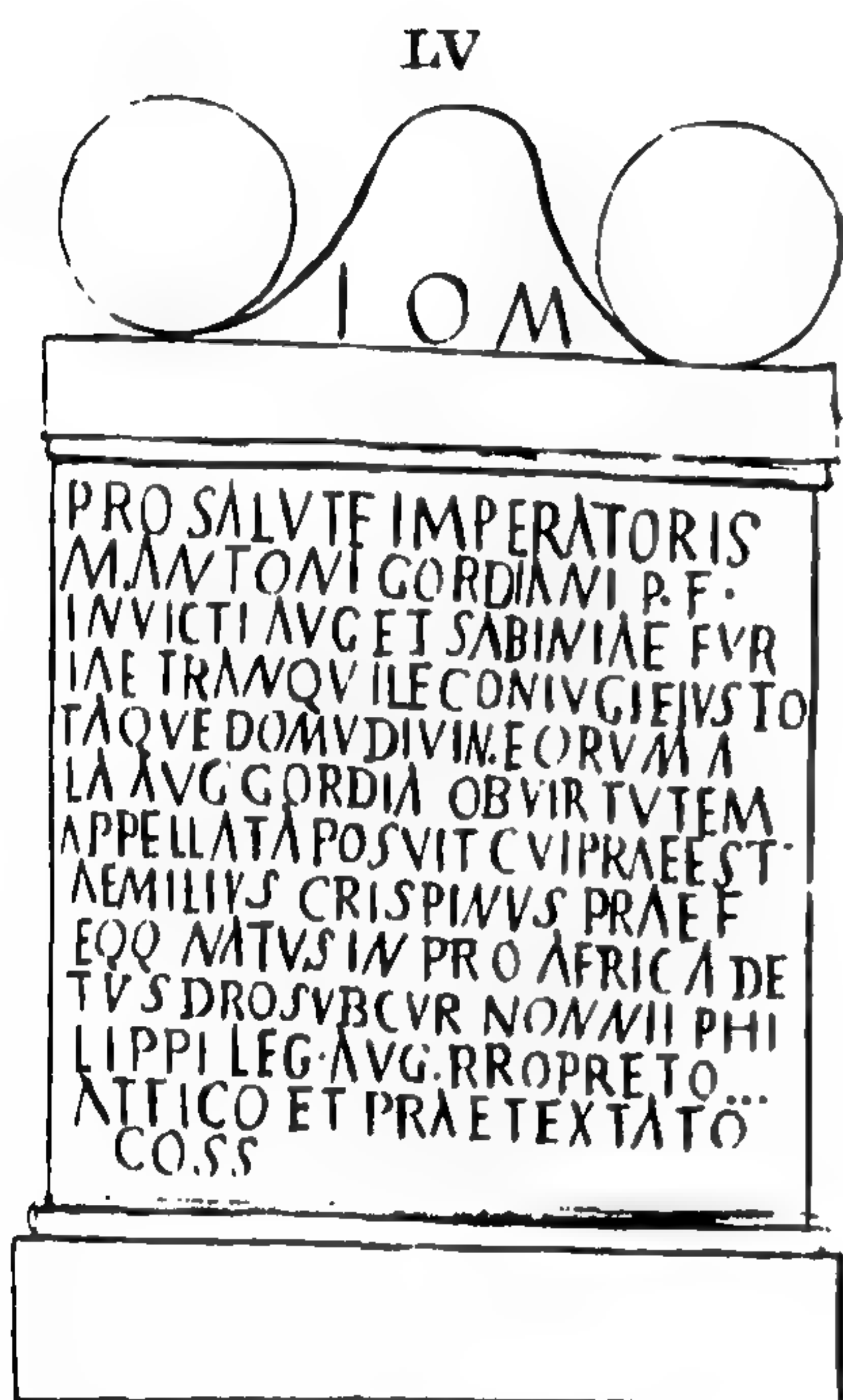
LIV



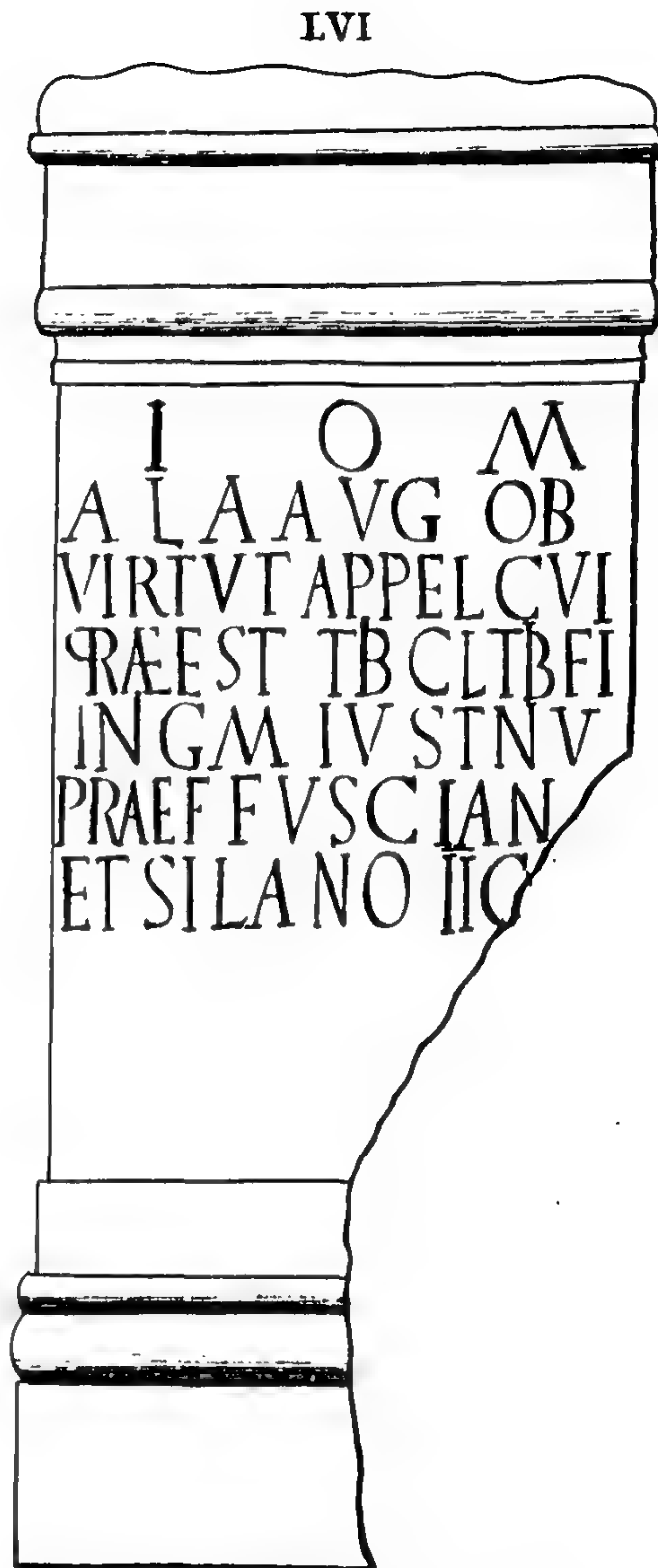
LIV



CUMBERLAND

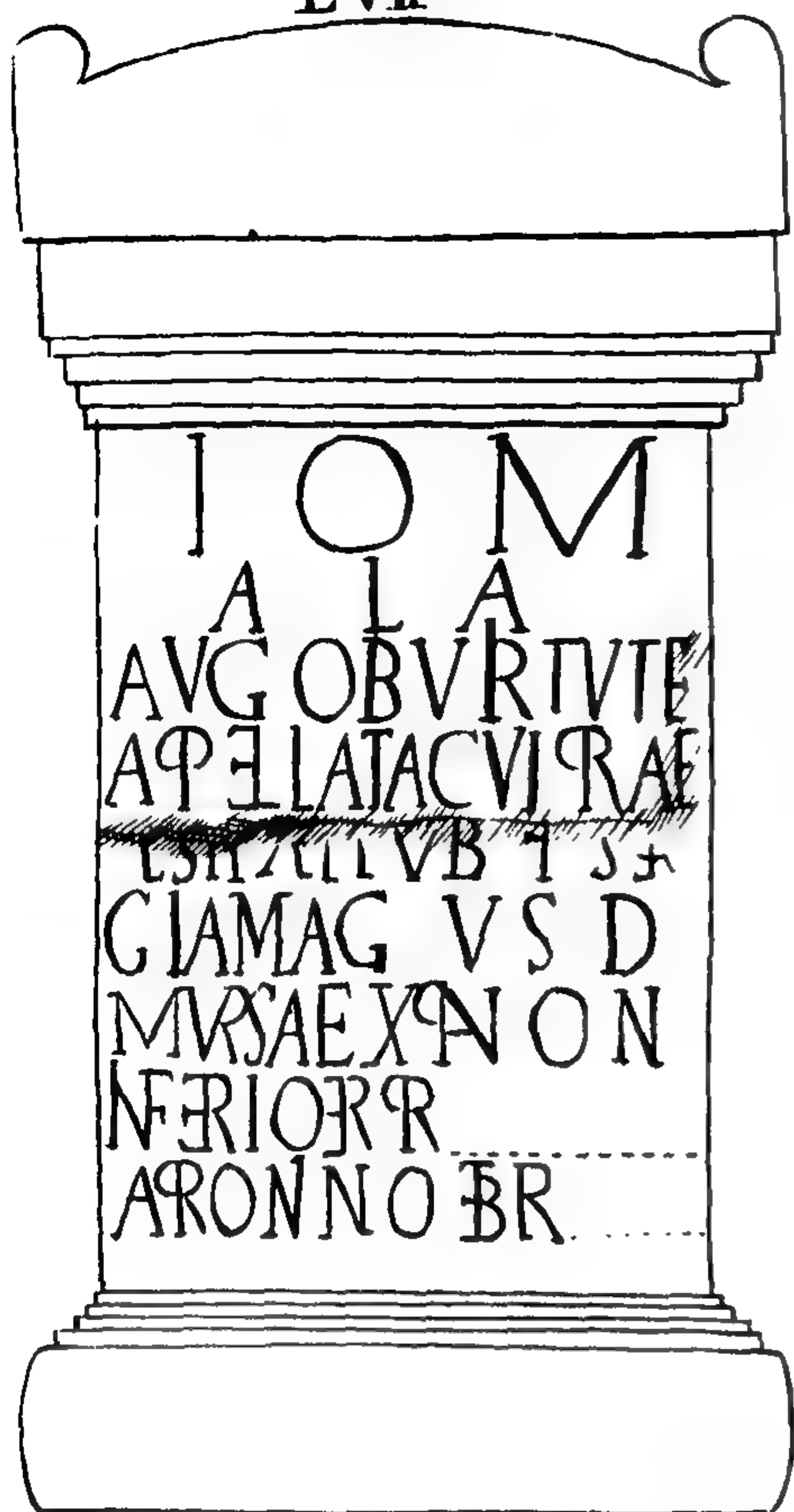


Jovi Optimo Maximo
pro salute imperatoris Marci An-
tonii Gordiani pii felicis invicti
Augusti et Sabinae Furiae Tran-
quillae conjugis ejus tota que
domu divina eoru ala Aug. Gordi-
ana ob virtutem appellata posuit
cui praeest Aemilius Crispinus
praefectus equitum natus in
provincia Africa de Tufdro
sub cura Nonnii Philippi lega-
ti Augustalis propraeoris At-
tico et Praetextato consulibus



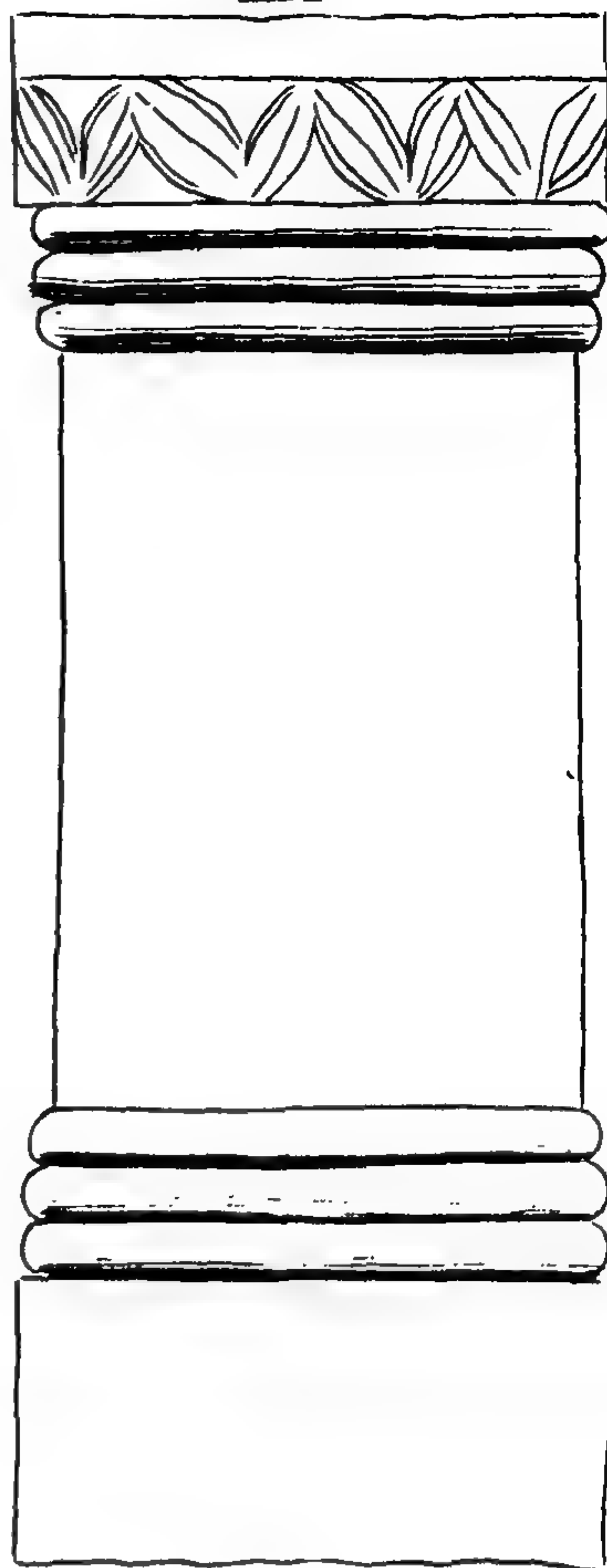
Jovi Optimo Maximo ala Augusta
ob virtutem appellata cui praeest
Tiberius Claudius Tiberii filius.....
Justinus praefectus Fusciano et Si-
lano iterum consulibus

LVII

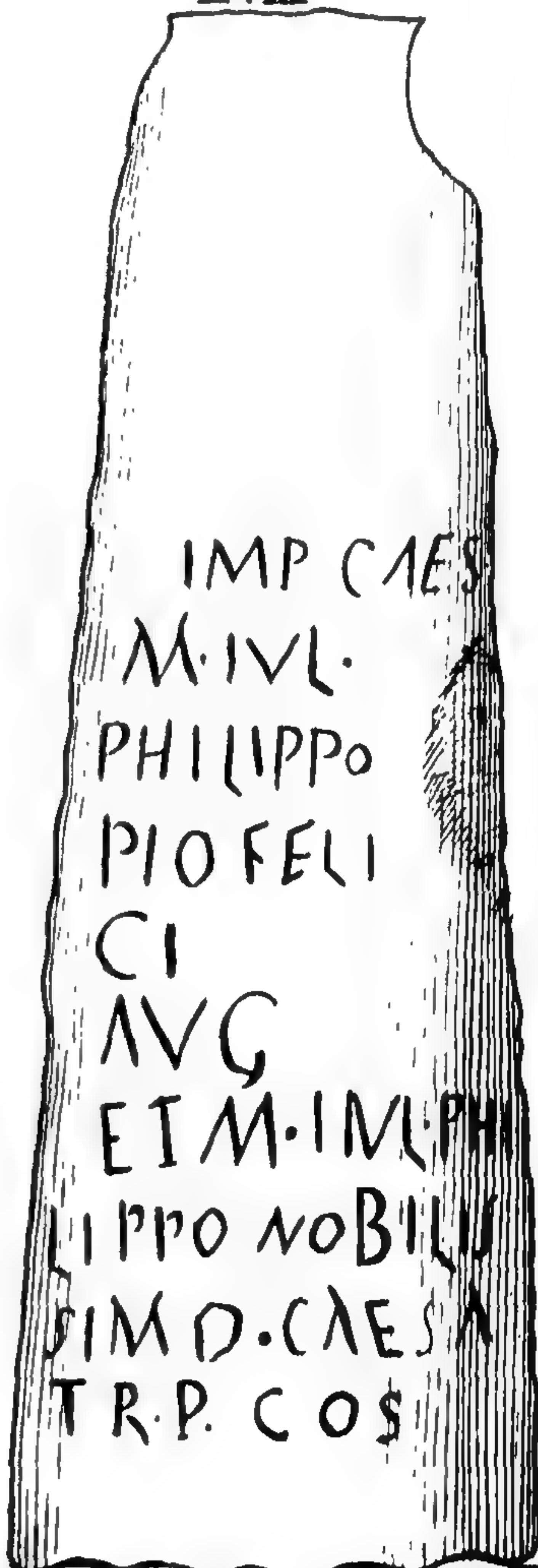


Jovi Optimo Maximo ala Augusta
obvirtutem appellata cui praest Pub-
lius Aelius Publii filius Sergia[tribu]
Magnus de Murfa ex Pannonia inte-
riore praefectus Aproniano et Bra-
dua consulibus

LX



LVIII



LIX



Domino nostro Flavio Julio Crispo
nobilissimo Caesari Valerii Constan-
tini Maximi filio Divi Constantii pii
nepoti

Imperatori Caesari Marco Julio Philippo pio
felfei Augusto et Marco Julio Philippo nobi-
lissimo Caesari tribunitia potestate consuli

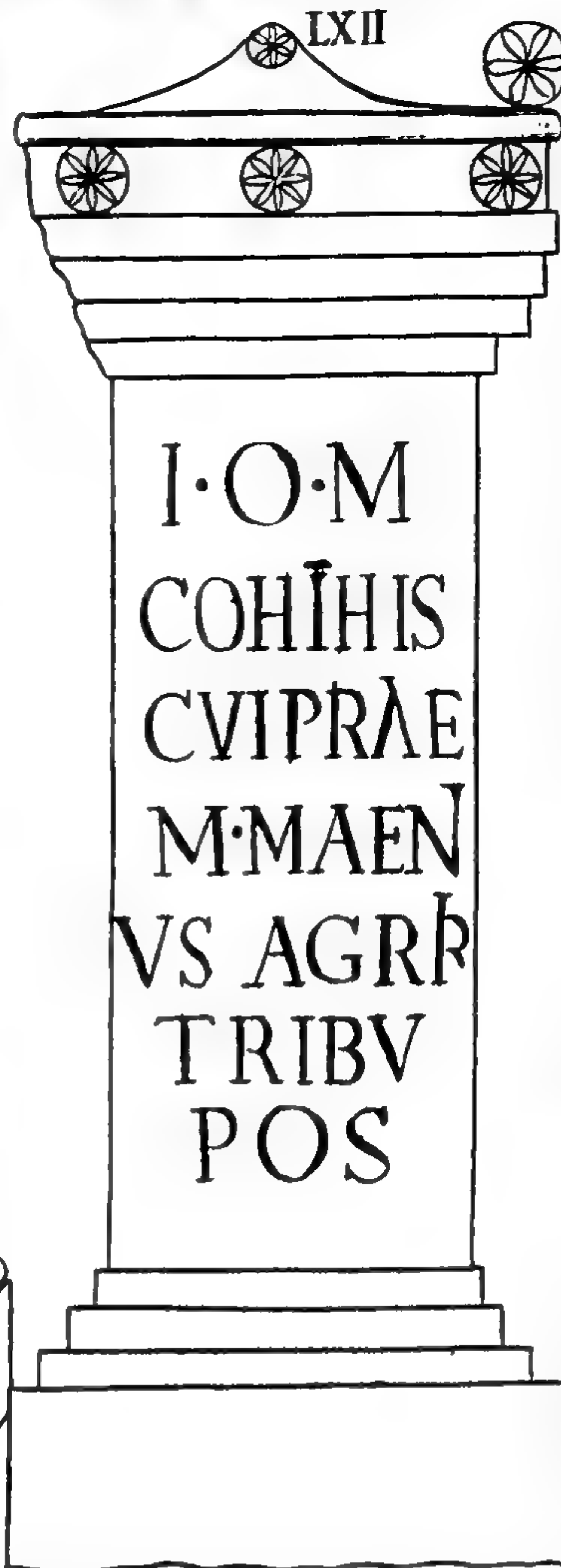
LXI

LXII

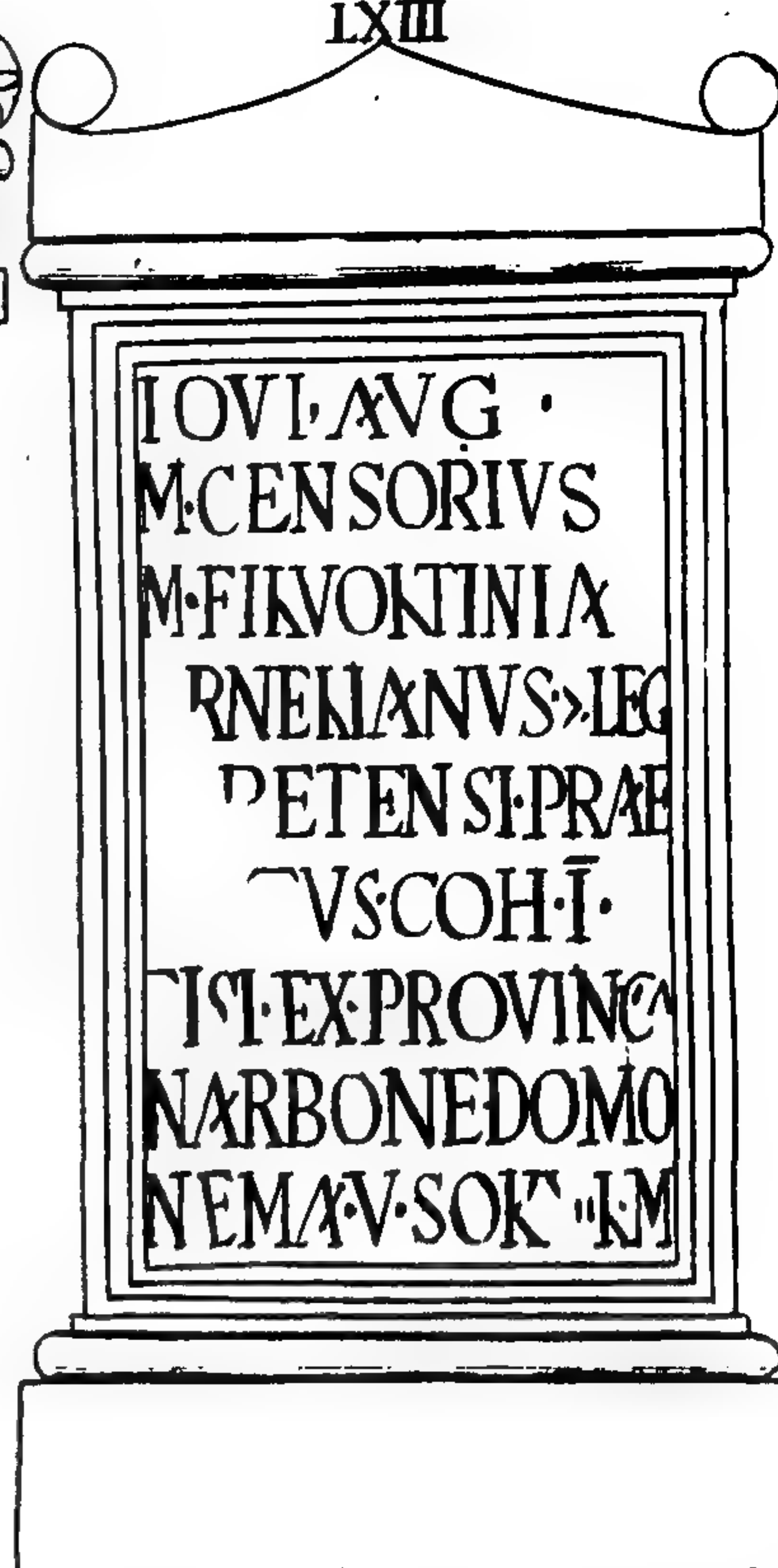
LXIII



Jovi Optimo Maximo Lucius Cammius
Maximus praefectus *cohortis* primae
Hispanorum equitum votum solvit
libens merito



Jovi Optimo Maximo co-
hors prima Hispanorum
cui praest Marcus Mae-
nius Agrippa tribunus
posuit



Jovi Augusti. Marcus Cen-
torius Marci filius Voltinia
[tribu] Cornelianus centurio
legionis *decimae* Freten-
sis praefectus cohortis primae
Hispanorum ex provincia
Narbonensi domo Nemausen-
sis votum solvit libens
merito

PROSA
ANTONINIVS AVG PII
PAVLVS P F PALATINA
POSTVMIVS ACILIANVS
PRAEF COH IDELMATAR

LXIV

Pro salute Antonini Augusti pii felicit Paulus Pauli filius Palatina
[tribu] Postumius Acilianus praefectus cohortis primae Delmatarum

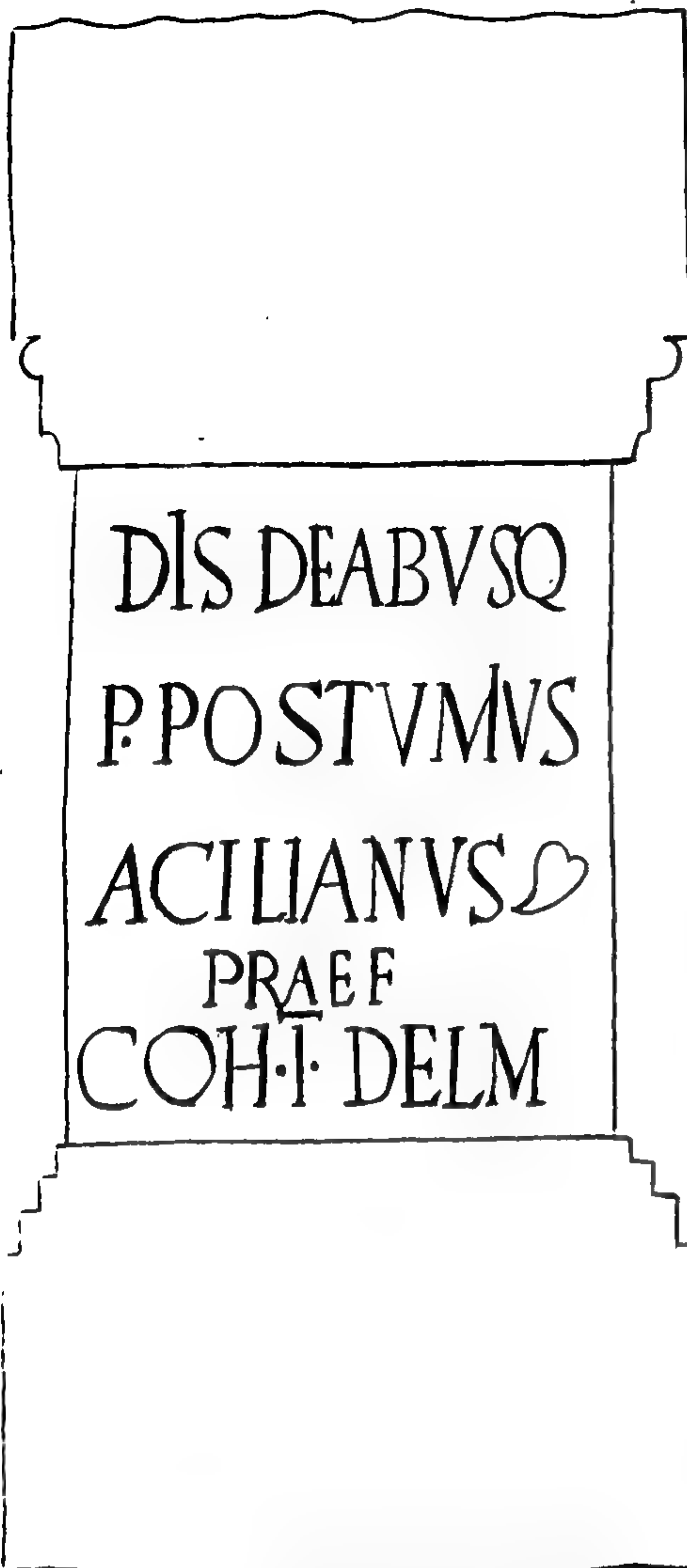
CUMBERLAND

Pl. 192 N. 50.

LXV

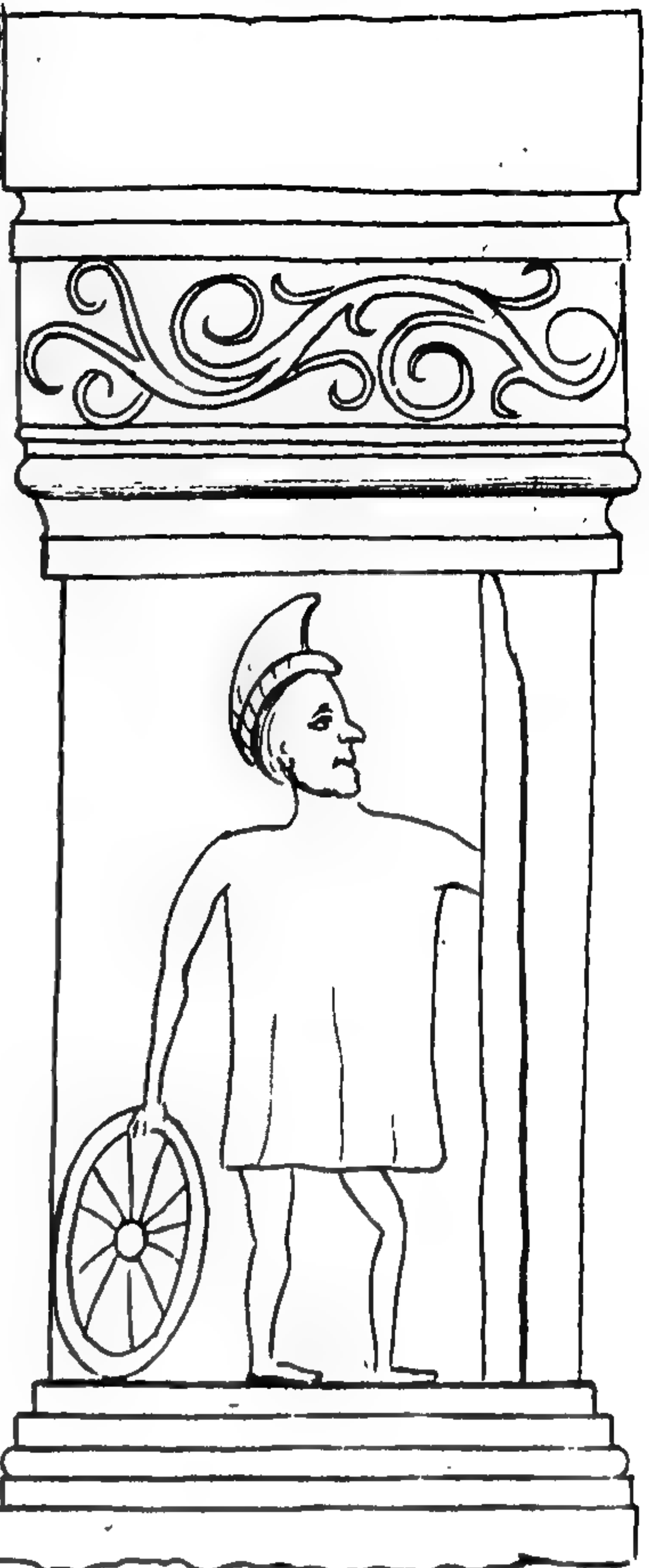
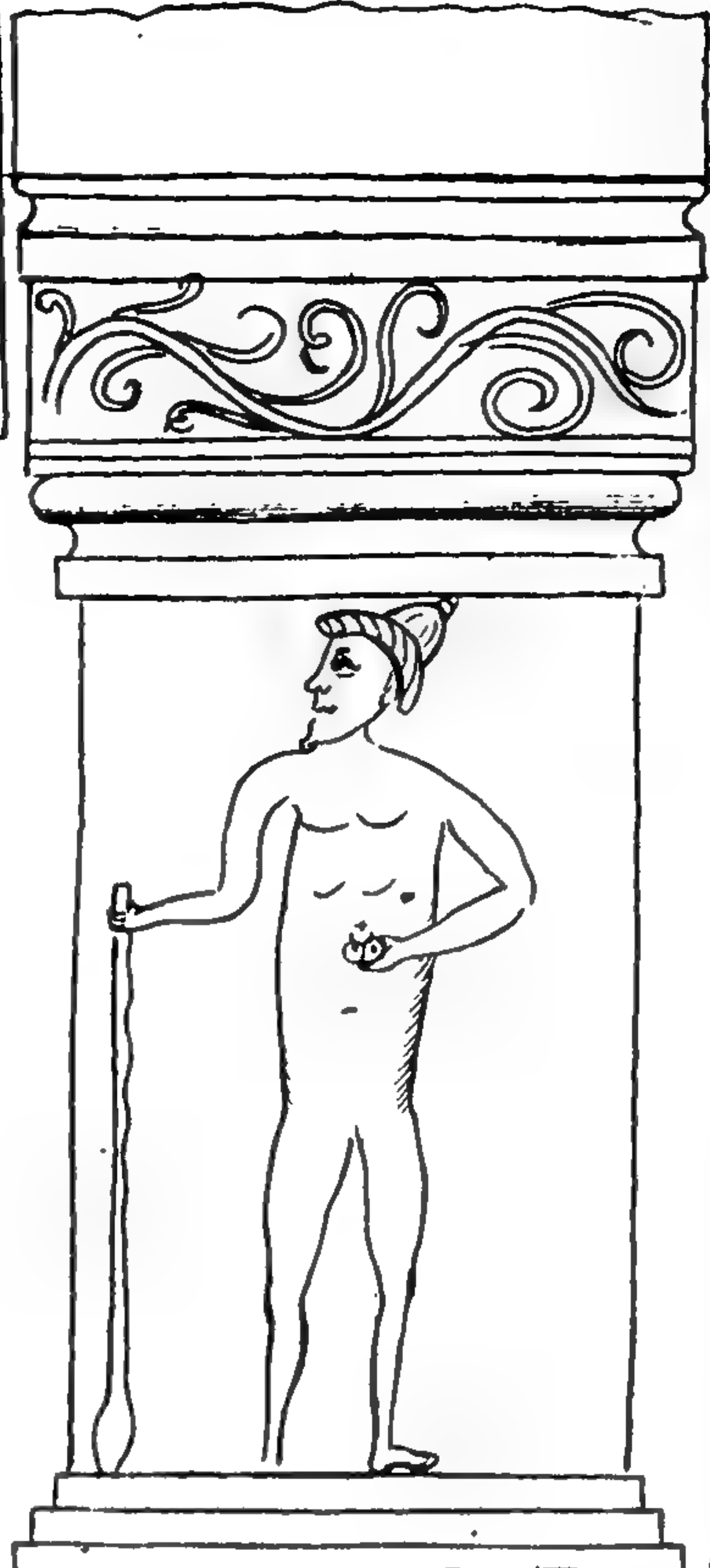
LXV

LXV



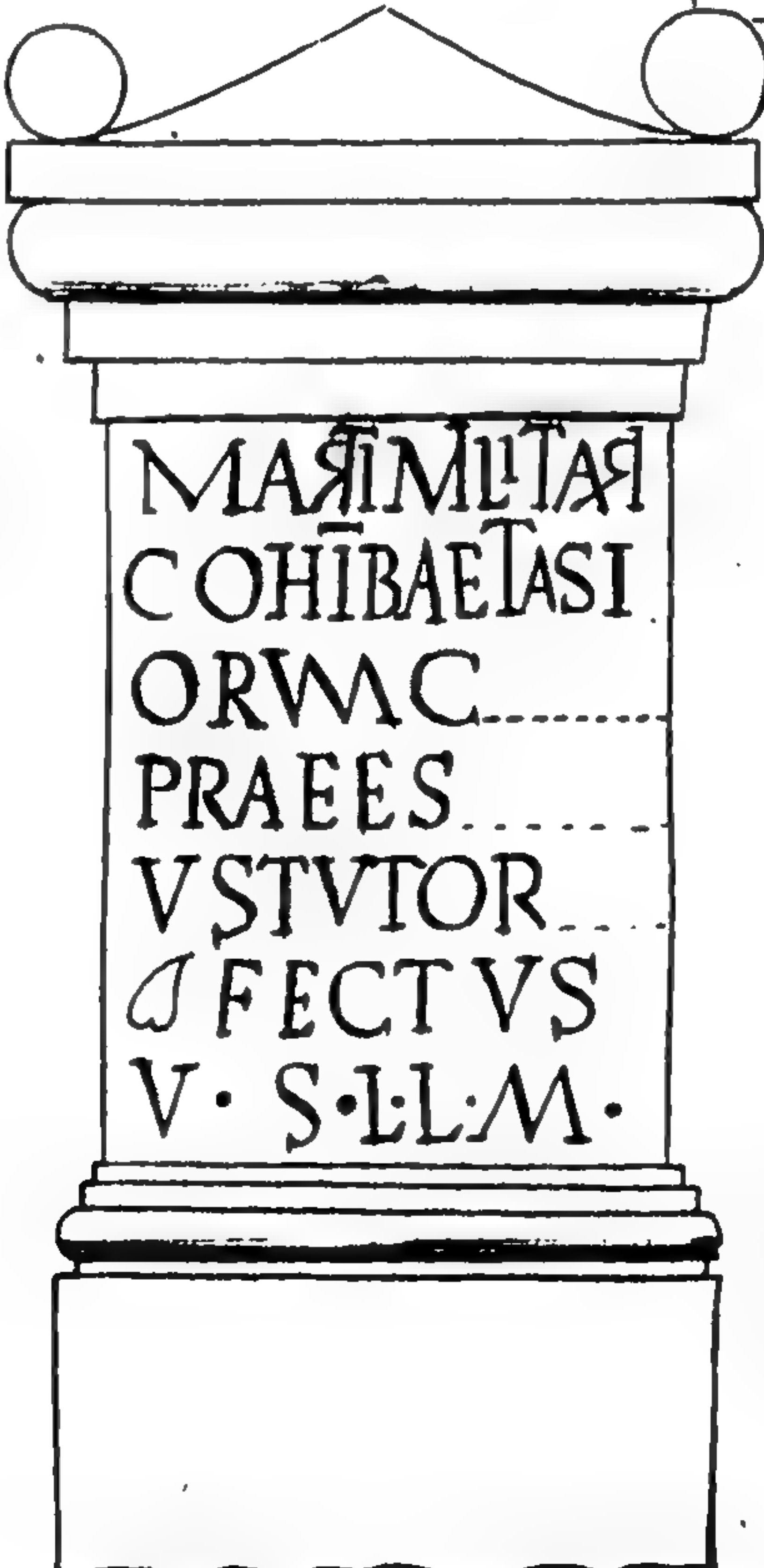
DIS DEABVSQ
P. POSTVMVS
ACILIANVS
PRAEF
COH. I. DELM

Dis Deabusque Paulus Postumius
Acilianus praefectus cohortis pri-
mae Delmatarum



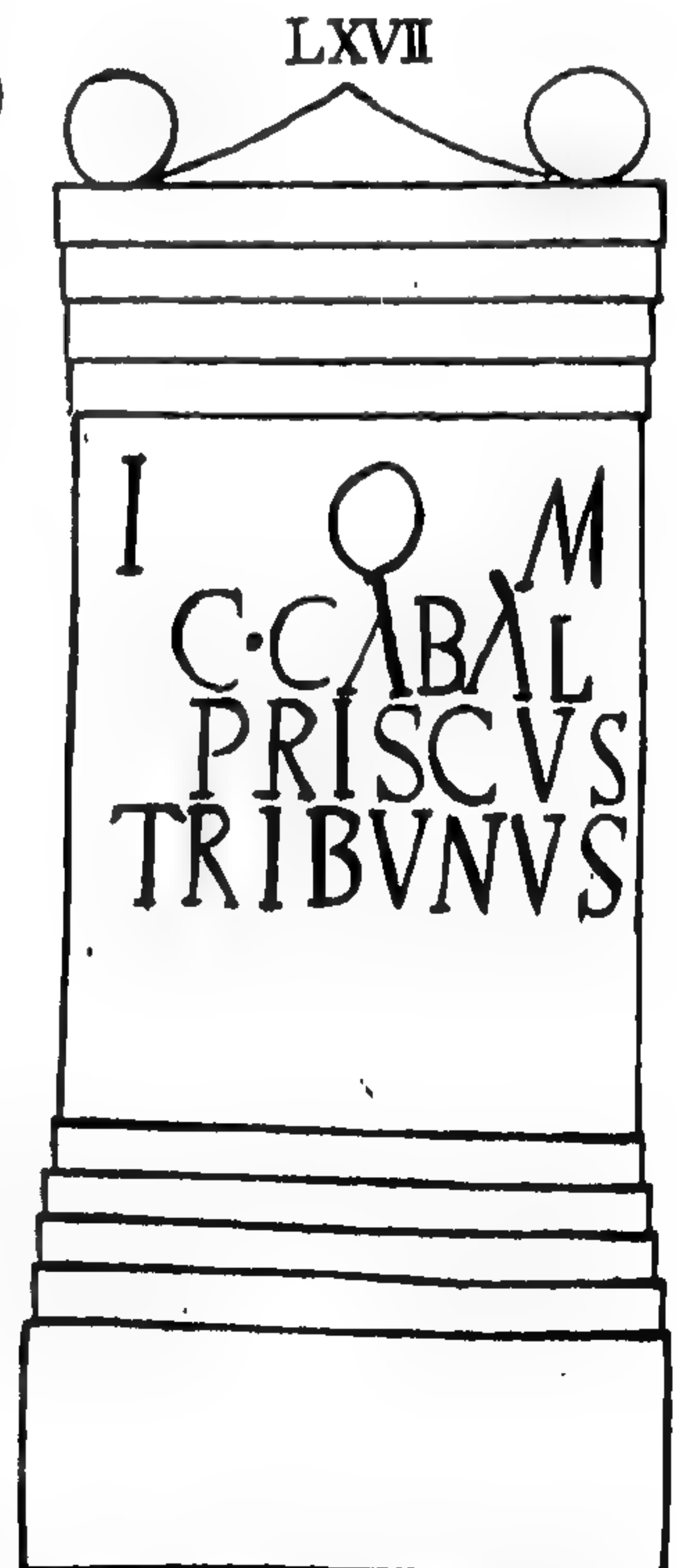
LXVI

LXVII



MARTI MILITARI
COHIBAEIASI
ORVMC
PRAEES
VSTVTOR
FECTVS
V. S. L. M.

Marti Militari cohors prima Baetasi-
orum cui praestitutus Tutor praefectus
votum solvit libentissime merito



I O M
C. CABAL
PRISCVS
TRIBVNVS

Jovi Optimo Maximo
Caius Caballus Pri-
scus tribunus

CUMBERLAND

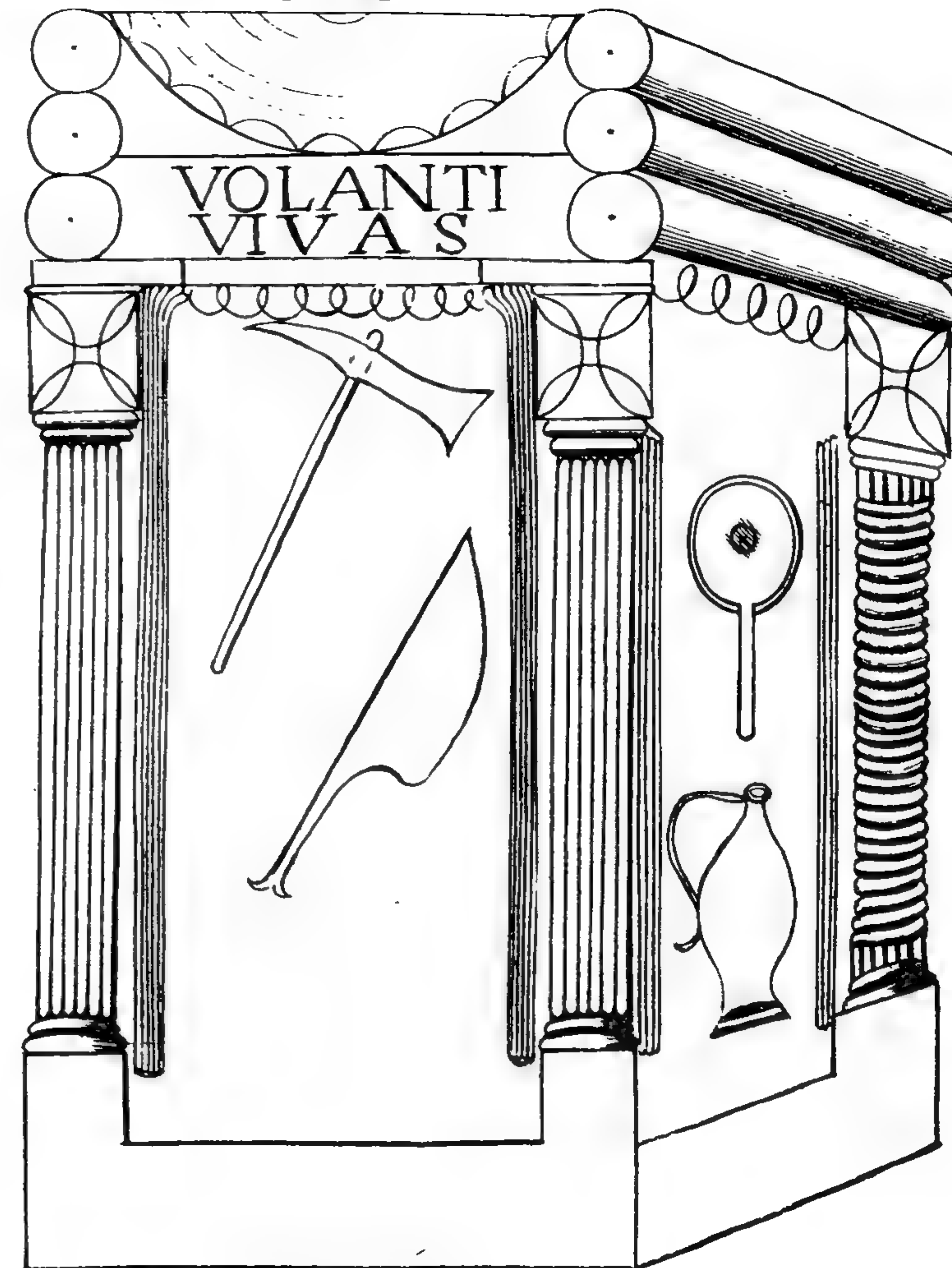
P. 192. N. 51.

LXVIII



Genio loci Fortunae reduci Romae aeternae et Fato bono
Gaius Cornelius Peregrinus tribunus cohortis ex provin-
cia Mauritaniae Caesariensis domos et aedē decurionum *restituit*

LXVIII



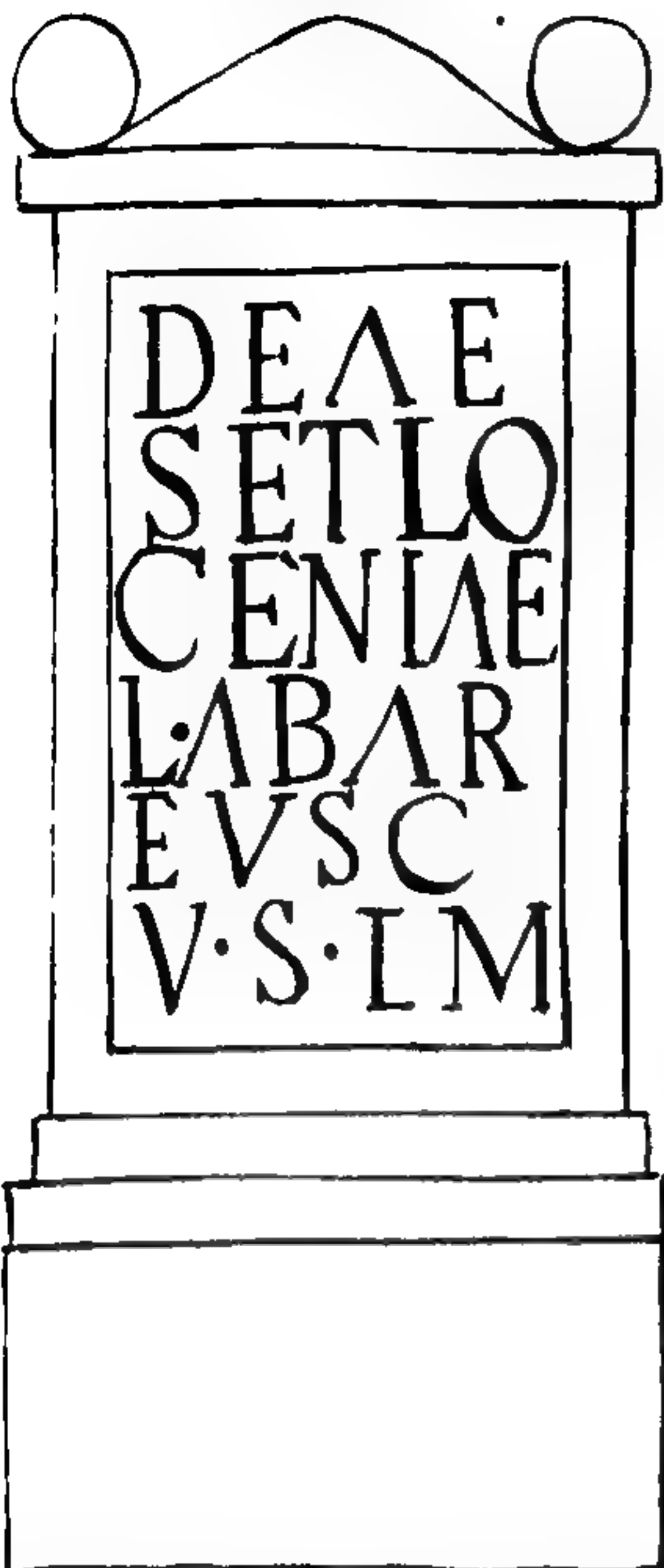
Volanti vivas

LXIX

CUMBERLAND

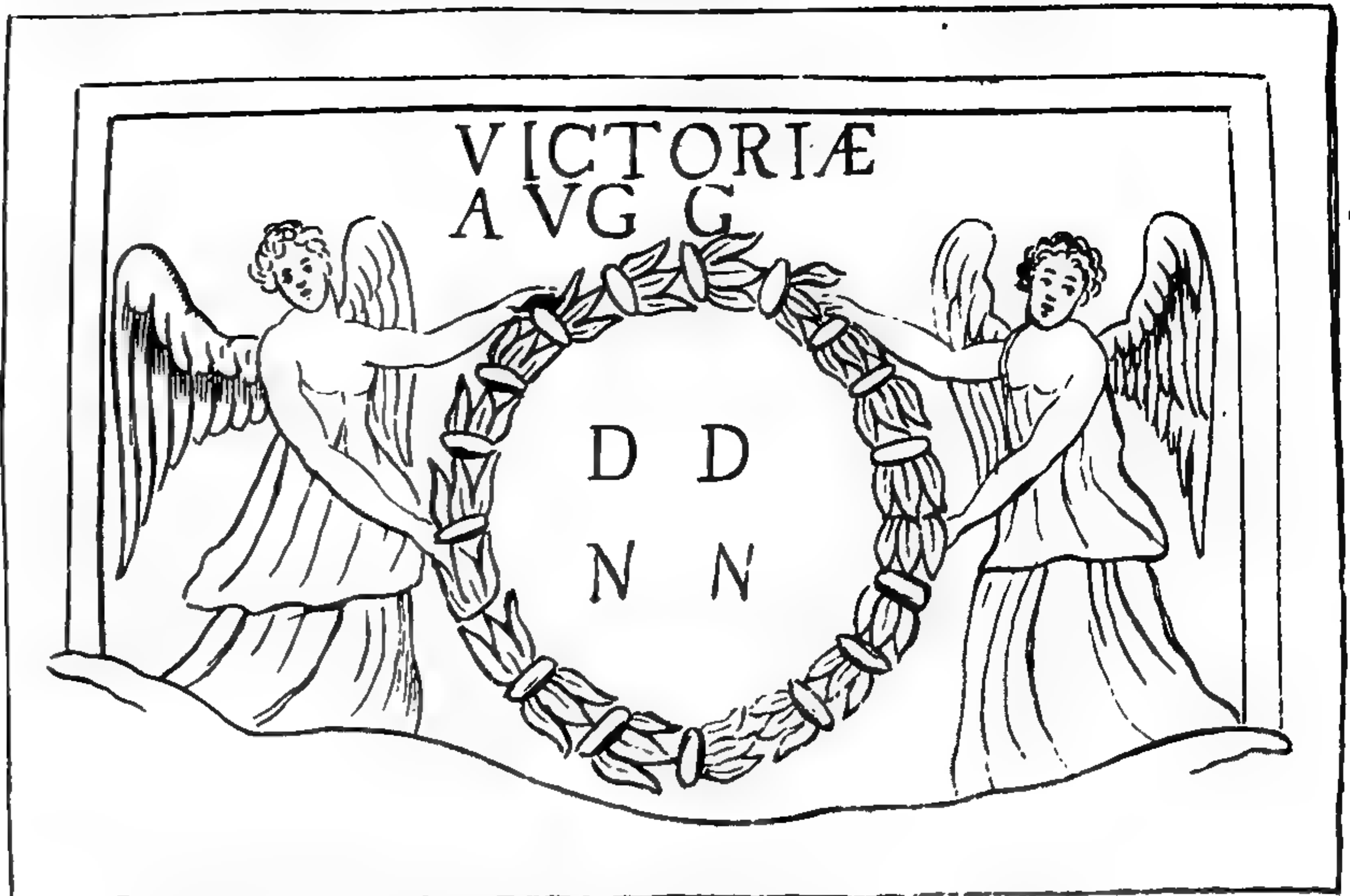
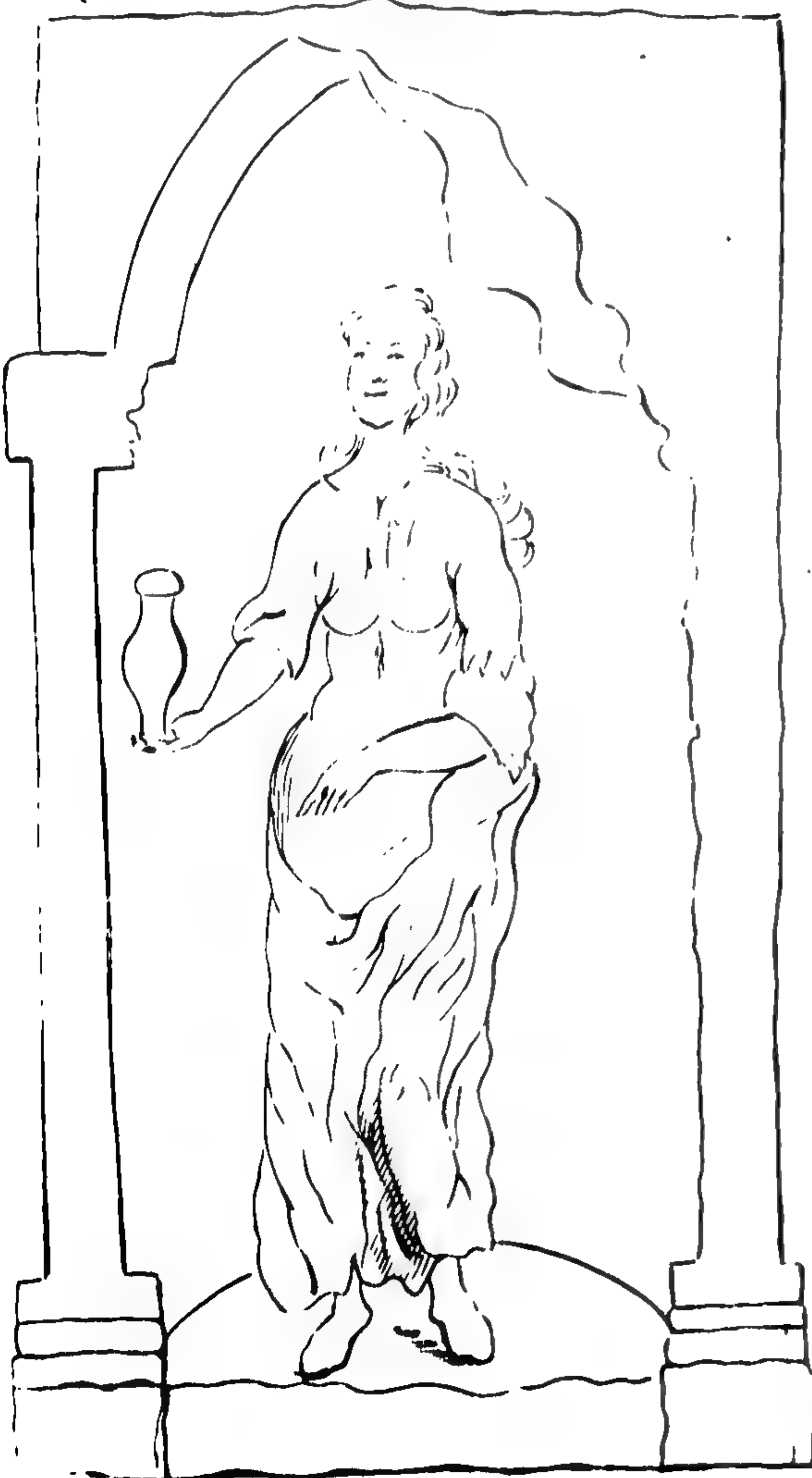
LXX

P. 192 N. 52.



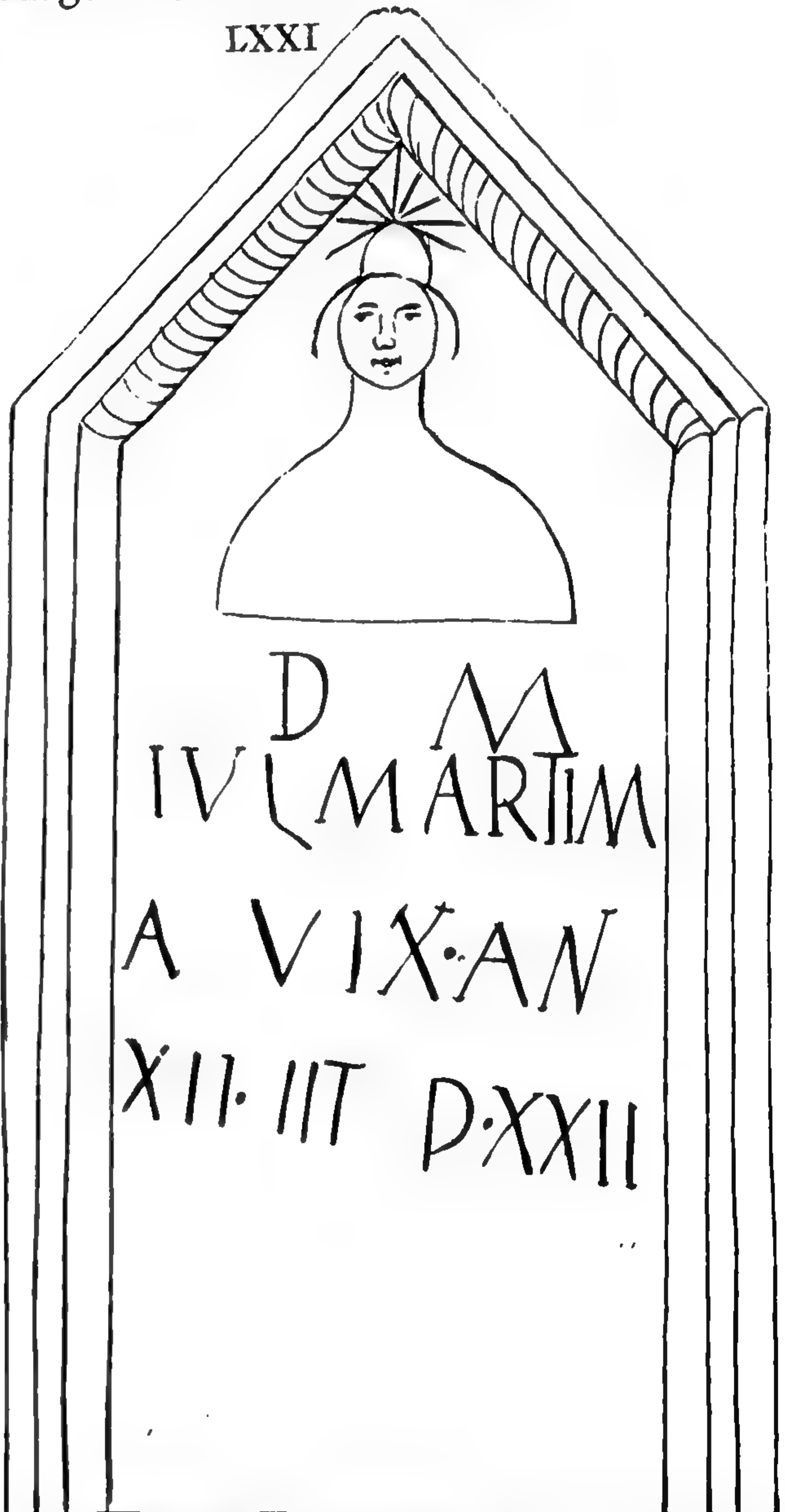
Deae Setloceniae Lucius Abareus centurio
votum solvit libens
merito

LXXII



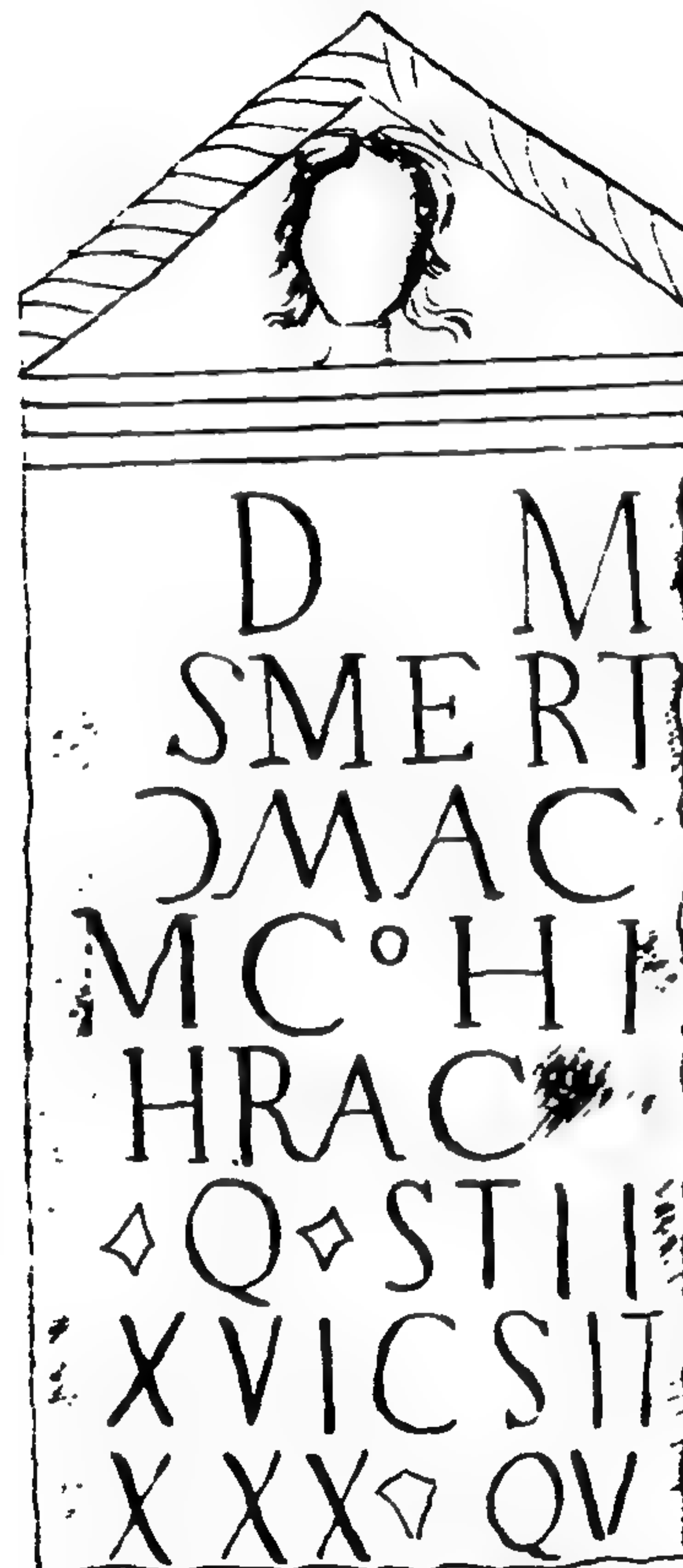
Victoriae Augustorum dominorum nostrorum

LXXI

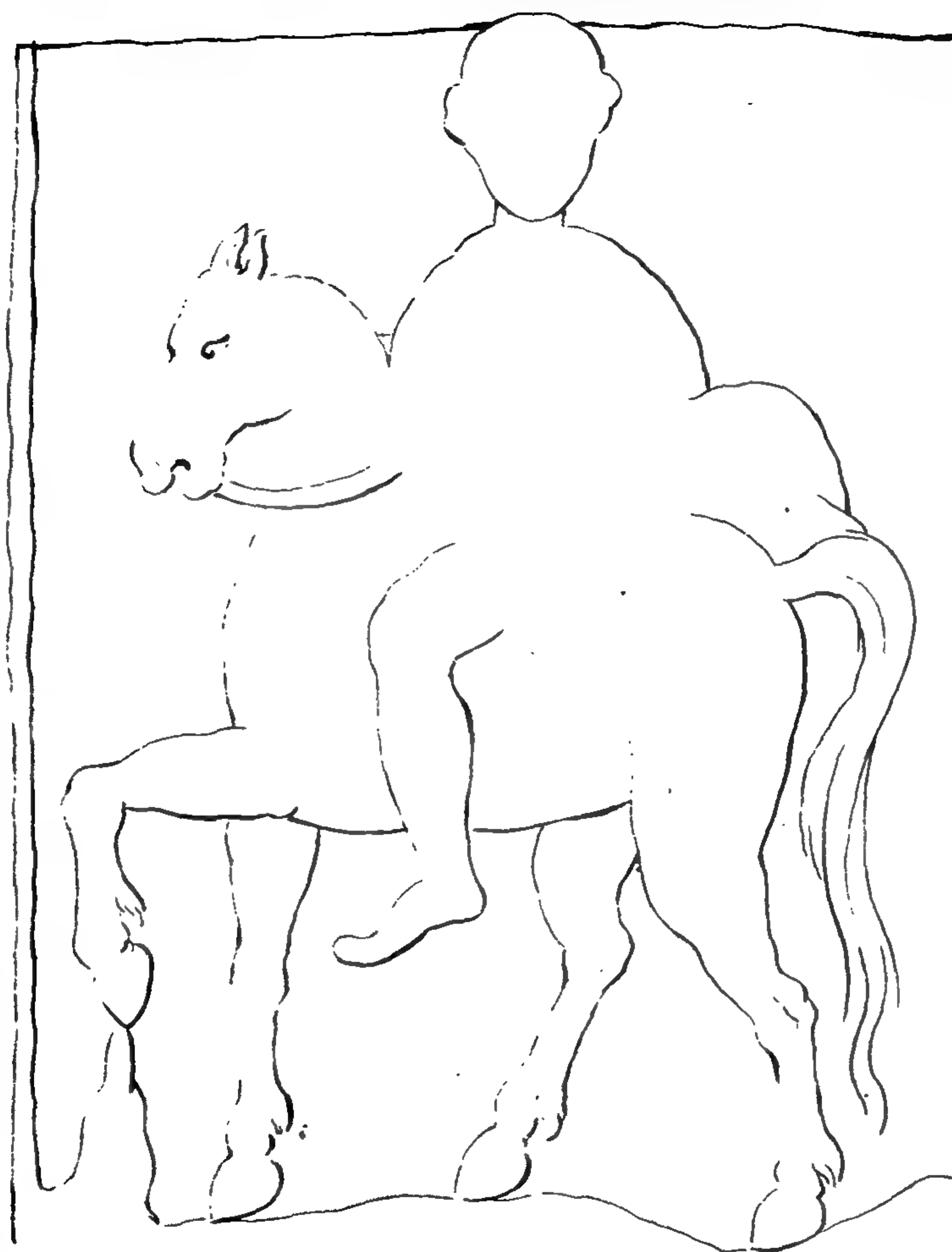


Dis Manibus Julia Martima vixit annos
duodecim menses tres dies viginti duos

LXXV



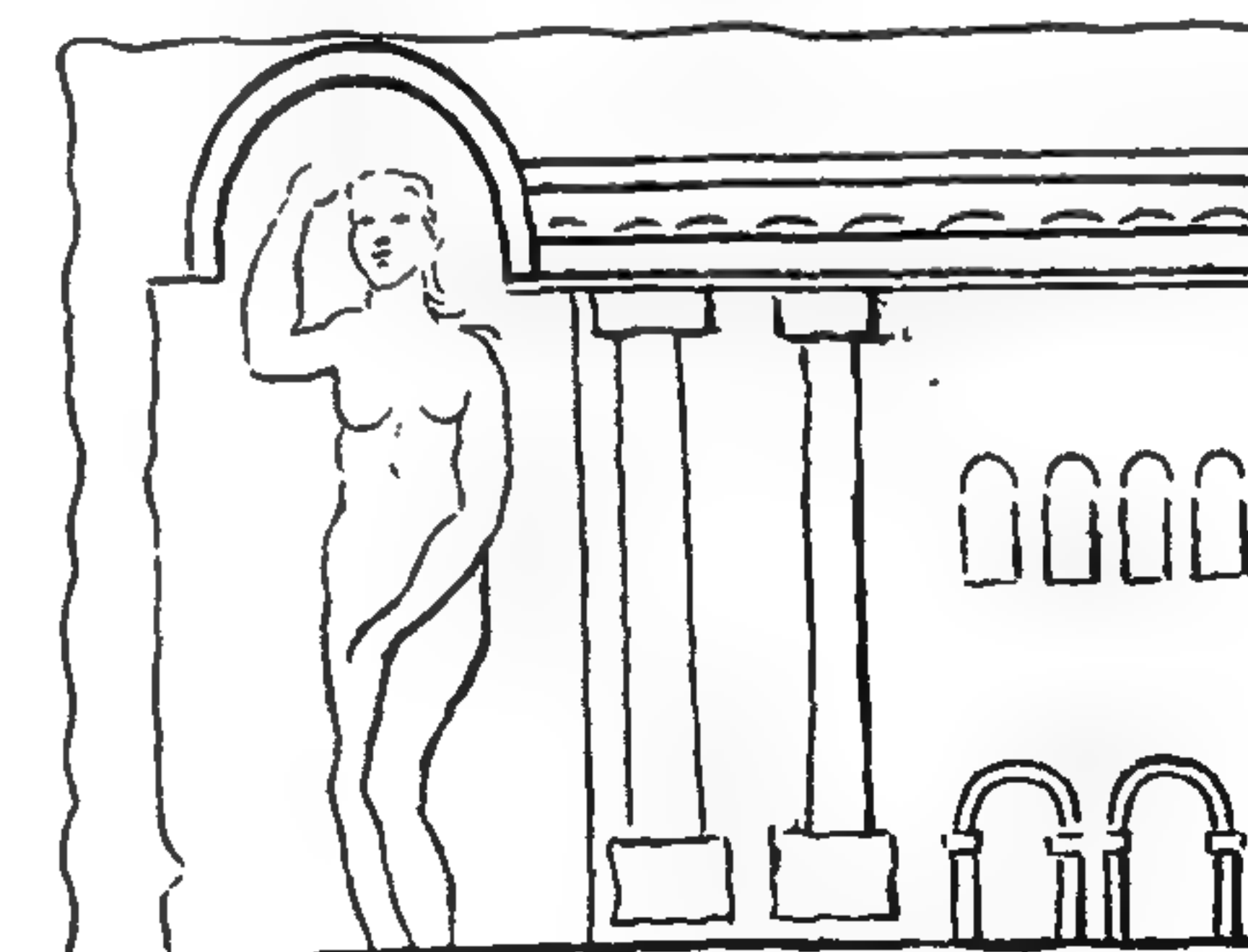
Dis Manibus.....Smerius To-
macius miles cohortis pri-
mae [vel secundae] Thracum
qui stipendiorum decem
vixit annos triginta quinque



LXXVI

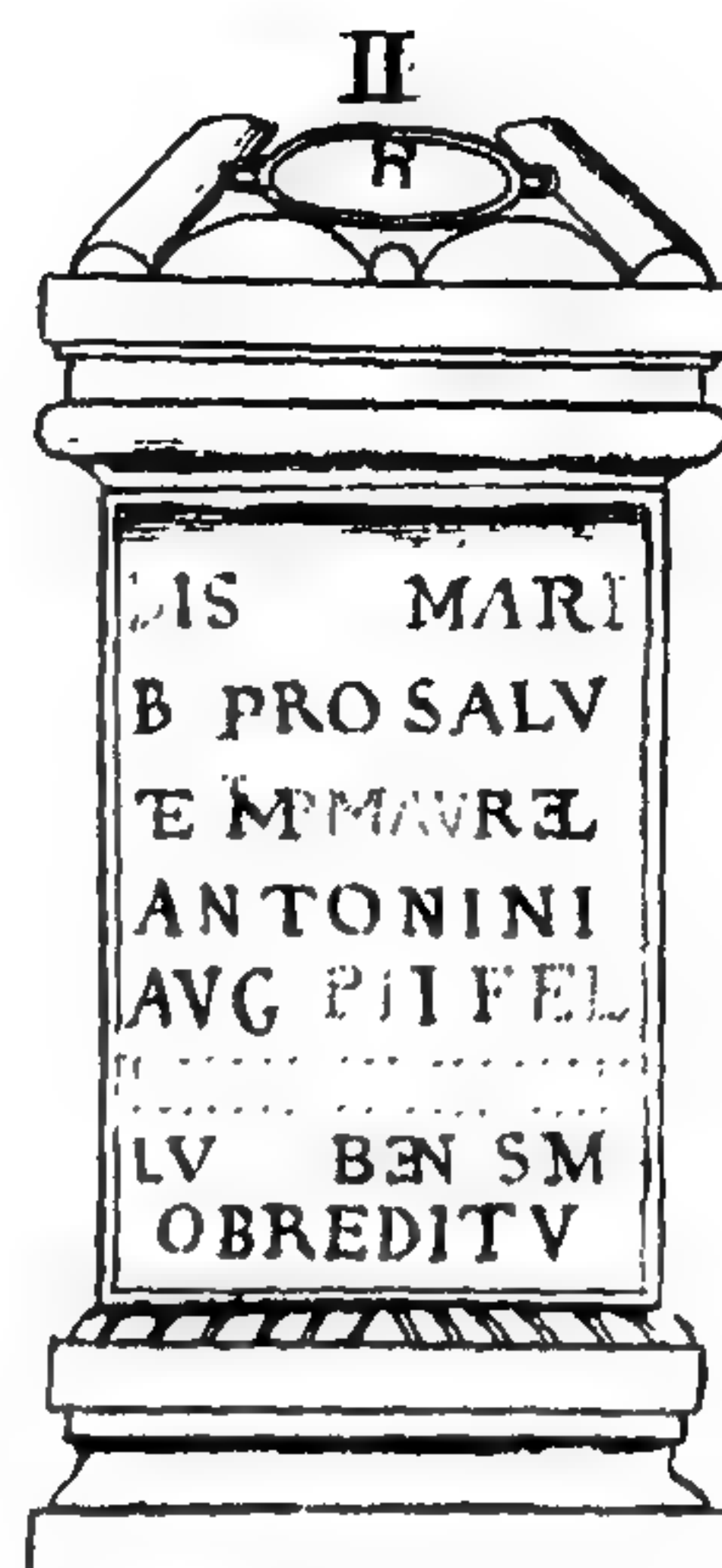
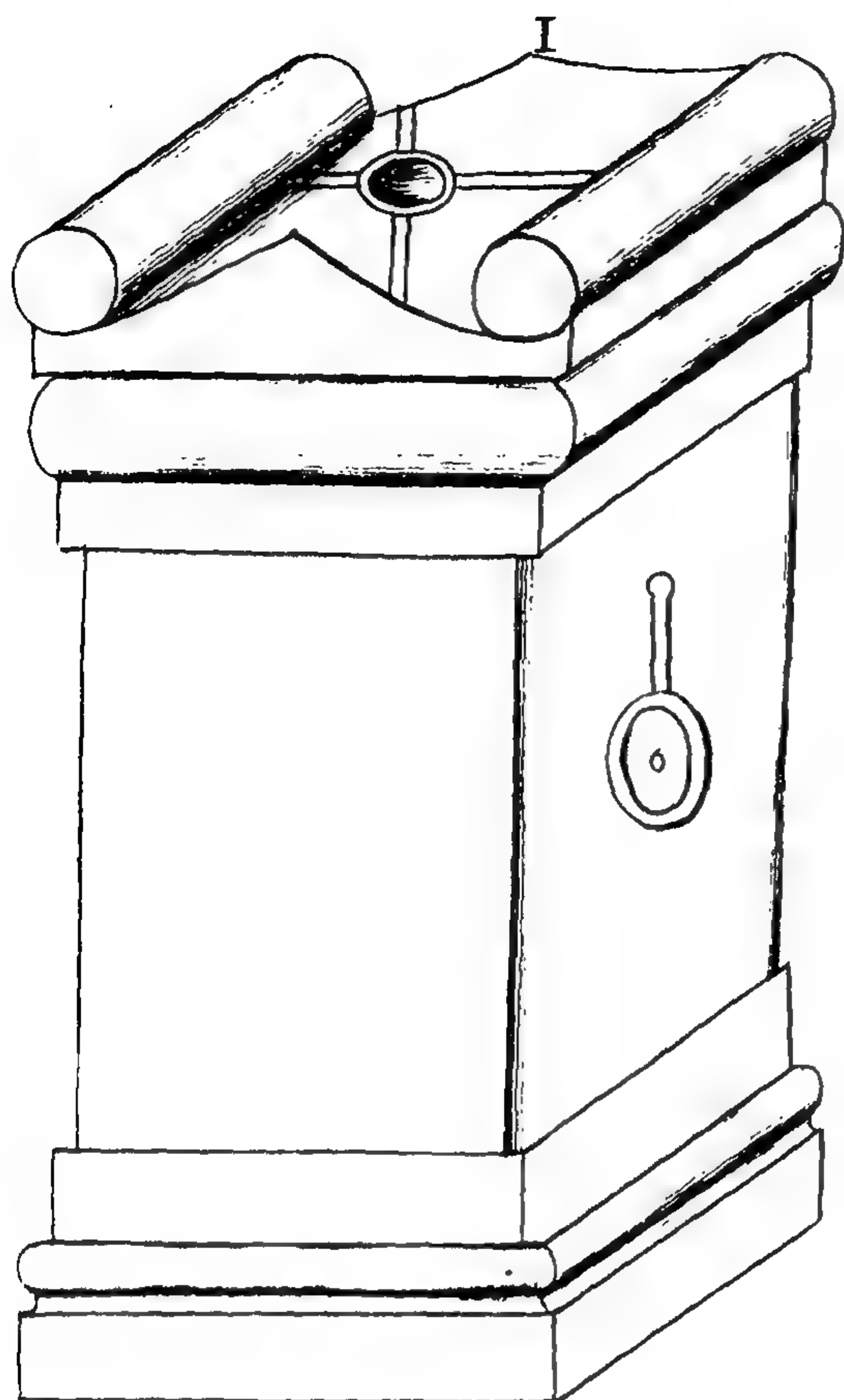


LXXIII



DURHAM

P.192. N.54.



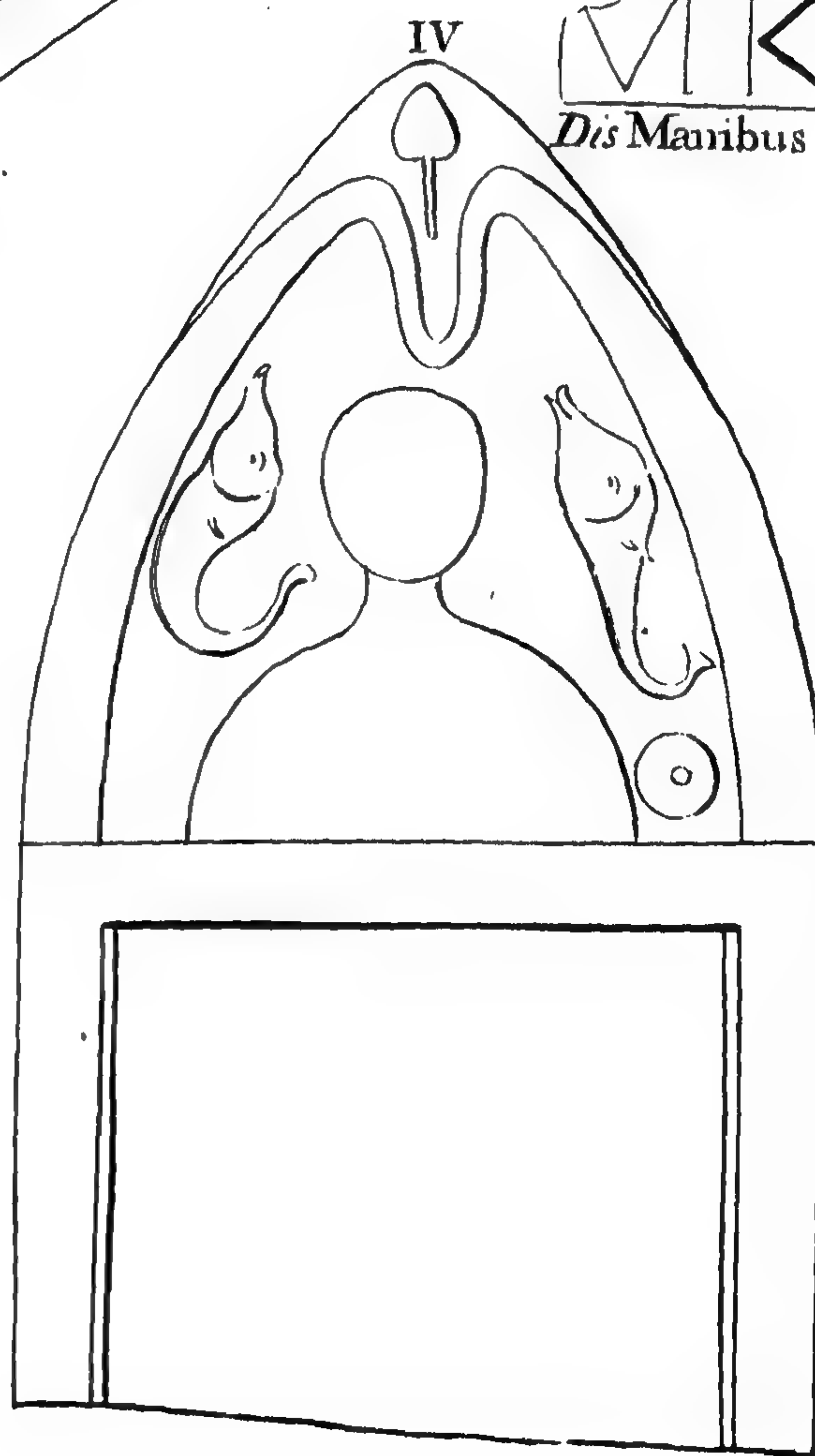
Dis Matribus profa-
lute imperatoris *Marci*
Aurelii Antonini Augusti
pii felicitis . . .
lubens merito
ob reditum



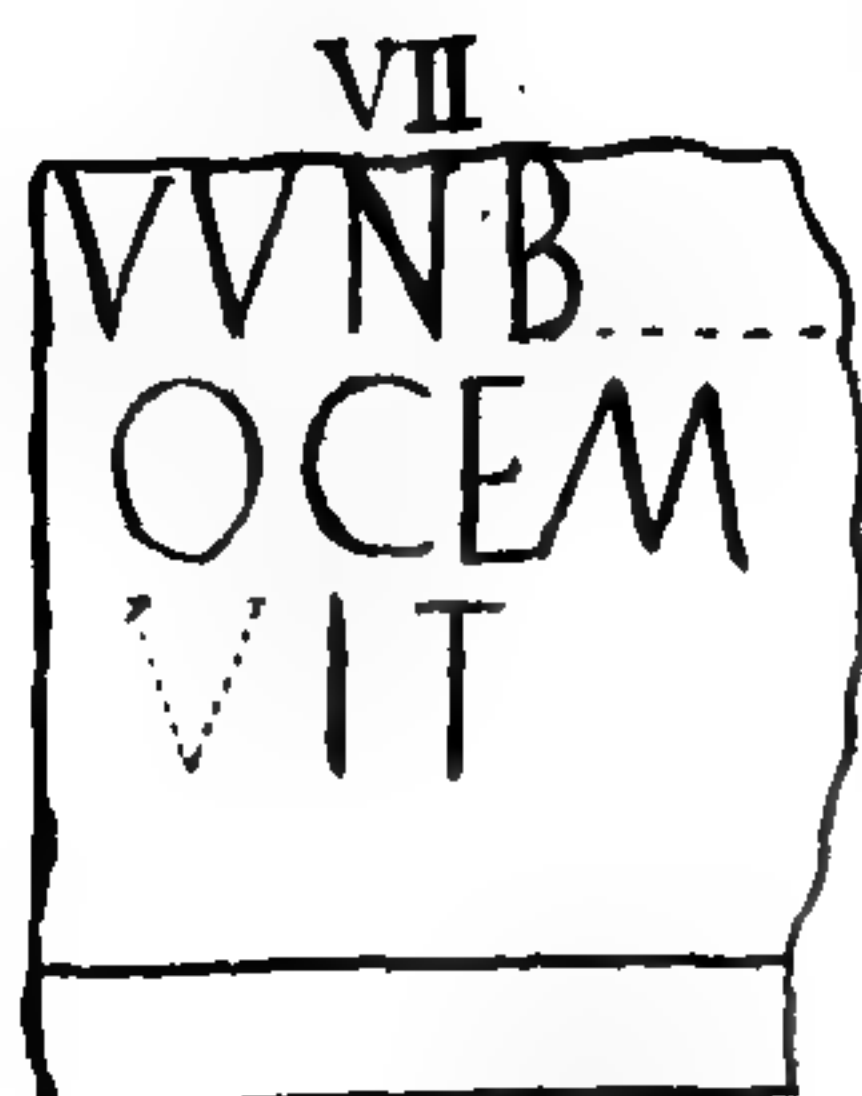
Have



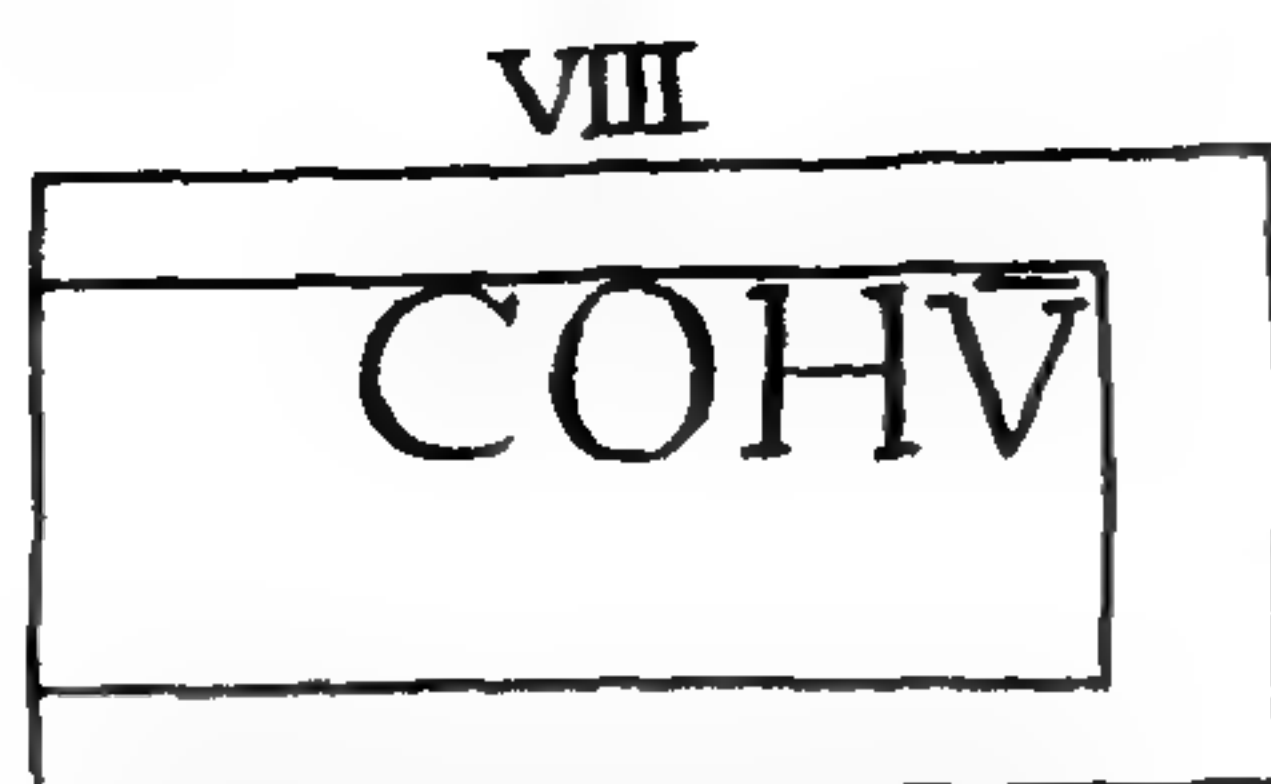
Deo Vitiri Maxi-
mus votum sol-
vit



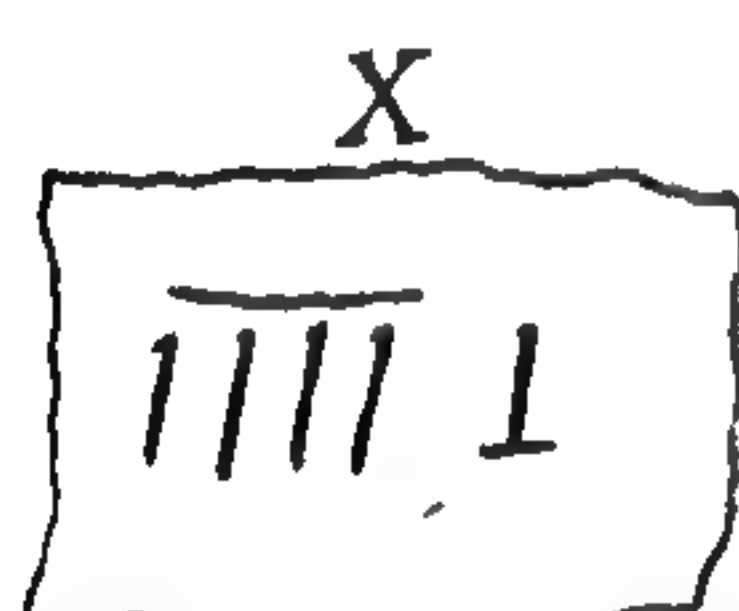
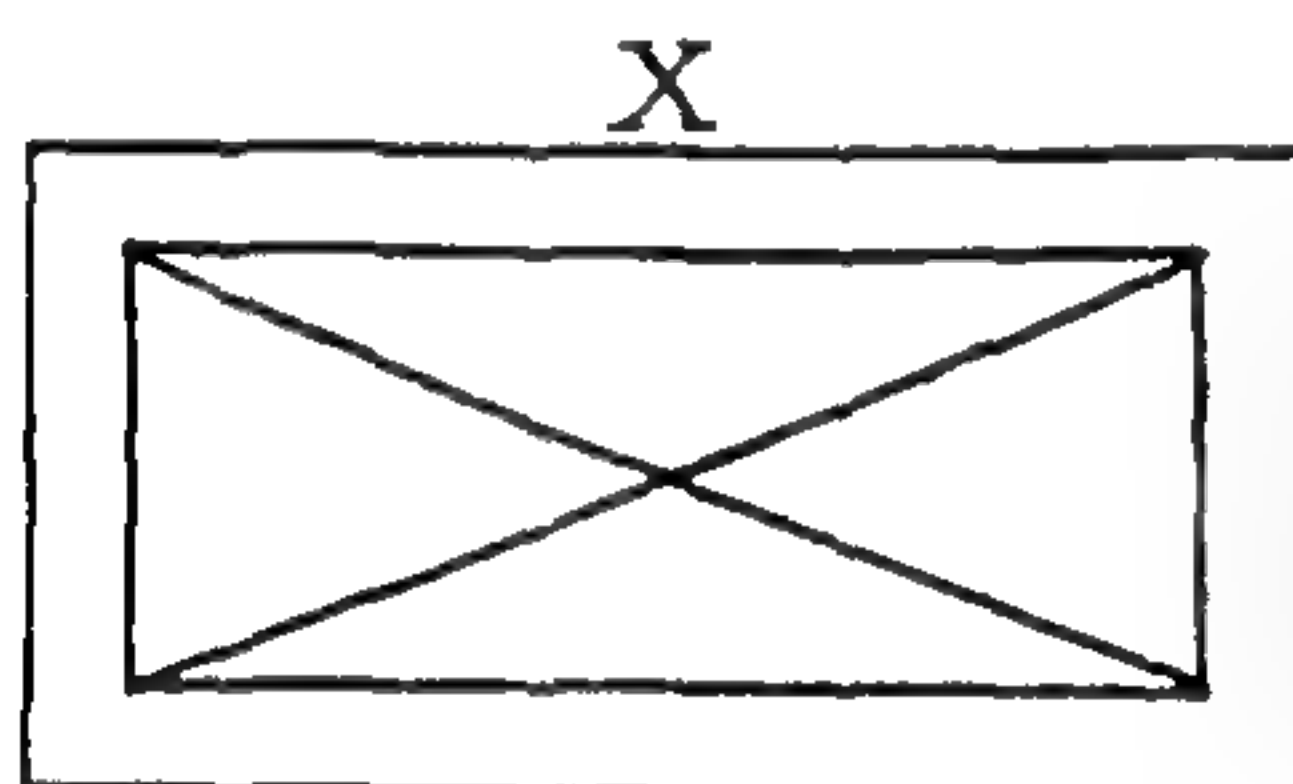
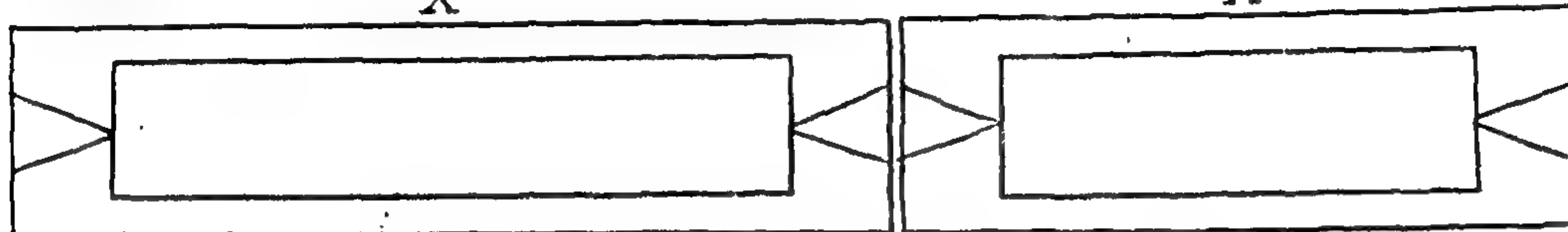
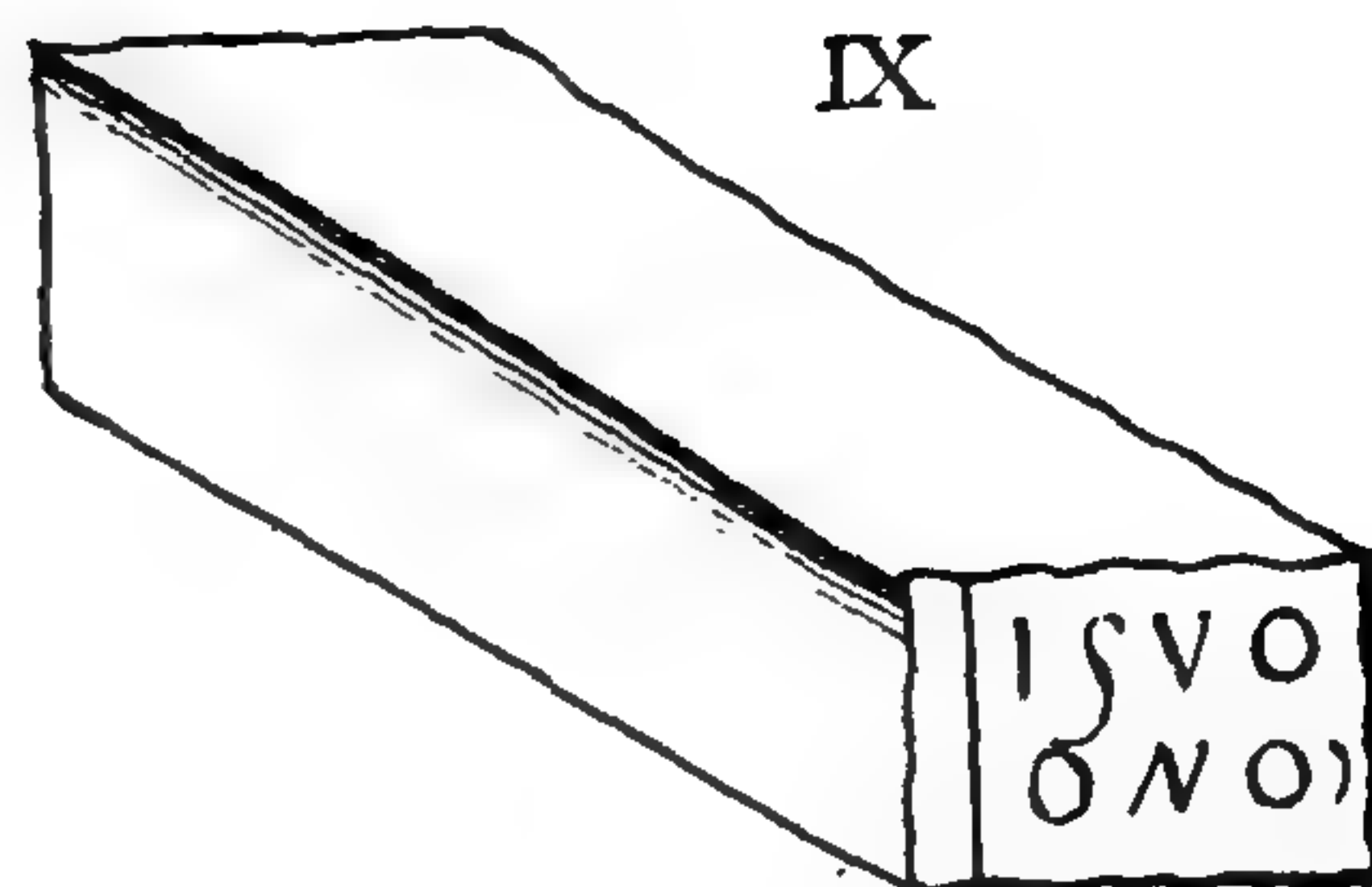
DURHAM



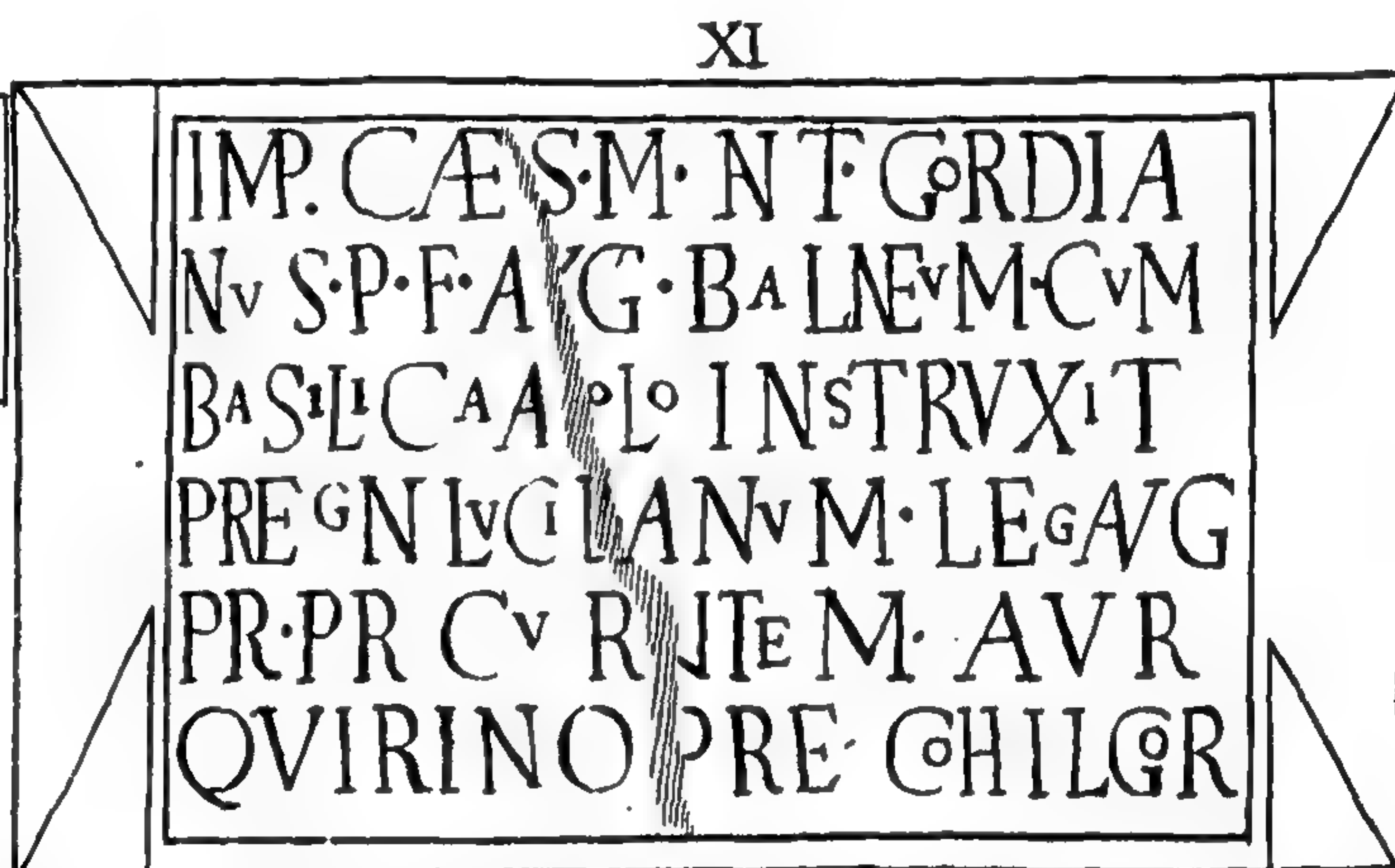
Posuit



Cohors quinta

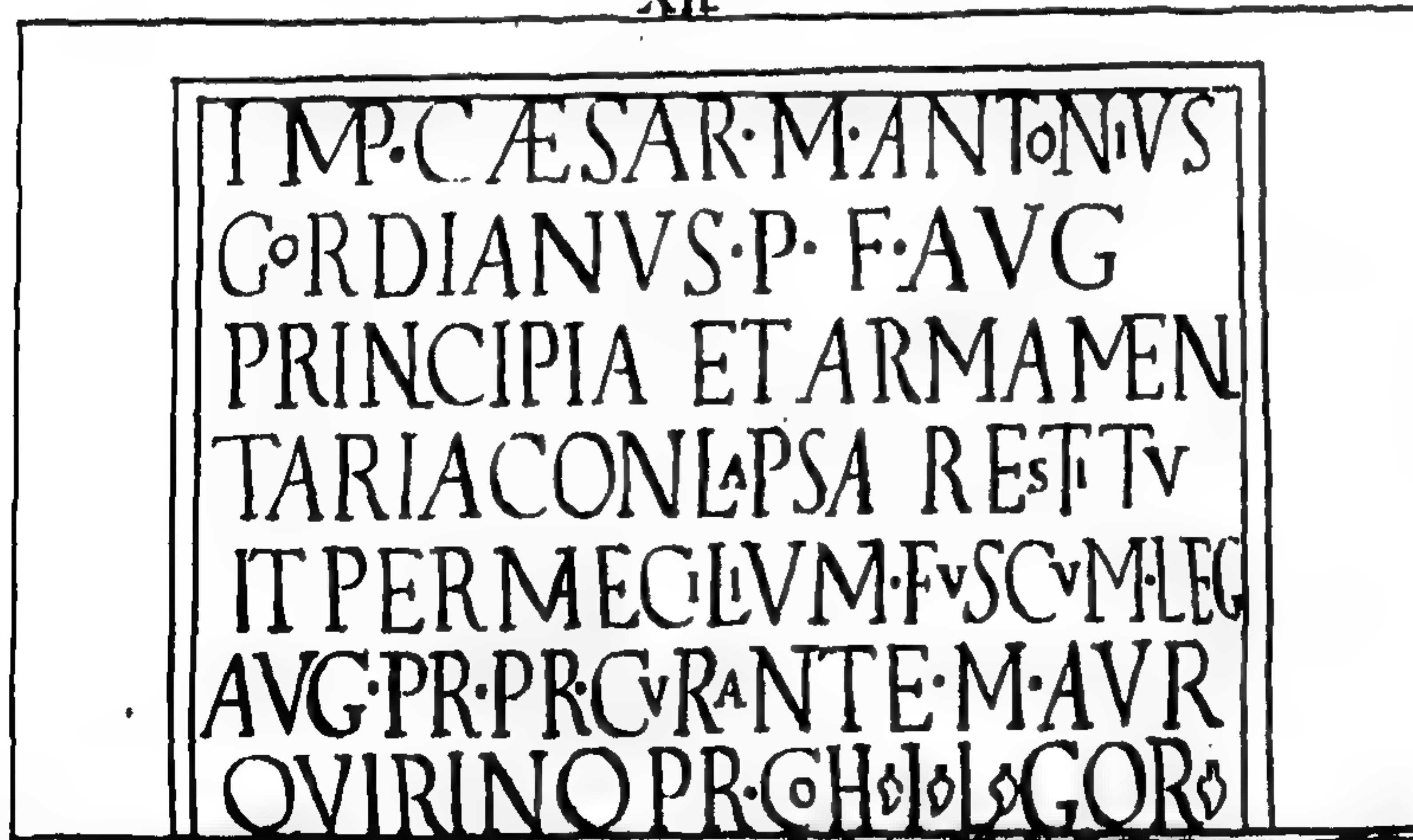


Cohors quarta



Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus pius
felix Augustus balneum cum basilica a solo instruxit
per Gneium Lucilianum legatum Augustalem pro-
praetorem curante Marco Aurelio Quirino praefecto
cohortis primae legionis Gordianae

XII

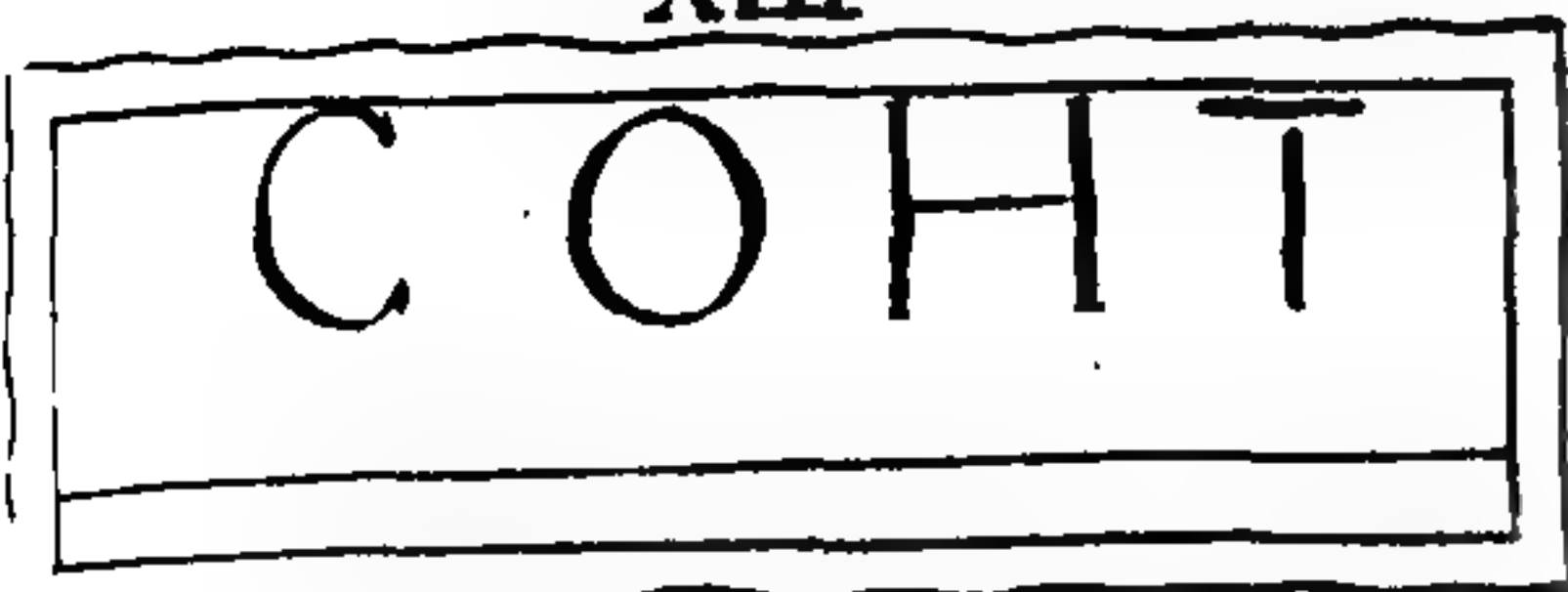


Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus pius felix
Augustus principia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit per Mae-
cilium Fuscum legatum Augustalem propraetorem curante
Marco Aurelio Quirino praefecto cohortis primae legionis
Gordianae

DURHAM

P.192. N 56.

XIII



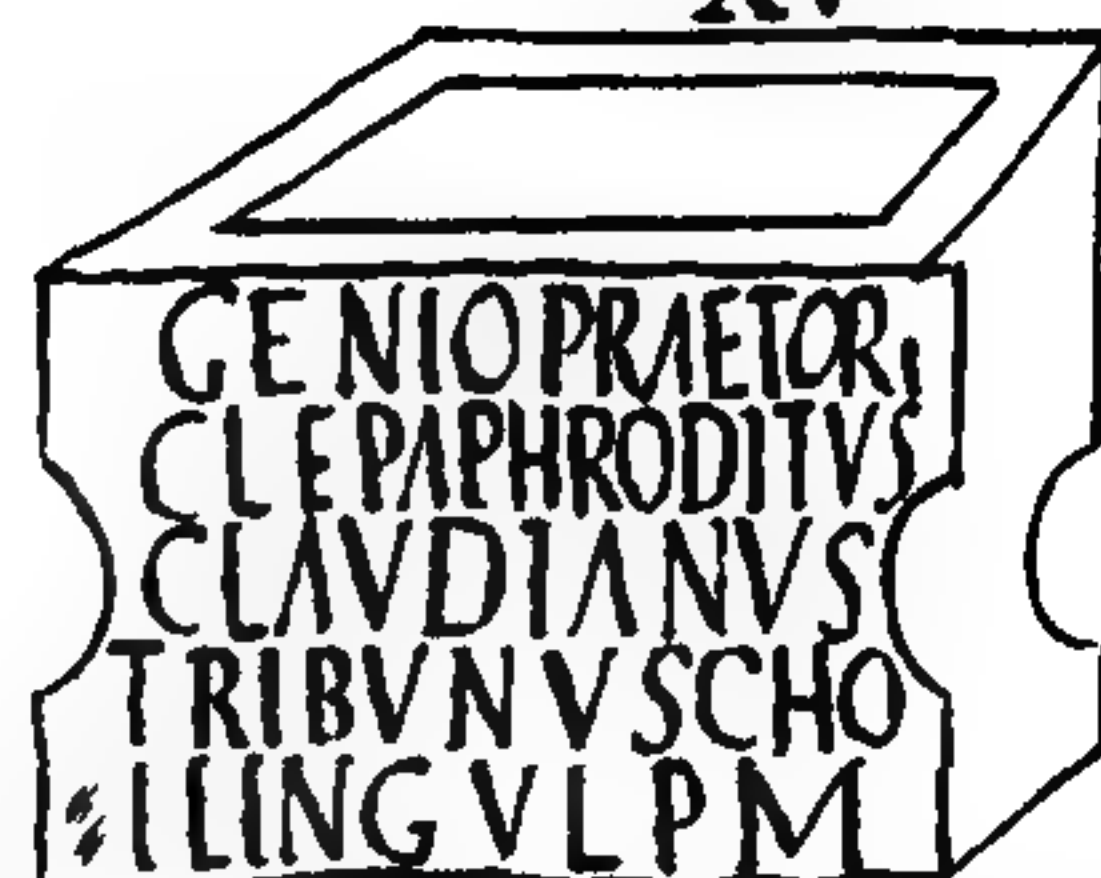
Cohors prima

XIV



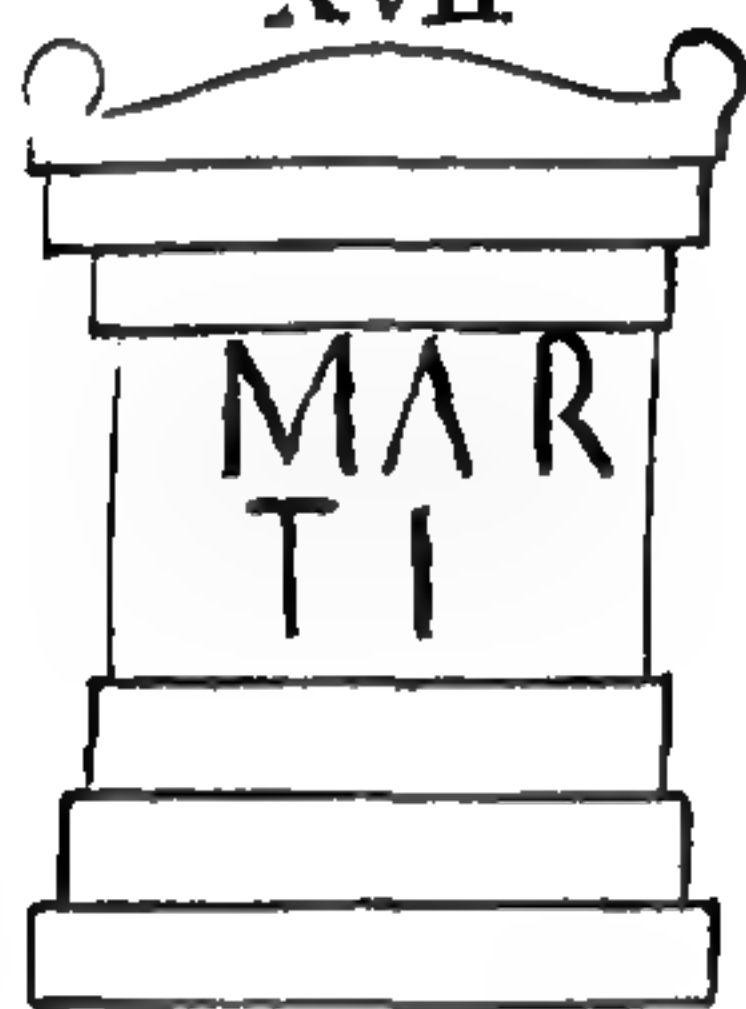
Fortunae Augusti sacrum Publius Aelius Atticus praefectus votum solvit libens merito

XV



Genio Praetori Claudius Epaphroditus Claudianus tribunus cohortis secundae Lingonum votum libens posuit merito

XVII



Marti

XVIII



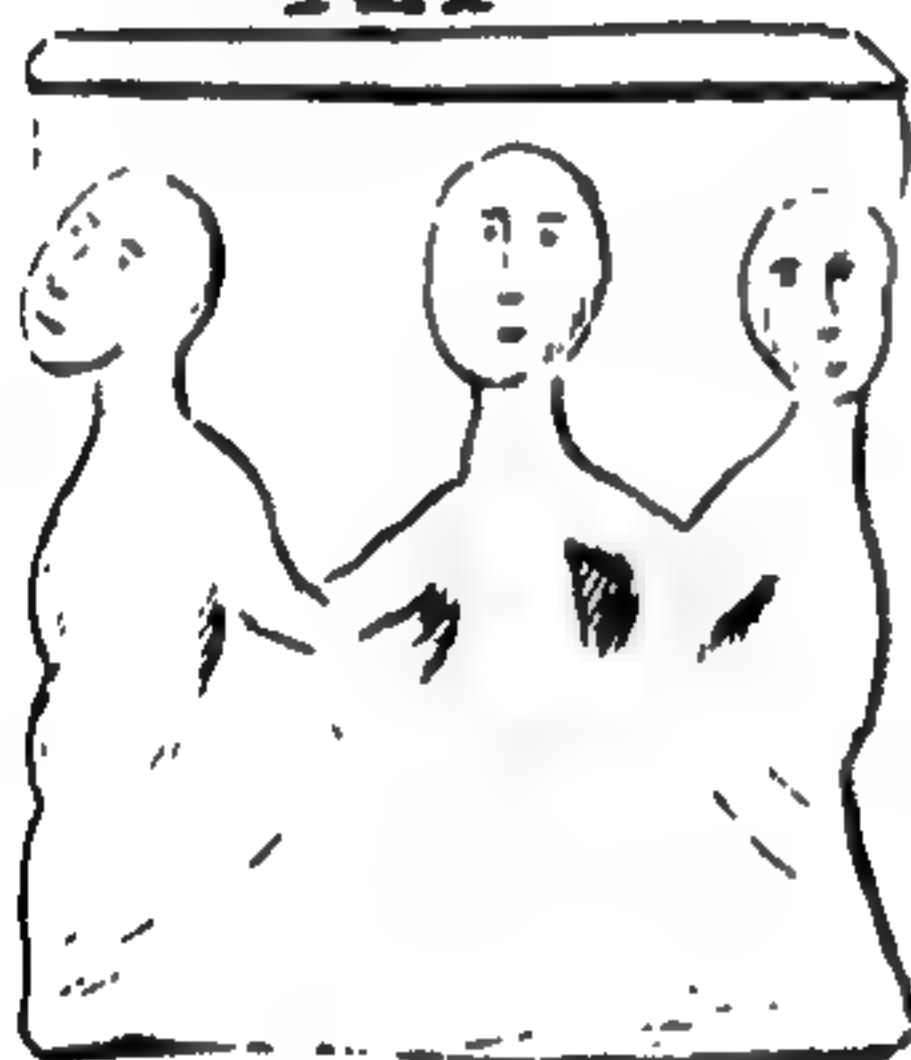
Deo Marti Caii Aurelii susceptum votum

XIX



Deo Vitiri

XX

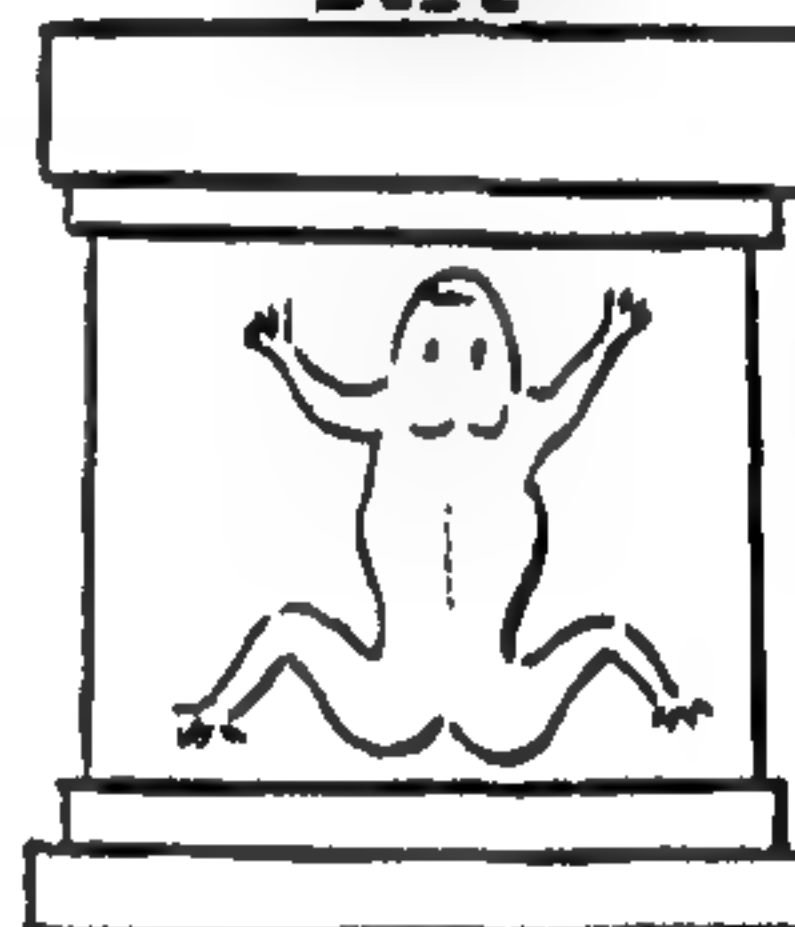


XVI. α

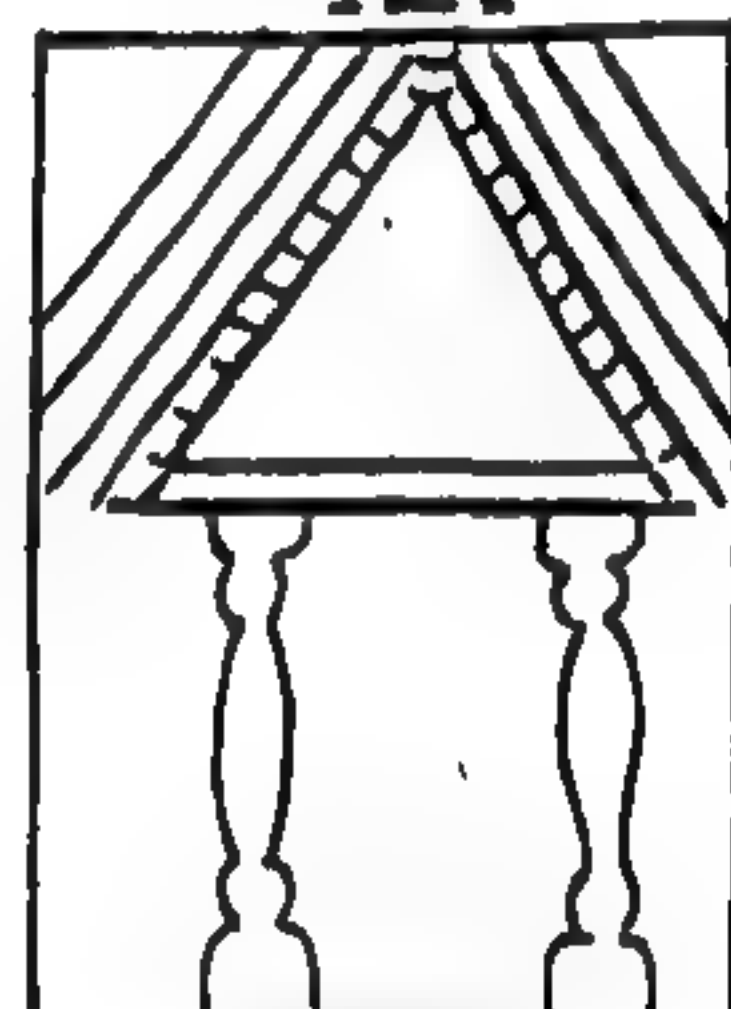


Marti Augusti Aufidius Aufidianus dedicat

XX



XX



XVI



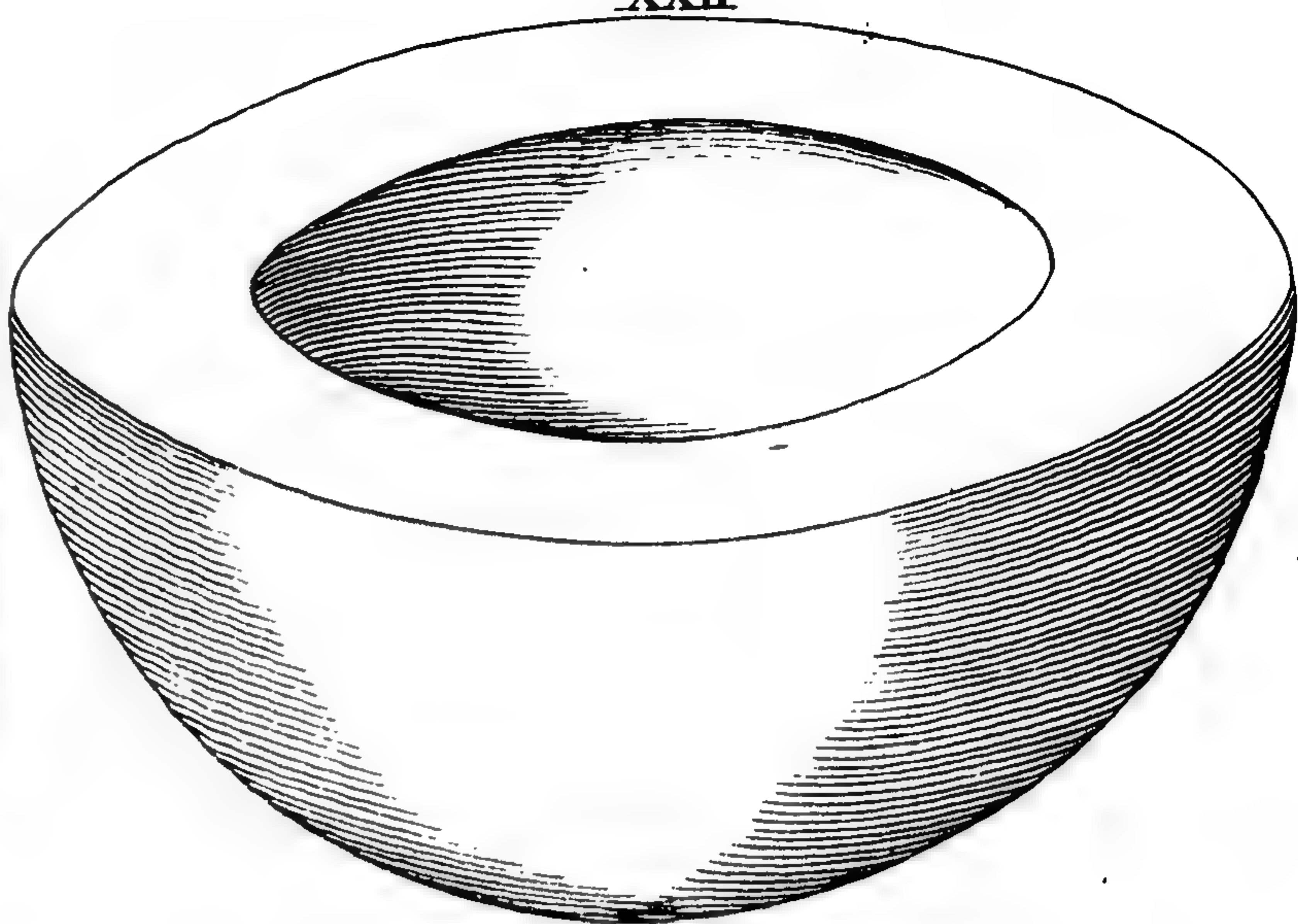
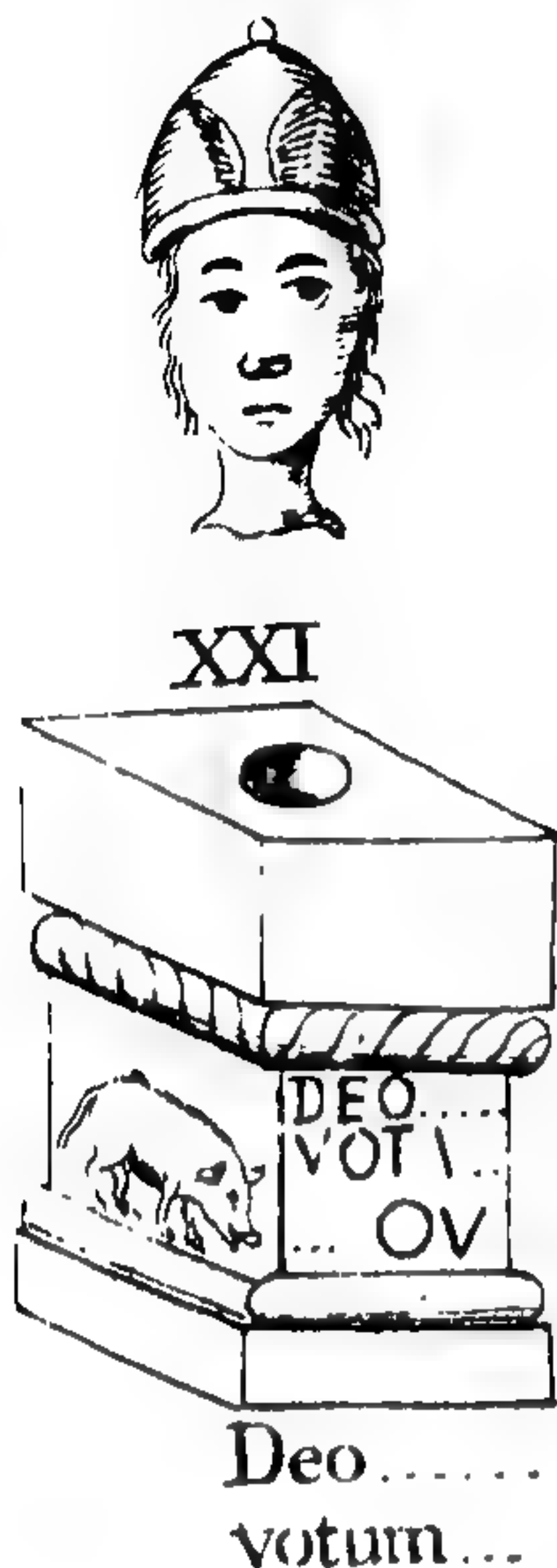
Legio vicesima valens victrix fecit

DURHAM

XXI α

XXI α

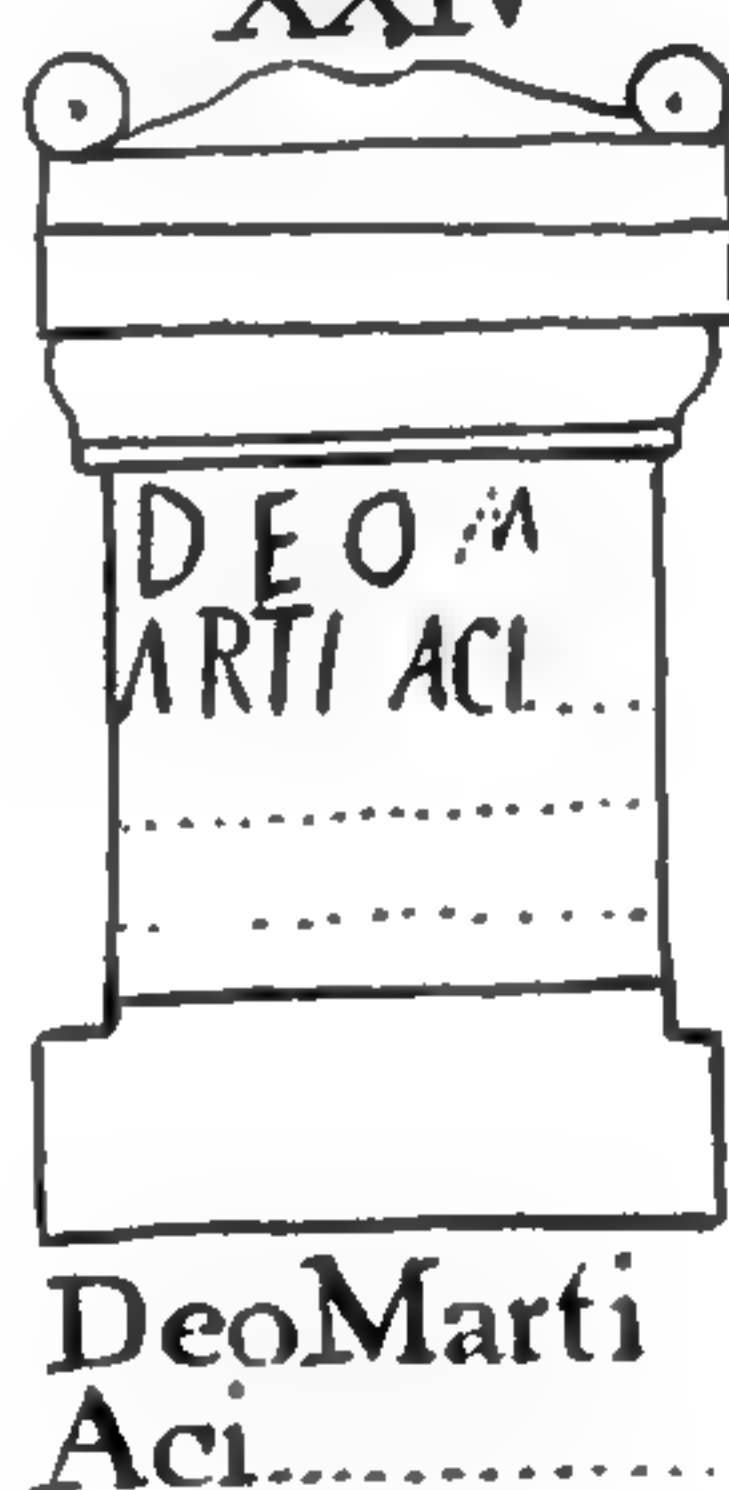
XXII



XXIII

XXIV

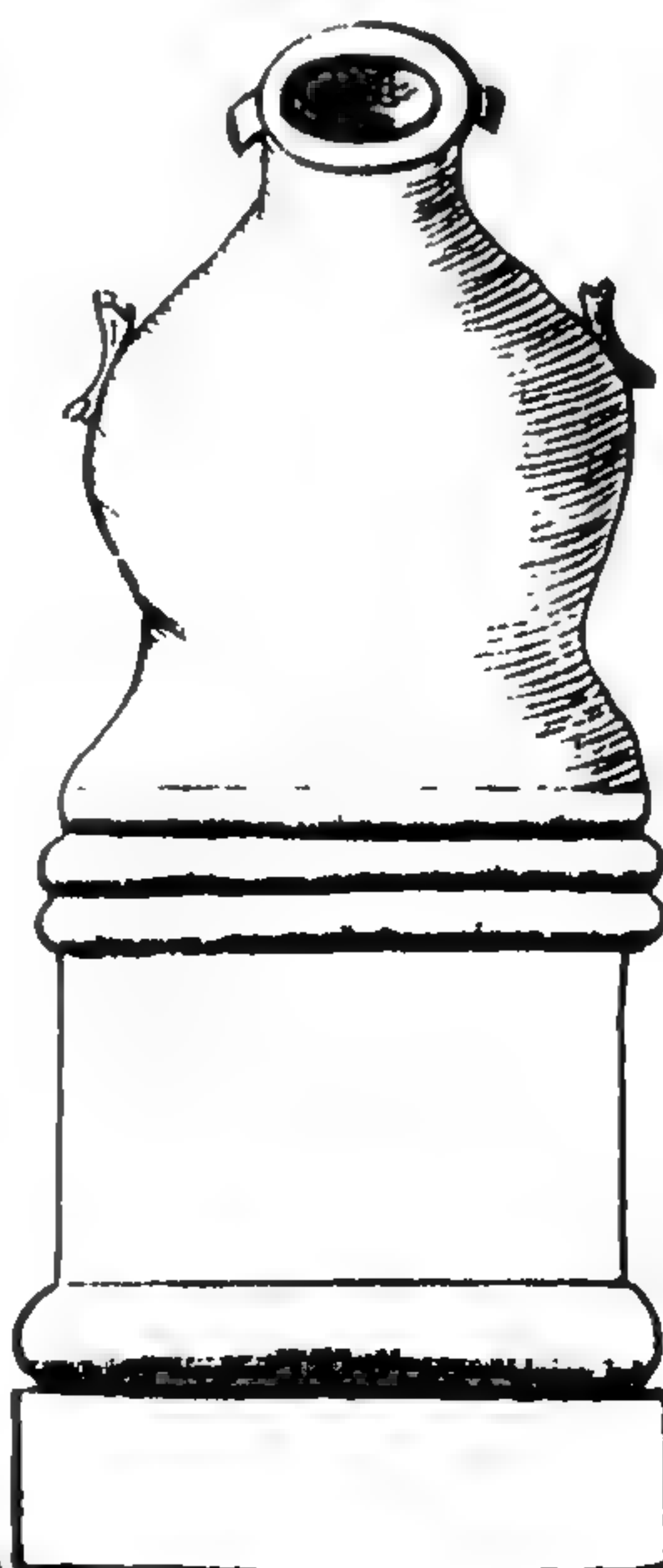
XXVI



XXV

XXV

XXVII



Υπερ σωτηρίας
Τίτος Φλαβίος
Τιτιανός χιλίαρχος

Aesculapio Titus Flavius
Titianus tribunus votum
solvit libentissime merito

Jovi Optimo Maximo
vexillatio cohortis Var-
dolorum & consecra-
orum equitum... votum
solvit libentissime merito

DURHAM

P192N.58.

XXVIII



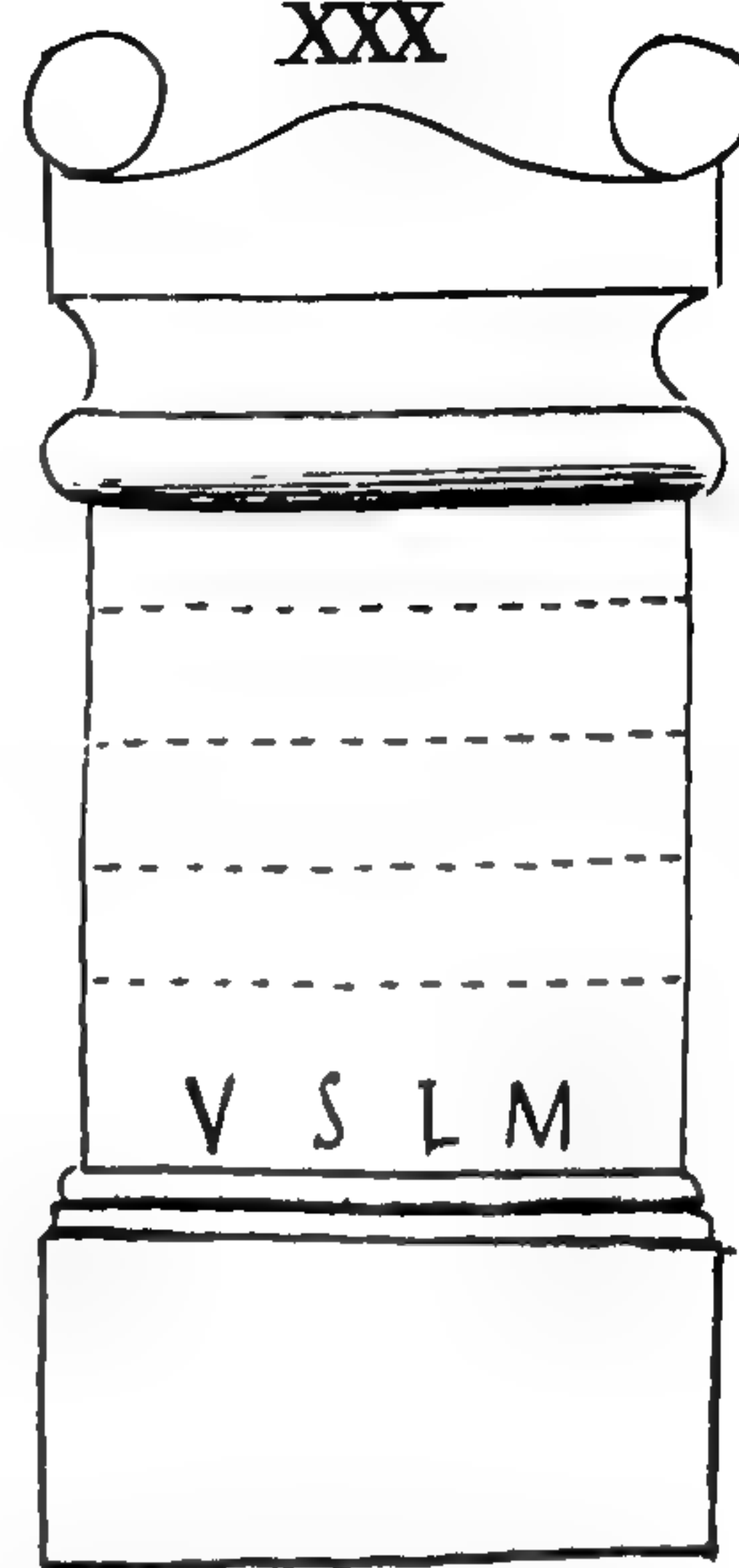
Deabus Matribus Quintus Lucius Quinti filius (Claudia *tribus*) Quintianus beneficiarius consulis votum solvit libens merito

XXIX



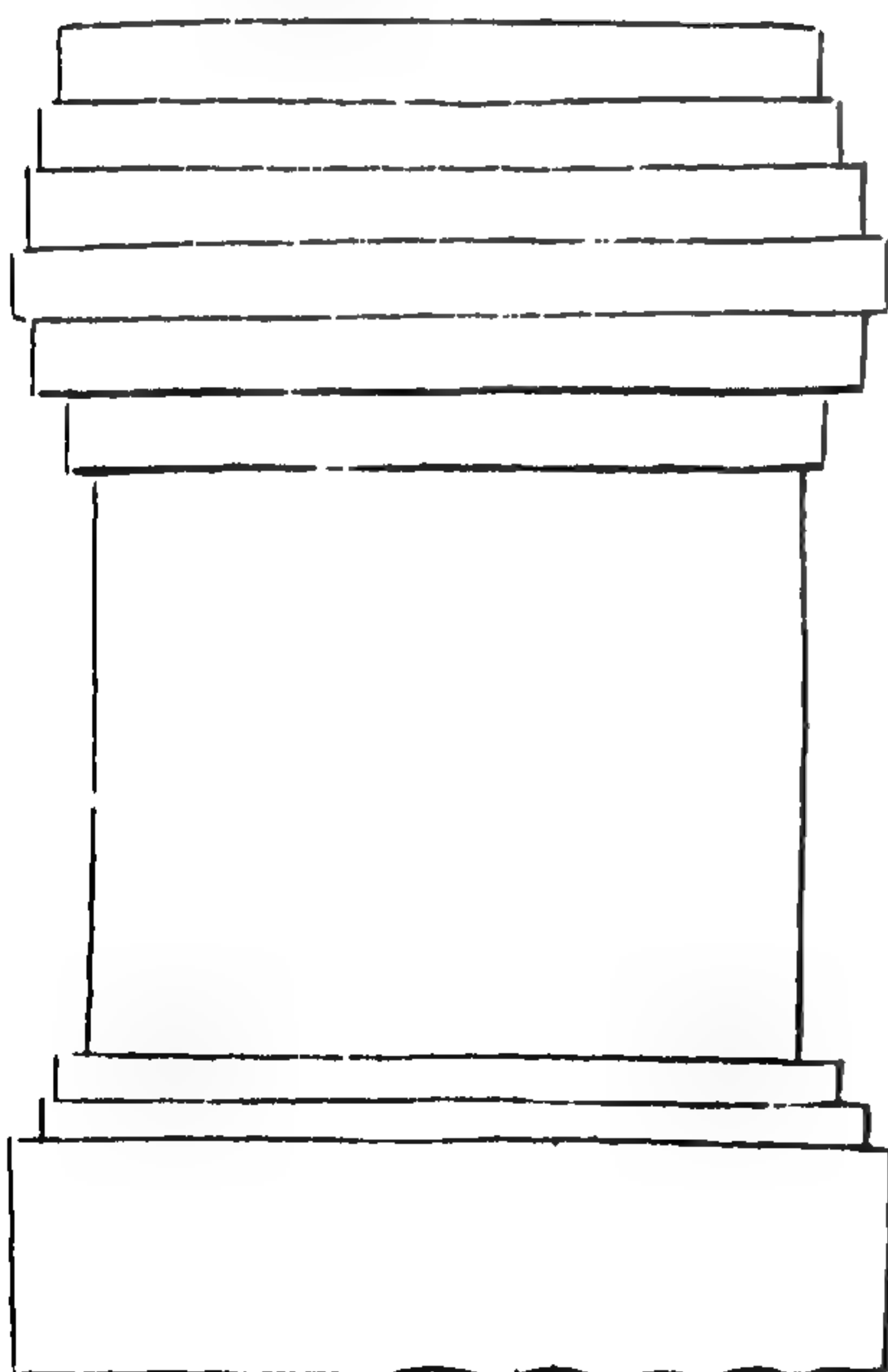
Matribus sacrum Gemellus votum solvit libens merito

XXX

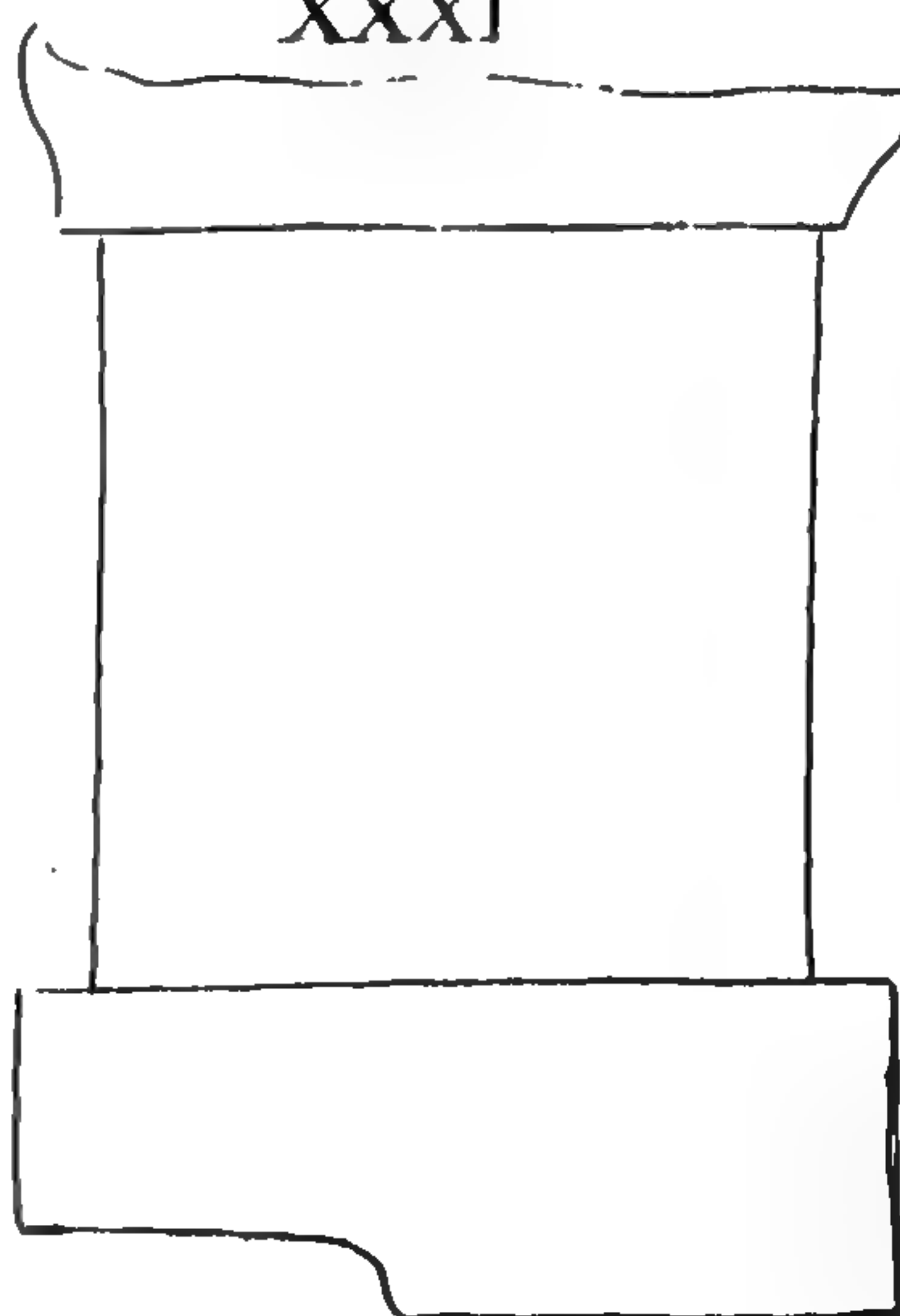


votum solvit libens merito

XXXI



XXXI



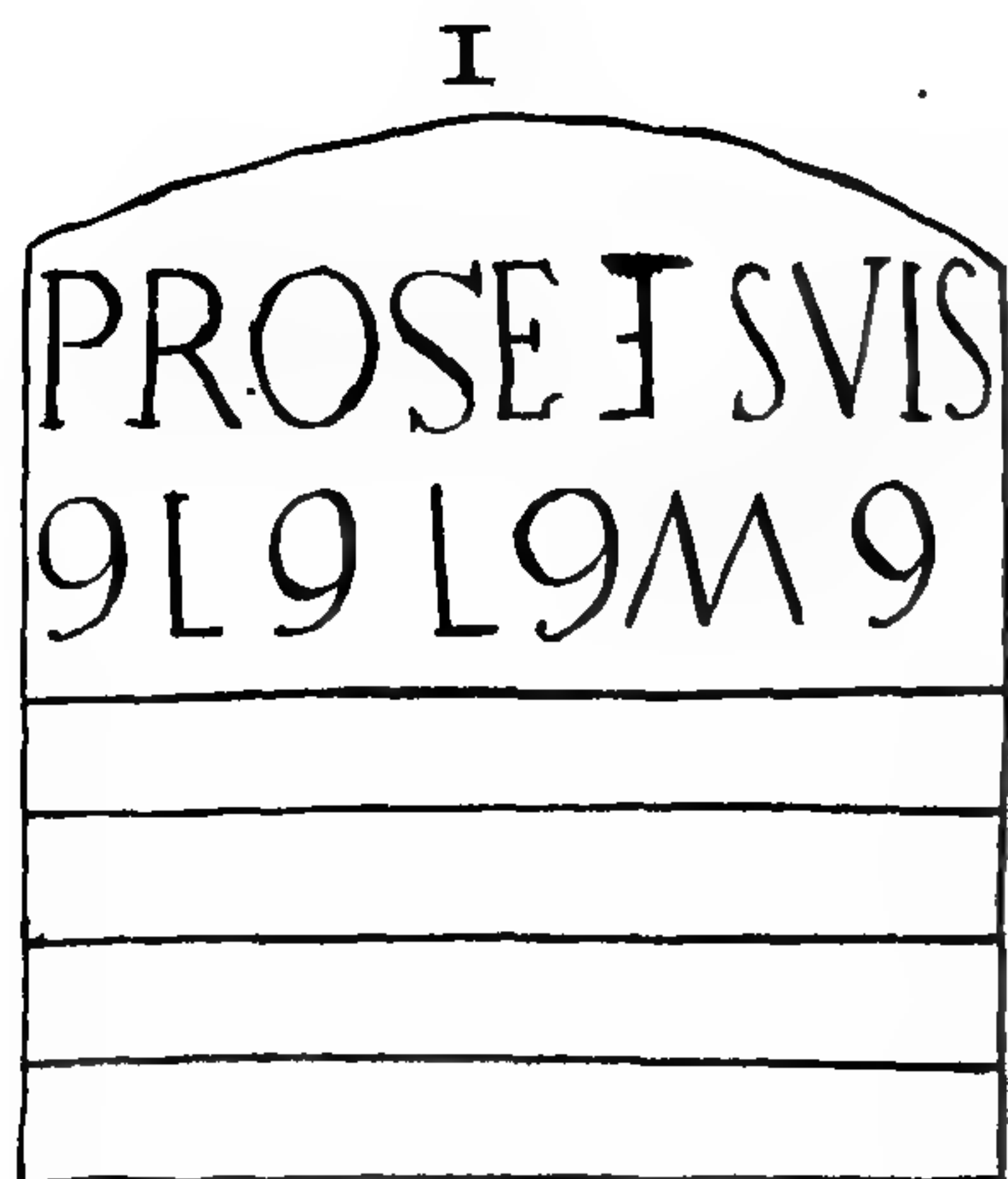
XXXII



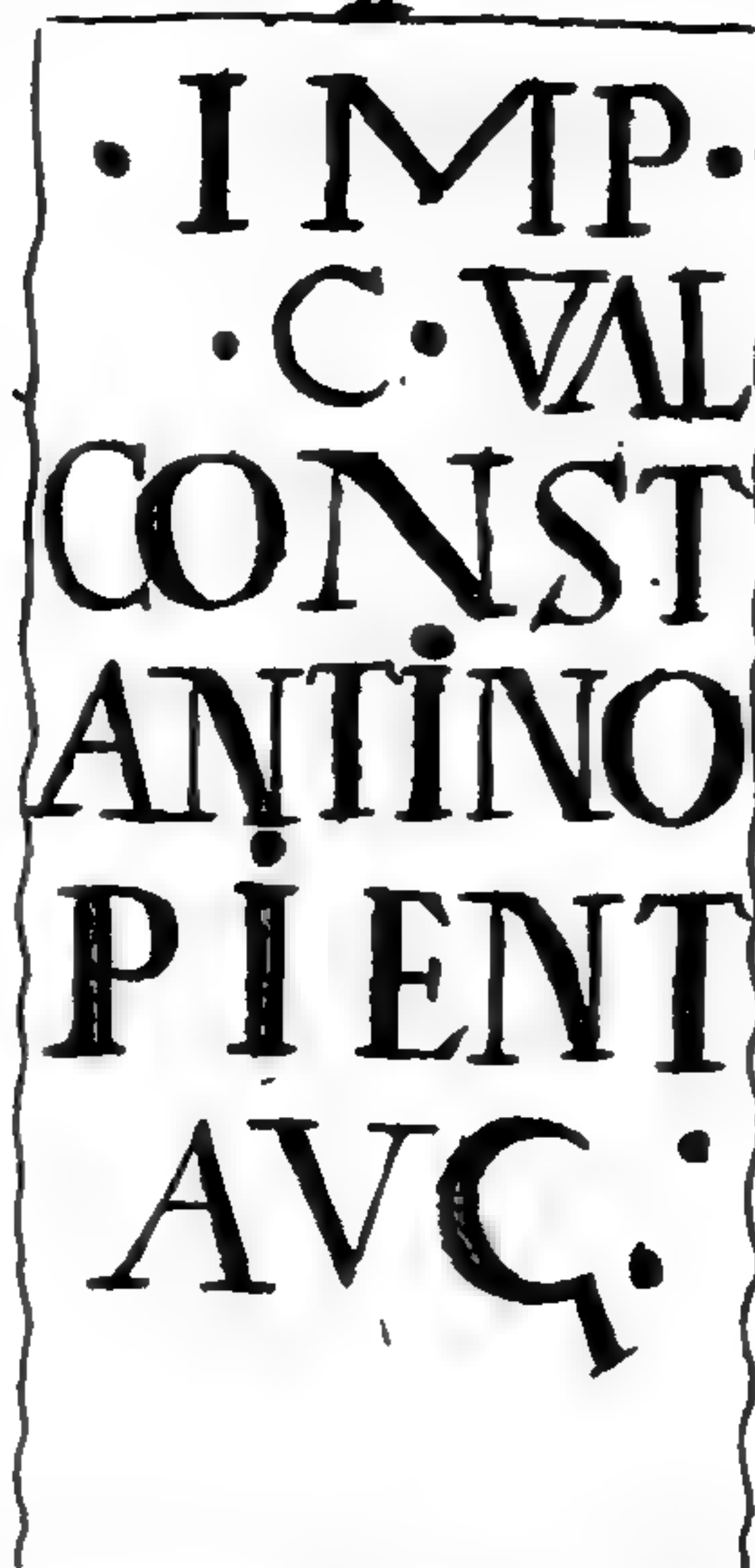
Dis Manibus Condati Attonius Quintianus.....
.....
ex jussu susceptum solvit libenti animo

WESTMORLAND

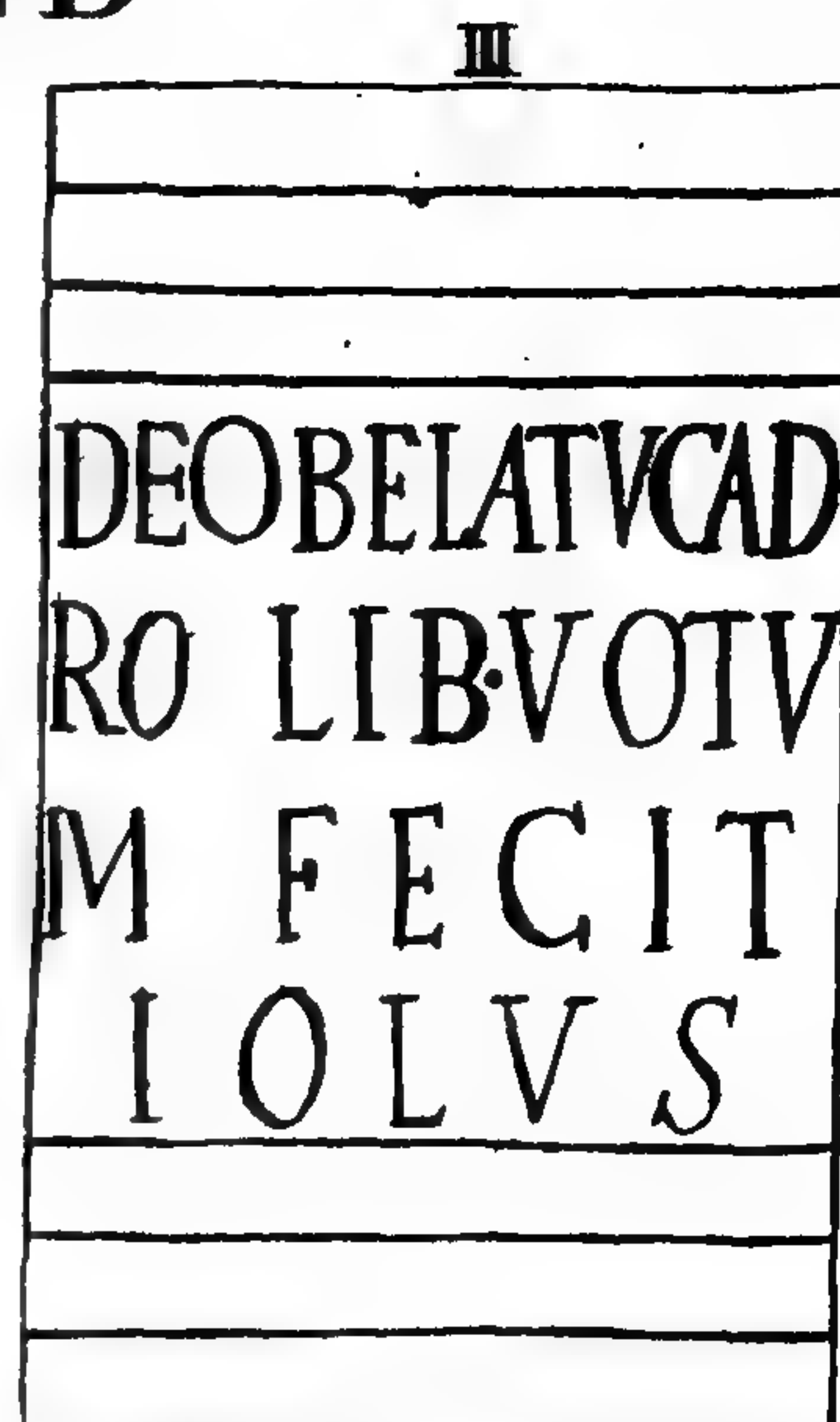
P192 N.59.



pro se et suis libentissime
merito



Imperatori Caesari Vale-
rio Constantino pientif-
simo Augusto



Deo Belatucadro liben-
ter votum fecit Jolus

IV

C. VARRONIVS
ESSVS LEG XXV.

AEL. LVCANVS
R LEG II AVG C

Caius Varronius.....essus legionis vicesimae valentis victricis

Aelius Lucanus tribunus legionis secundae Augustae....

V

> LEG II AVG^{cs} XXV

CO

Centurio legionis secundae Augustae et vicesimae valentis victricis

WESTMORLAND

VI

LEG·VI
VICT·P·F

Legio sexta victrix pia fidelis

VII

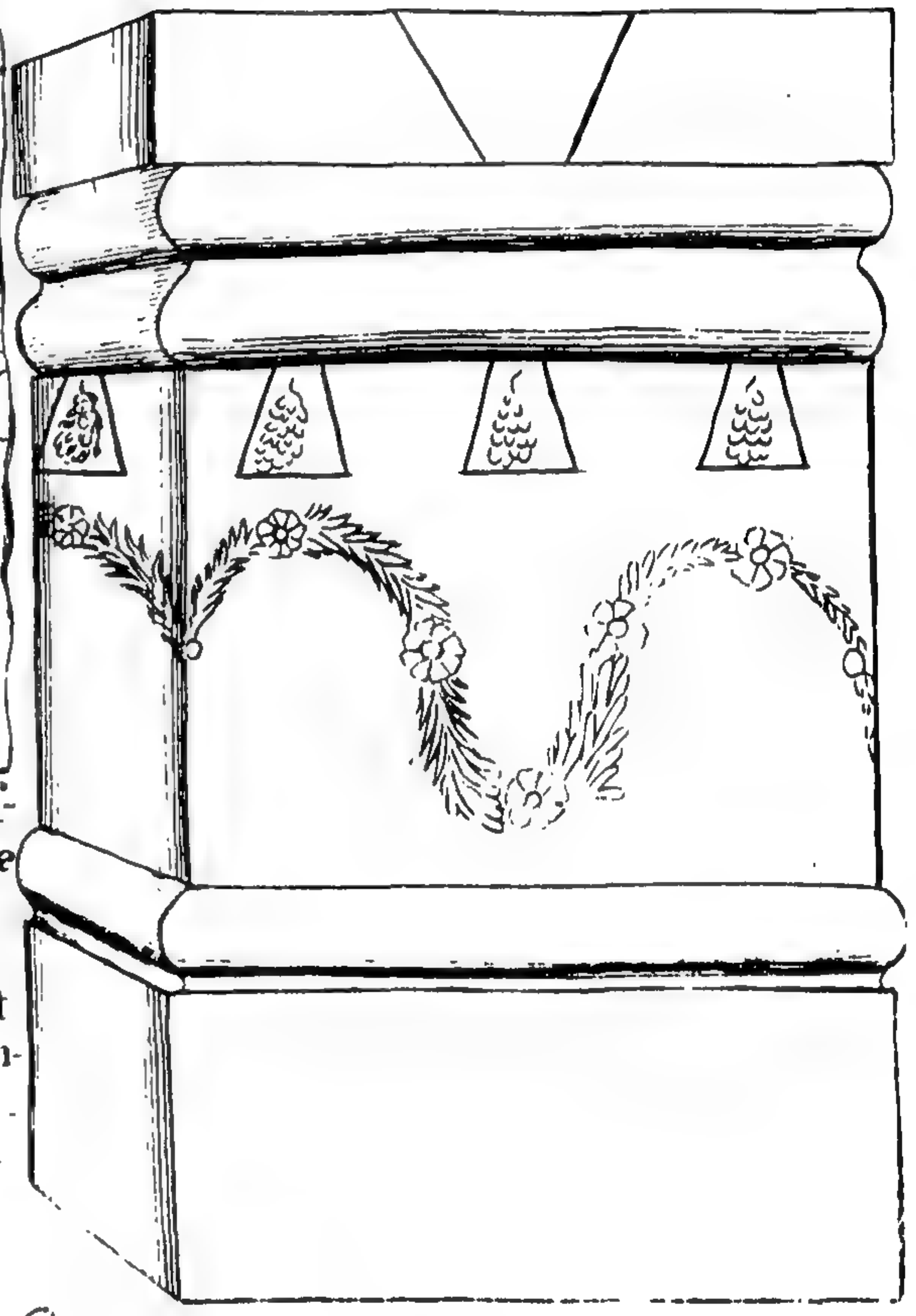
IXIT I VC IMVE
SDVN VIXIO
OSI VIIAC

VIII

PAELP·FSERG·BASS
QD' LEG·XX·VVIX·AN
E·PRIA TVS LIBB·F·HERO
M· LEG·VI·VIC·FCC·SIO
SE PVLC·ALIVM·MORT
ERIT·INFER·F·DD·N·N·
INSATI·SV

Publius Aelius Publii filius Sergia [tribu] Bas-
sus quaestor designatus legionis ~~vicesime~~
~~valentis~~ victricis vixit annos et
Publius Rivatus liberti et Hero miles
legionis sextae victricis faciendum curarunt
Siquis in hoc sepulcrum alium mortuum in-
tulerit inferet filco dominorum nostrorum ..

IX



fontes

XII

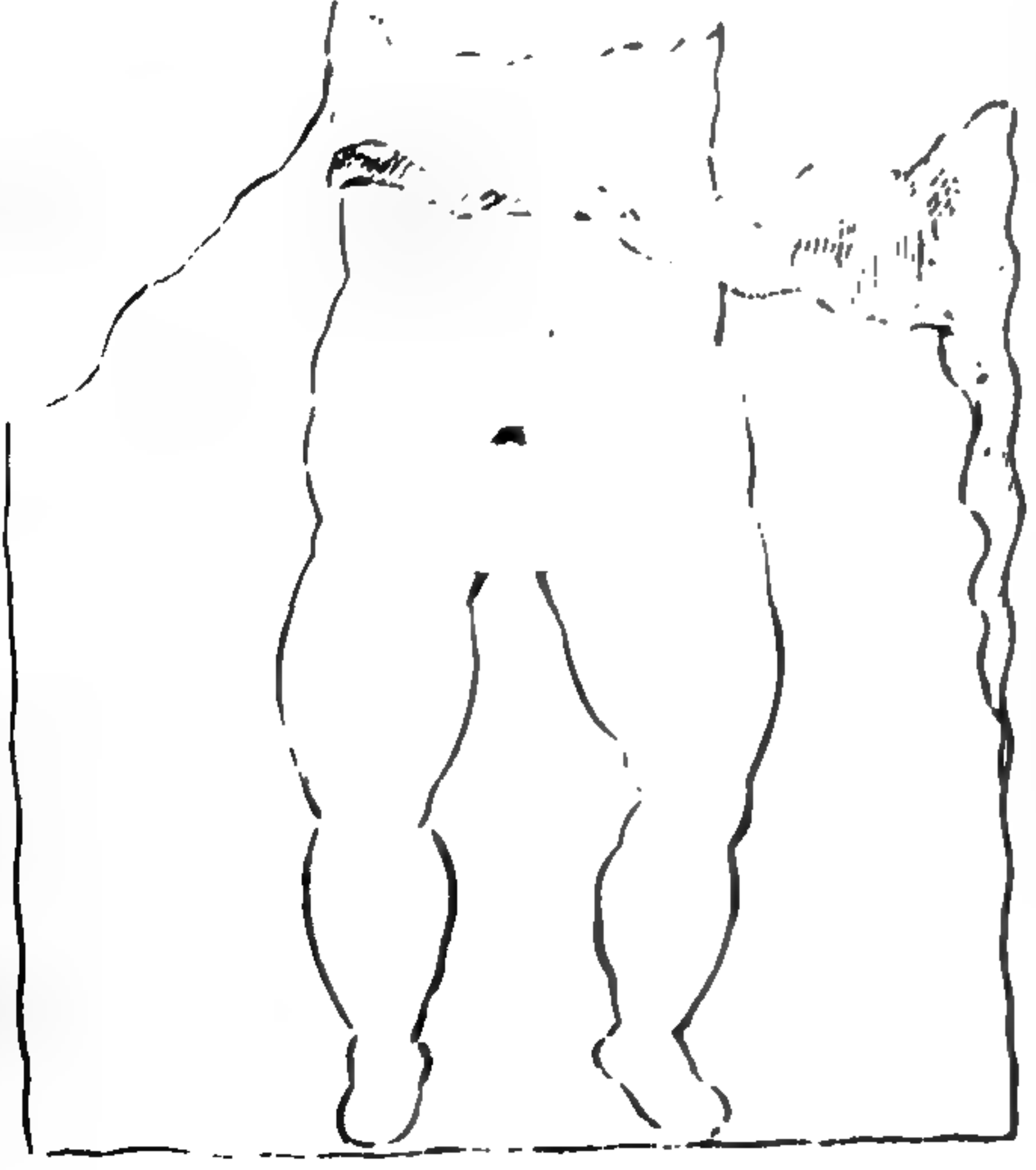
XII



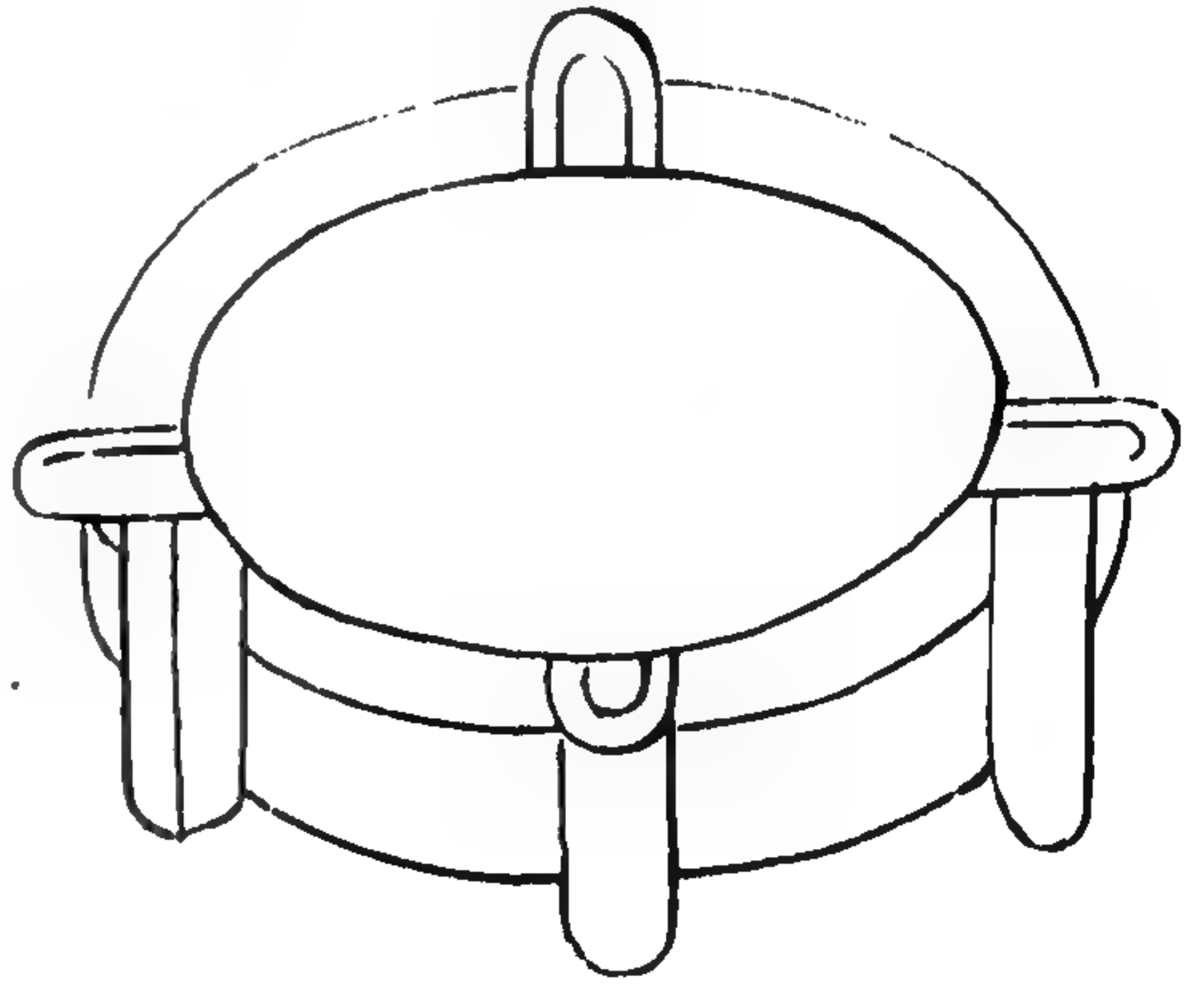
X



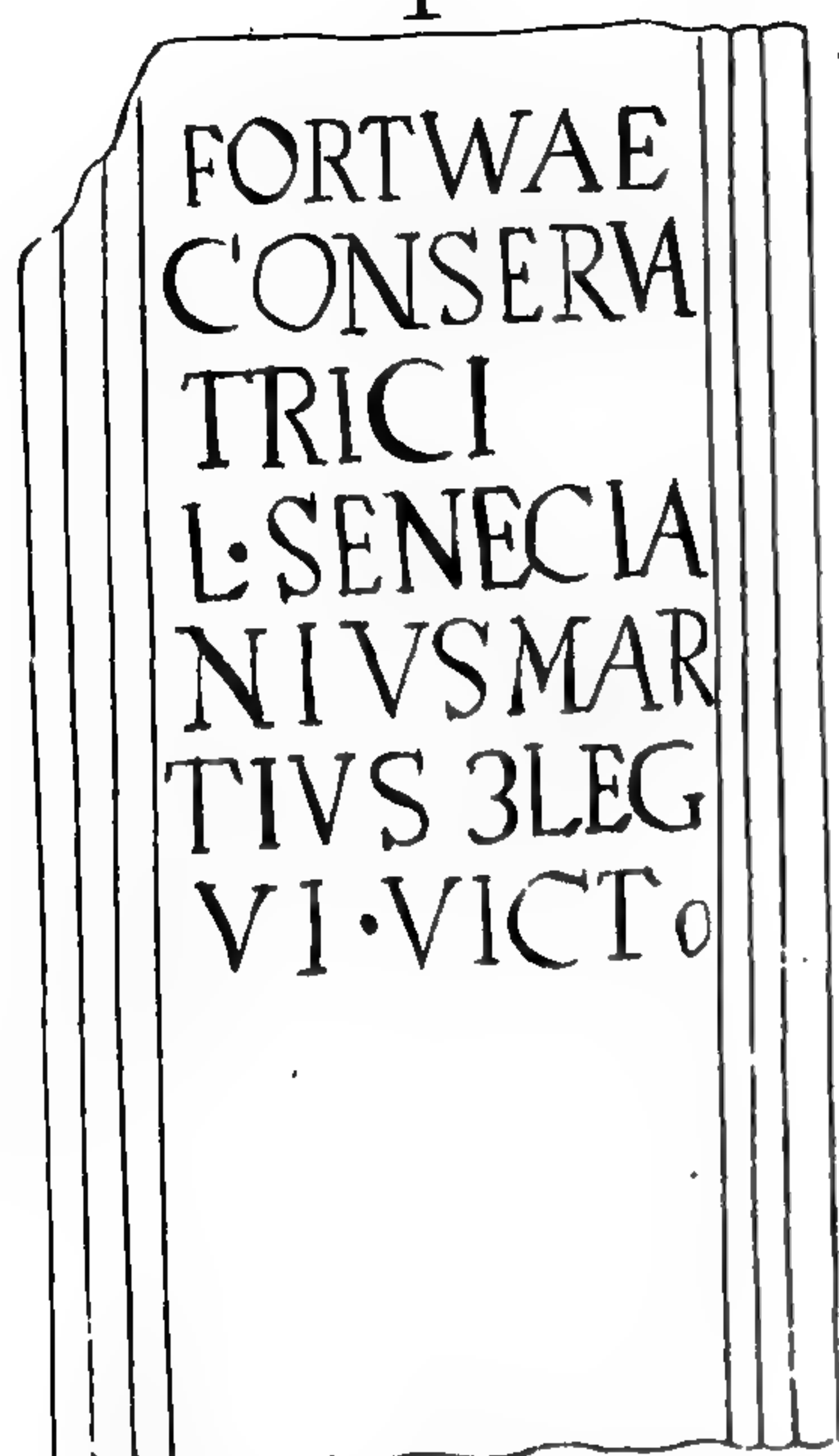
Deae



XI

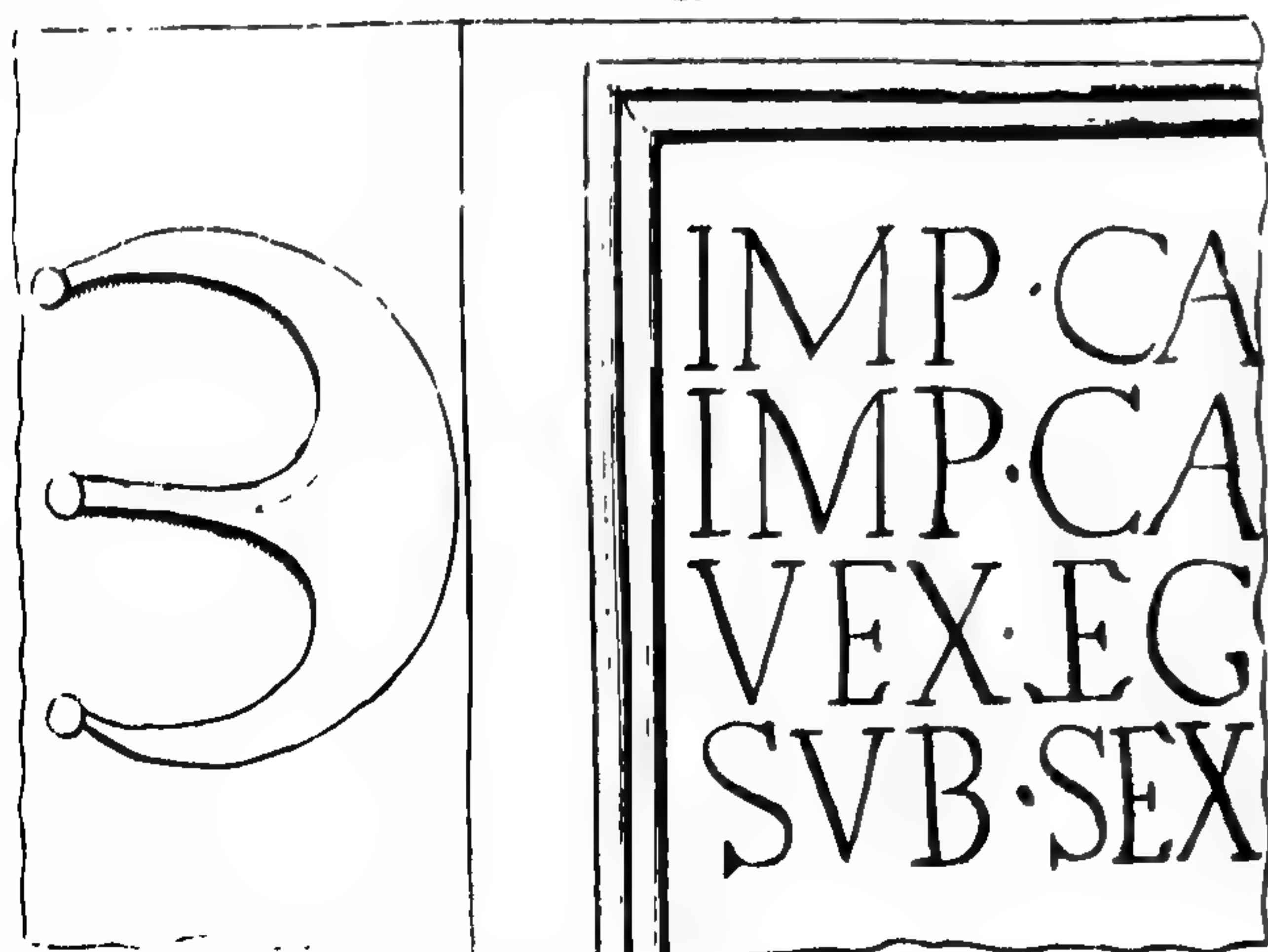


I

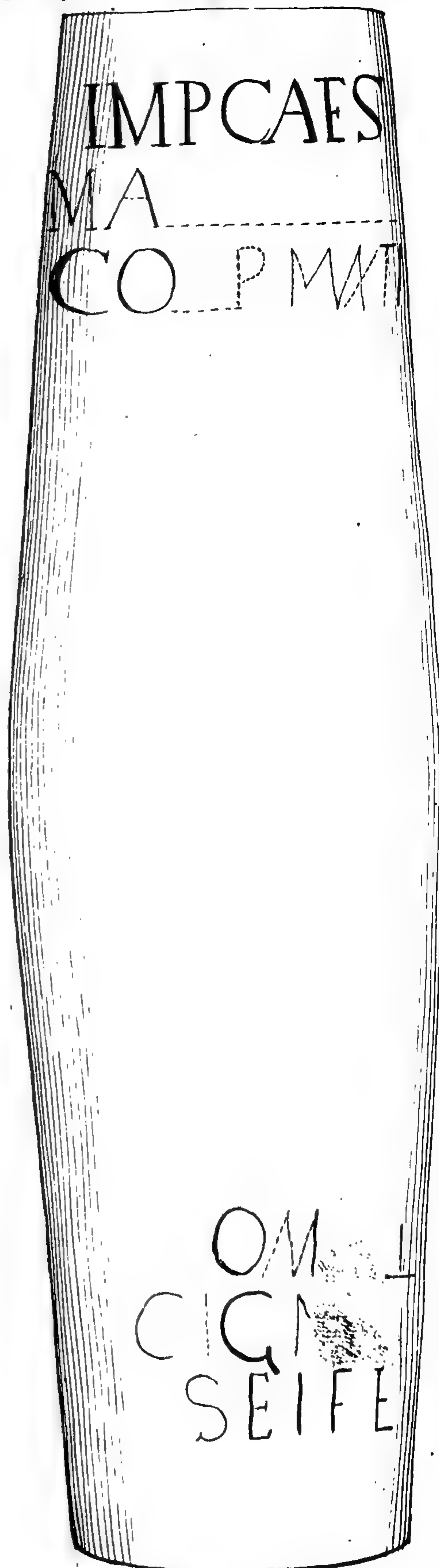


Fortunae conservatrici Lu-
cius Senecianus Martius
centurio legionis sextae vic-
tricis

II



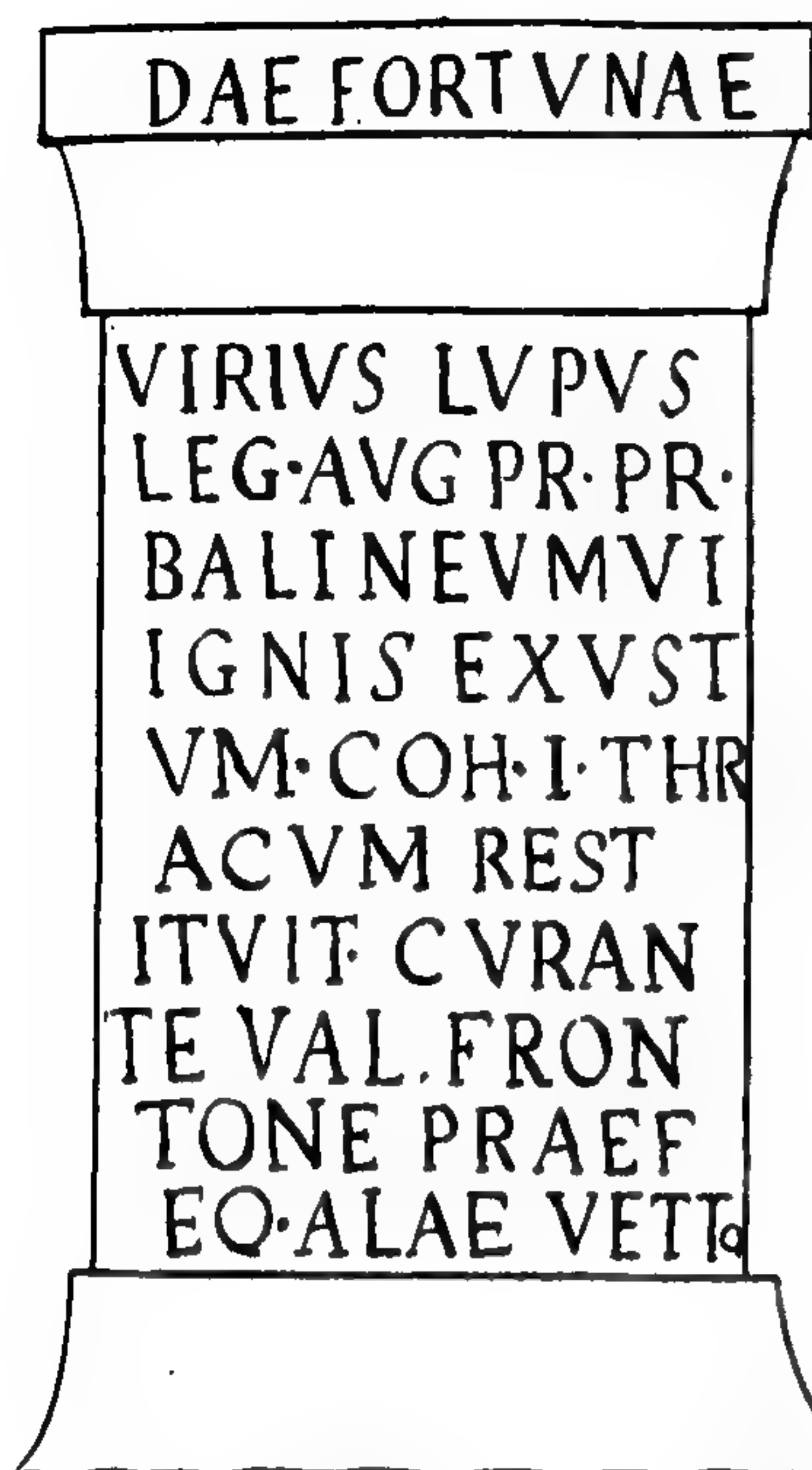
Imperatori Caesari... Imperatori Caesari....
vexillatio legionis. sub Sextio....



Imperatori Caesari..... Marco Aurelio
..... consuli. pontifici maximo tribu-
nitia potestate.....

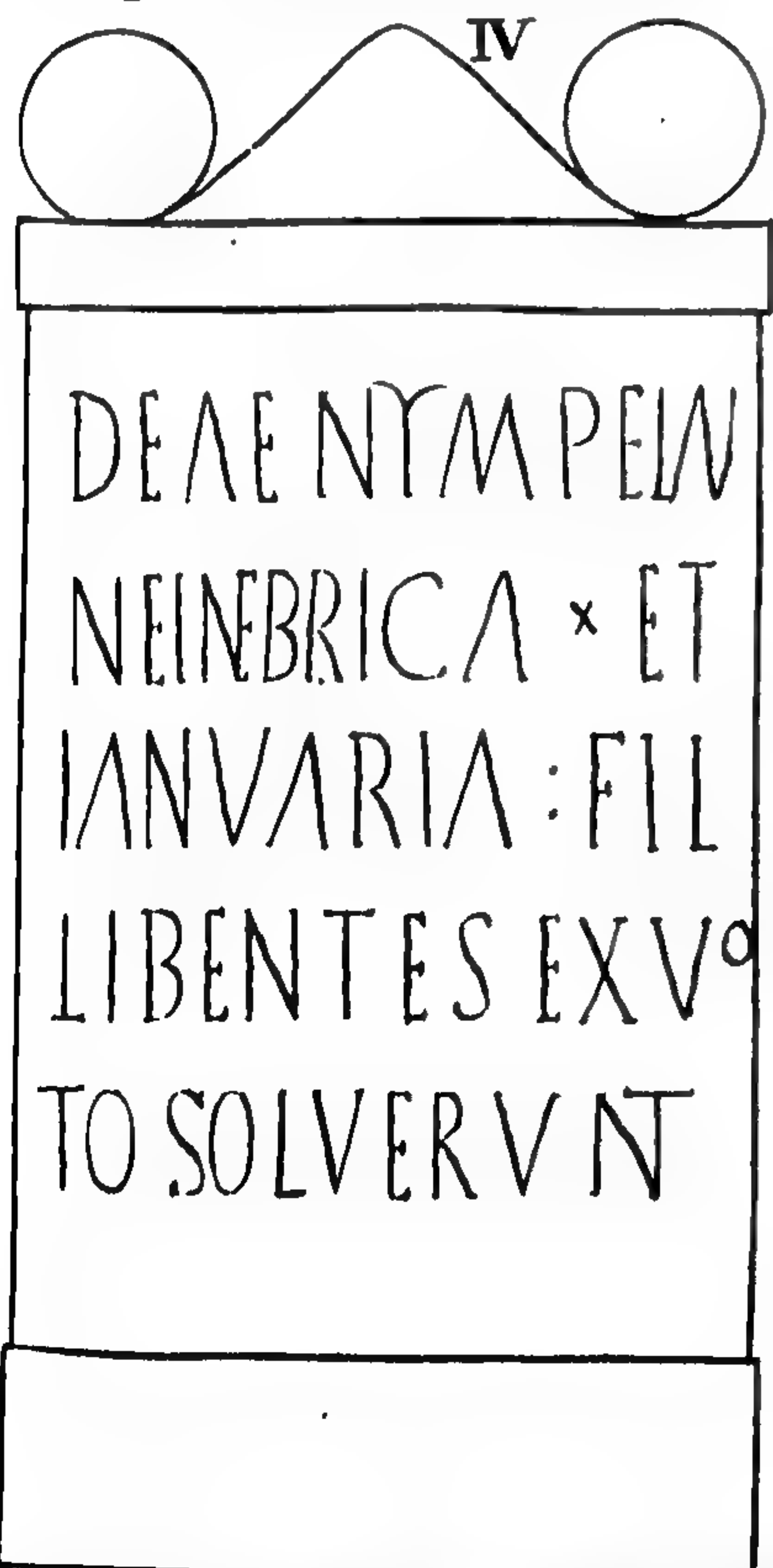
YORKSHIRE

I



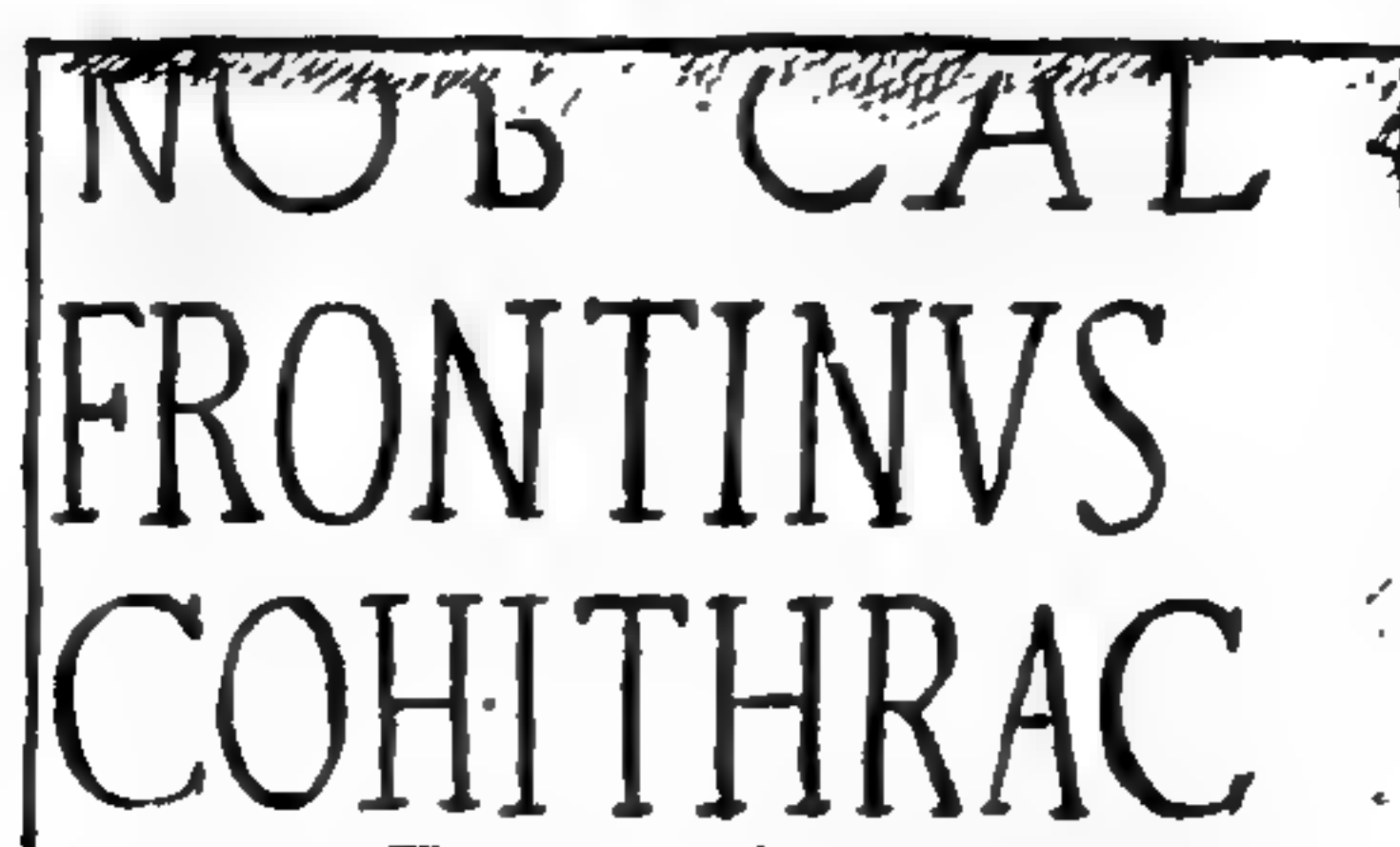
Deae Fortunae Virius Lupus le-
gatus Augustalis propraetor ba-
lineum vi ignis exustum co-
hors prima Thracum restituit cu-
rante Valerio Frontone praefecto
equitum alae Vettonum

IV



Deae Nymphae Elamae Inebrica
et Januaria filia libentes ex vo-
to solverunt

II



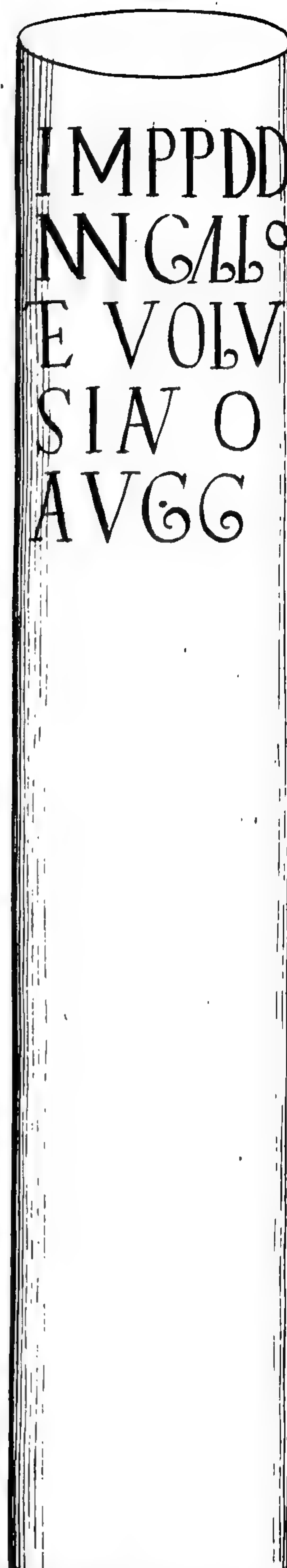
Nobilis Caesari Frontinus
cohortis primae Thracum

V



Ellinus beneficiari-
us consulis provin-
ciae superioris vo-
tum solvit libentissi-
me merito

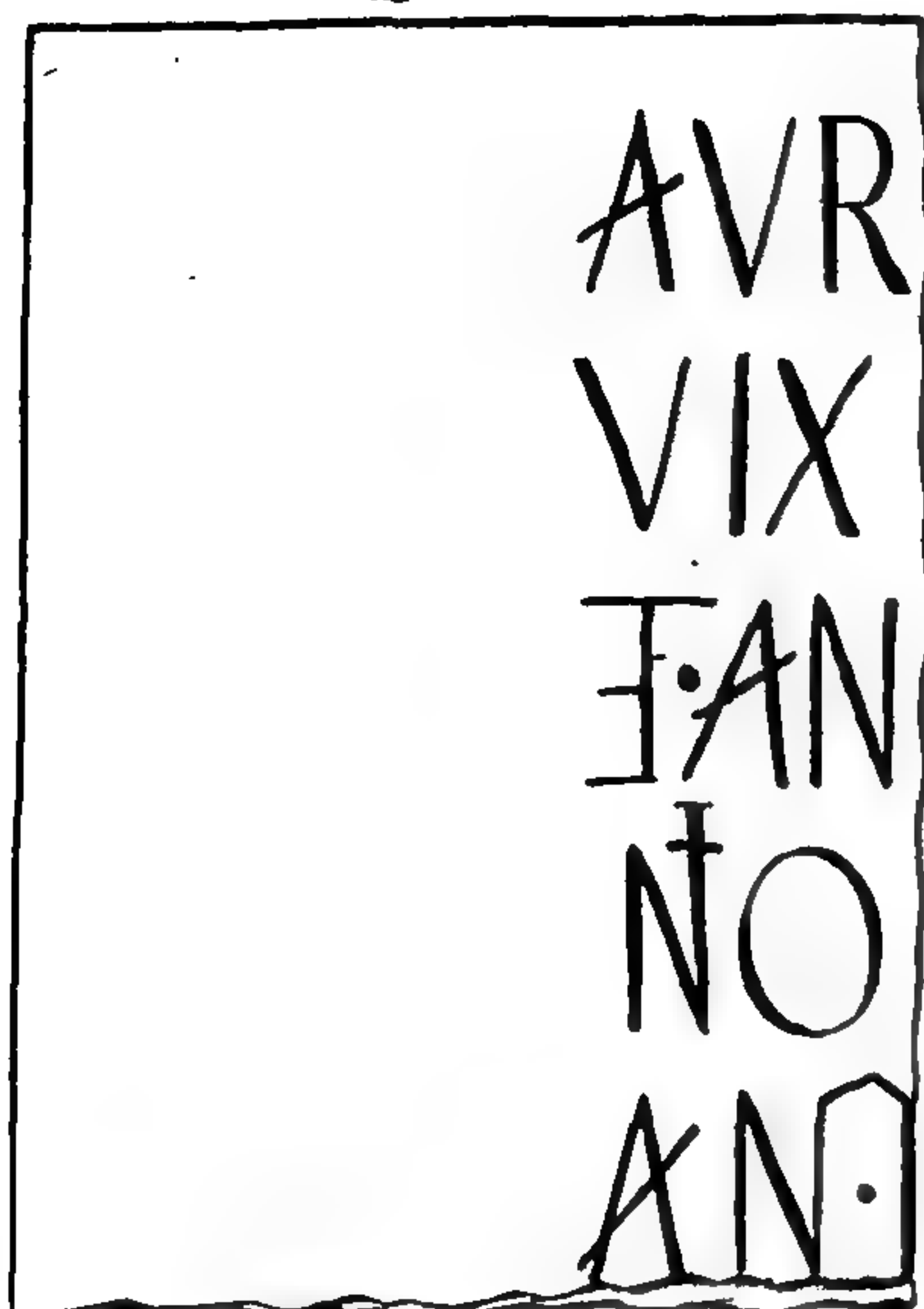
III



Imperatoribus domi-
nis nostris Gallo et
Volusiano Augustis

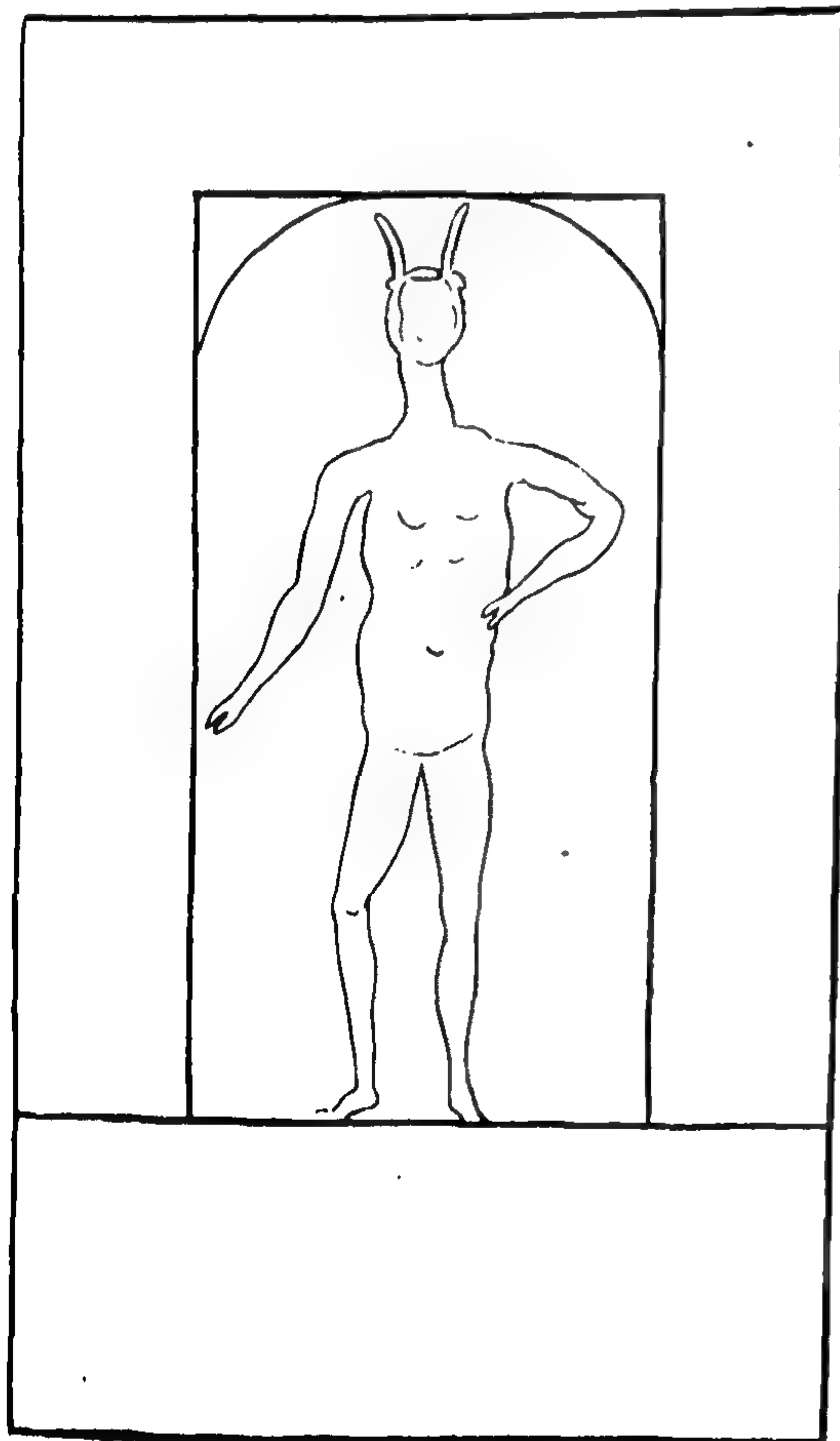
YORKSHIRE

VI

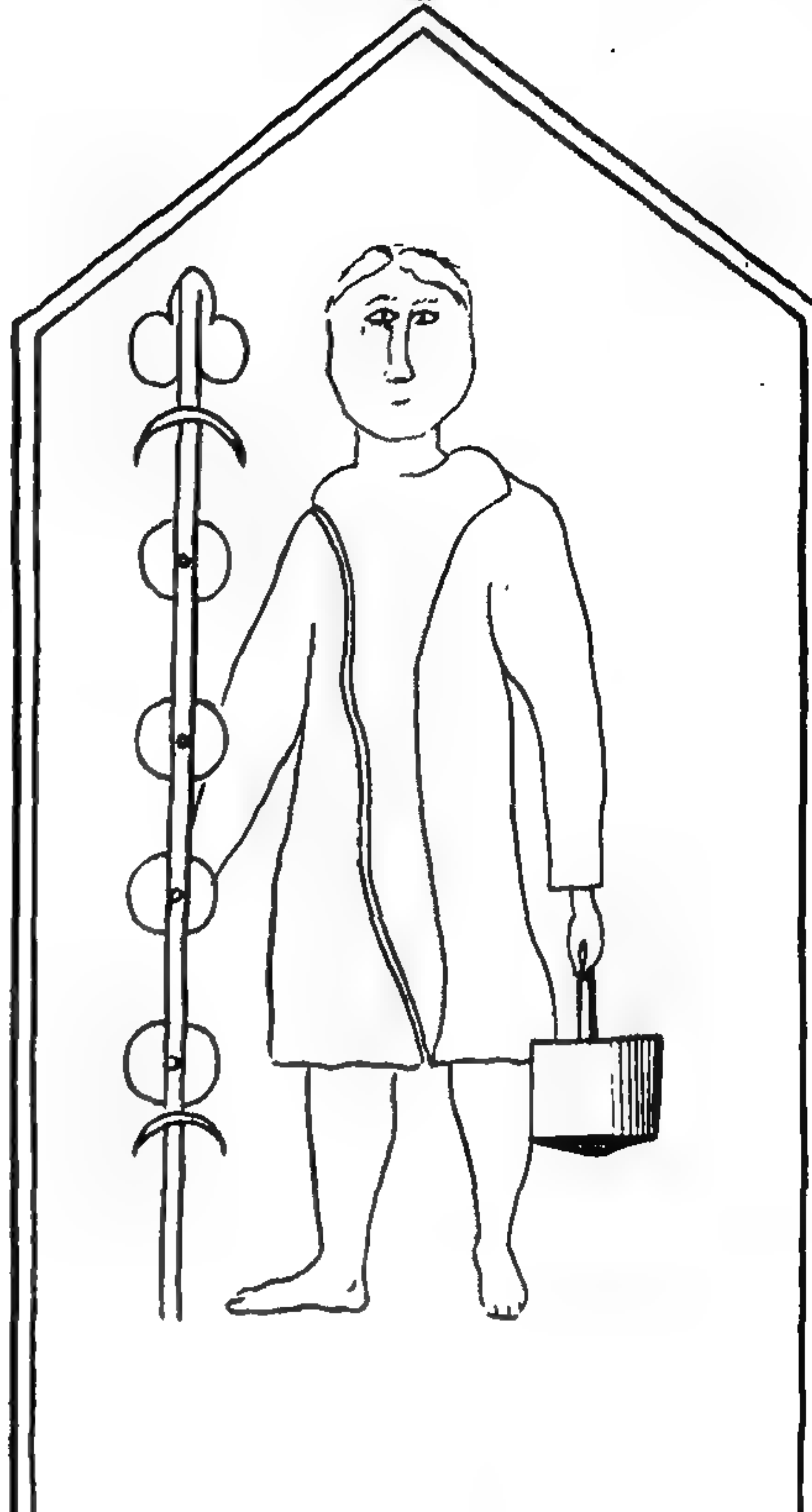


Aurelio vixit annos... et Antonio vixit annos quinque

VII



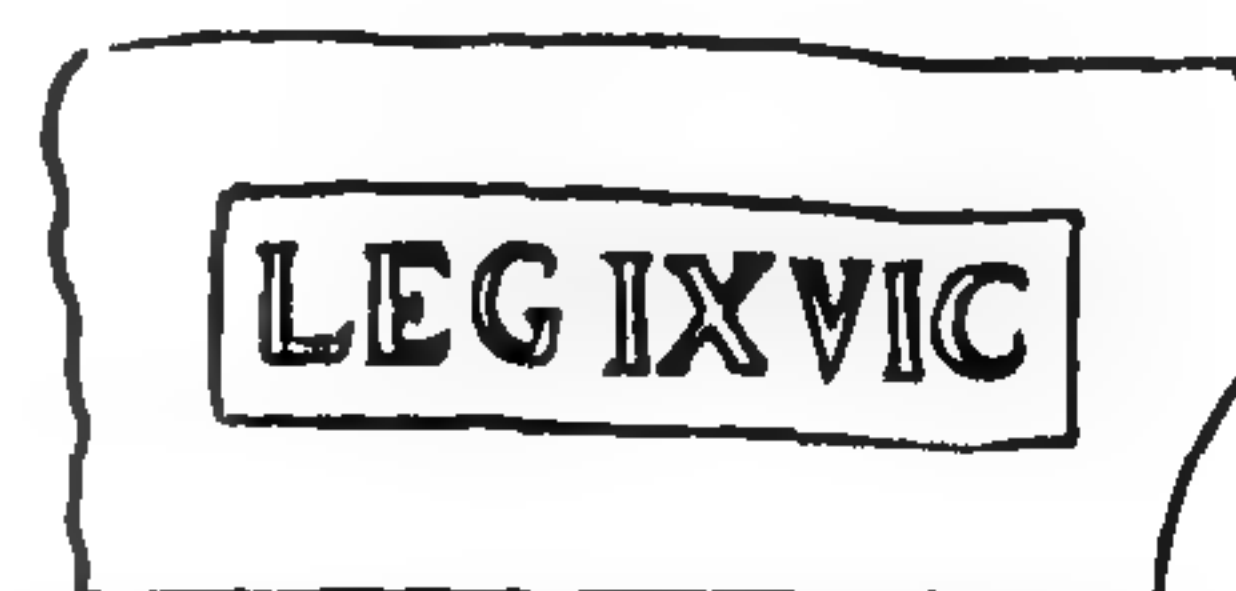
VIII



LDVCCIVS
LVOE RVFI
NVS VIEN
SIGNF LEG VIII
AN XXIIIX
HSE

Lucius Duccius Lucii Voltinia [tribu.] filius Rufinus Viemensis signifer legionis nonae annorum viginti octo hic situs est

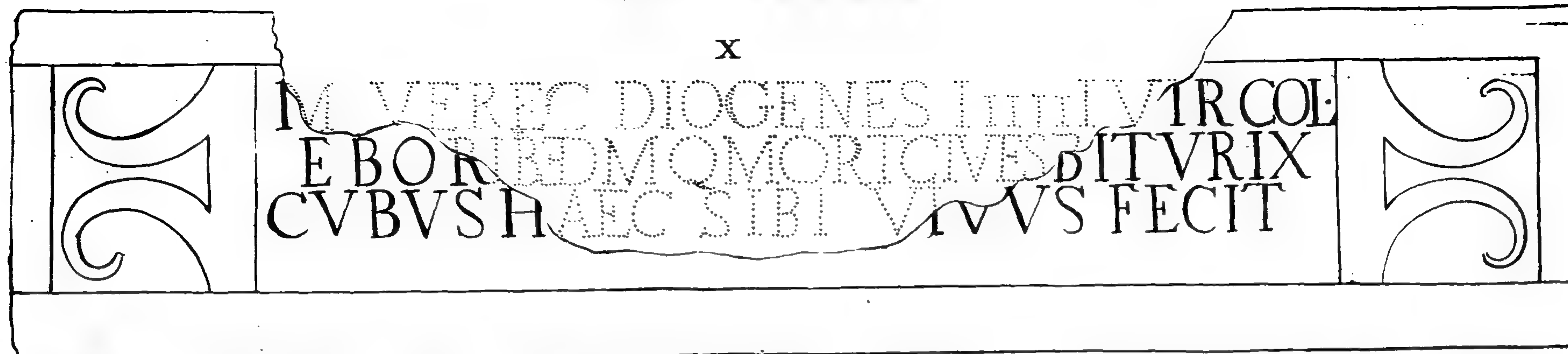
IX



Legio nona victrix

YORKSHIRE

X



Marcus Verecundus Diogenes sevir coloniae Eboracensis *ibidemque* mortuus civis Biturix Cubus haec *sibi* vivus fecit

XI

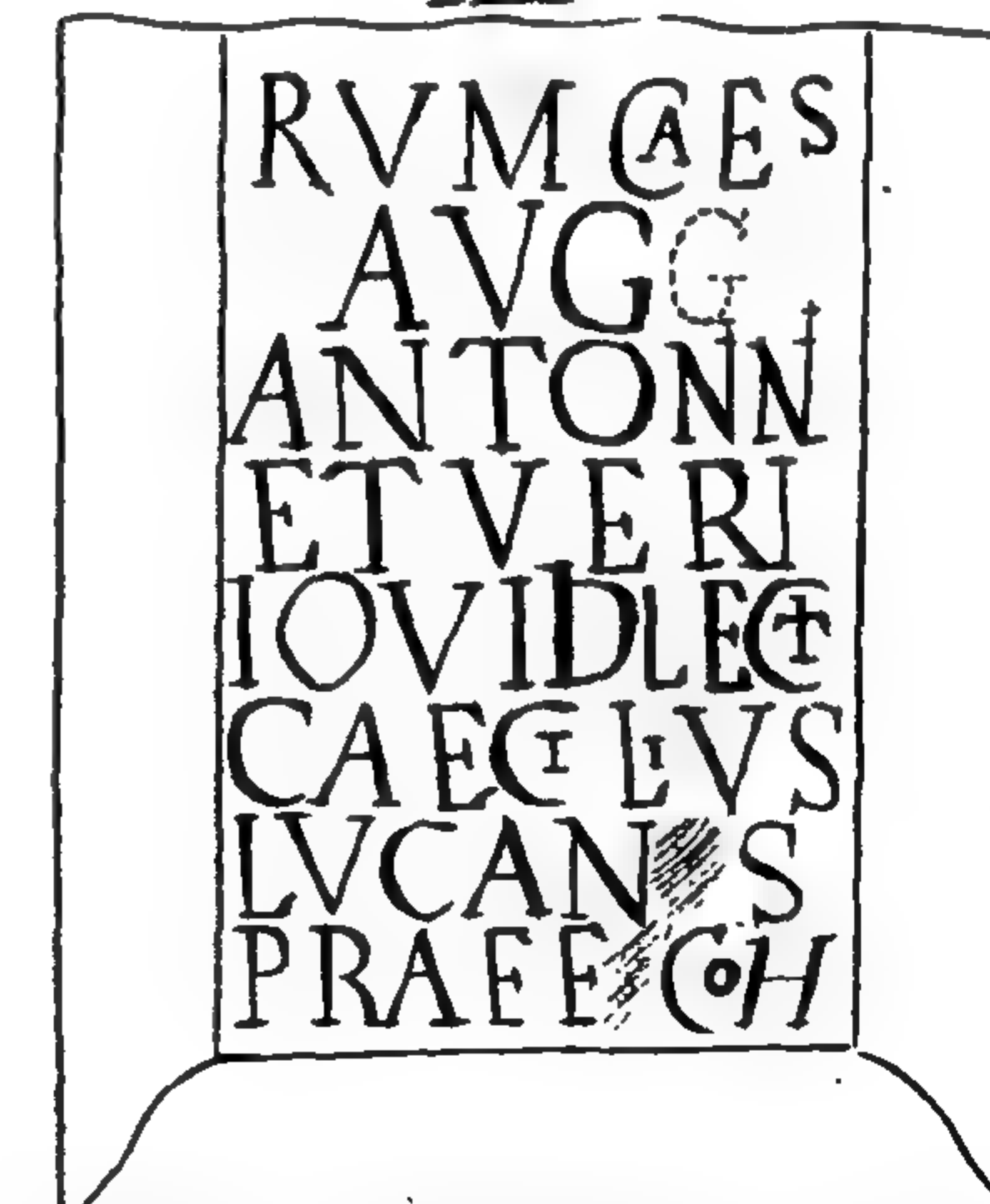


XII



Dis Manibus Min-
nae

XIII



Pro salute Imperatorum Cae-
sarum Augustorum Antonini
et Veri Jovi dilecti Caecilius
Lucanus praefectus cohortis

YORKSHIRE

P. 192. N. 65.

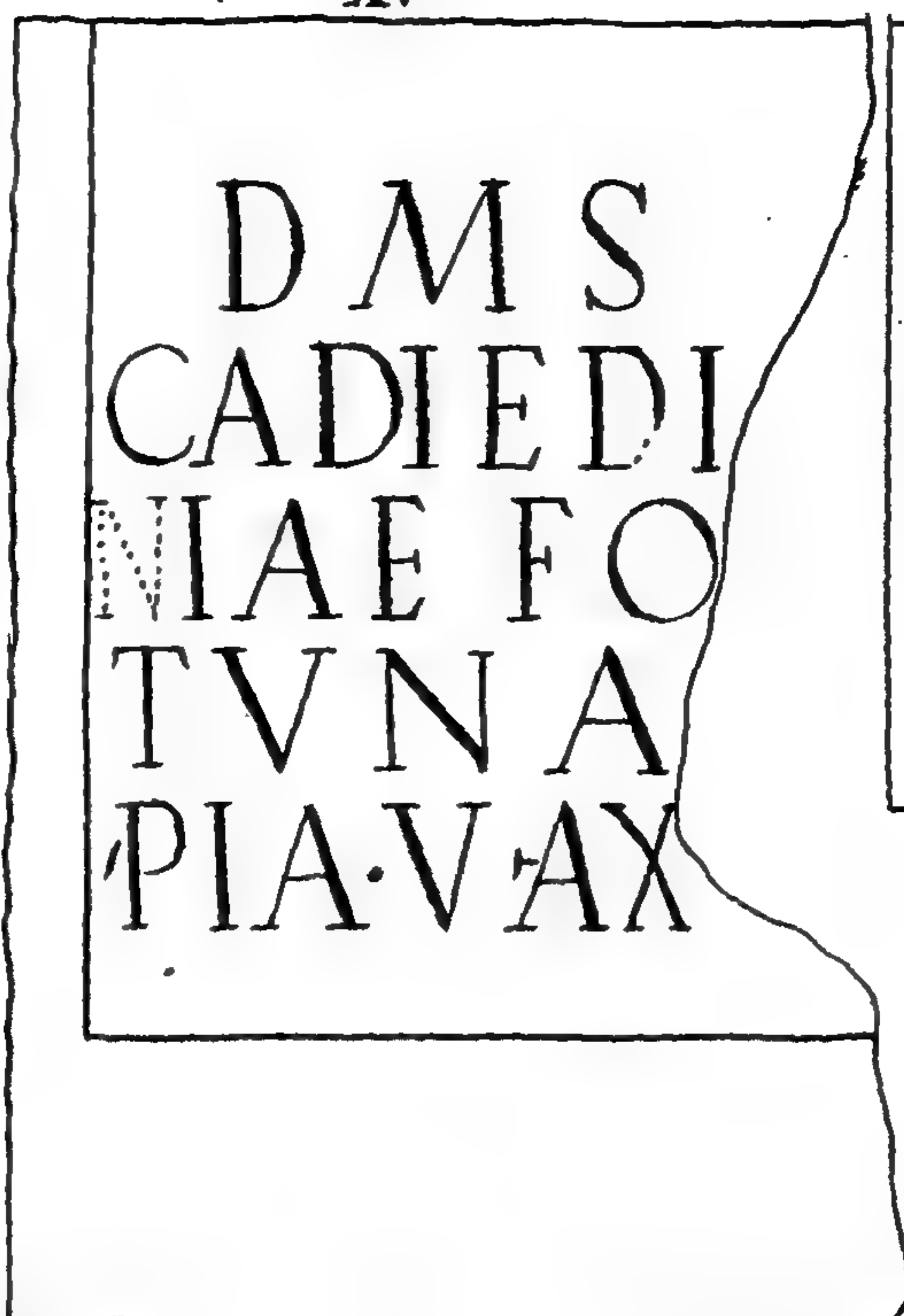
XIV

XV

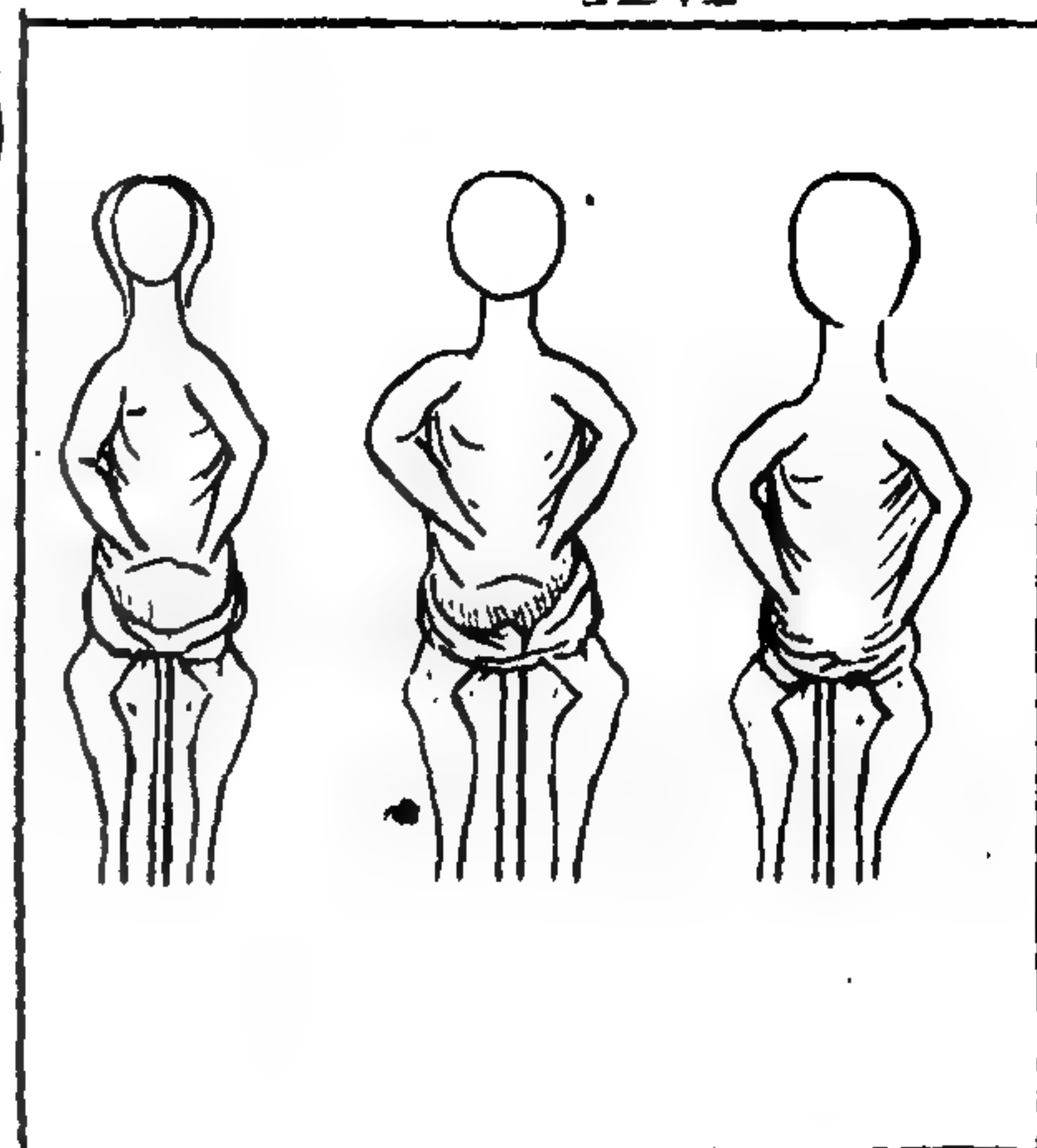
XVI



Verbeiae sacrum Clodius Fronto praefectus cohortis *secundae* *Lingonum*



Dis Manibus sacrum Cadiedinae Fortuna Pia vixit annos *decem*

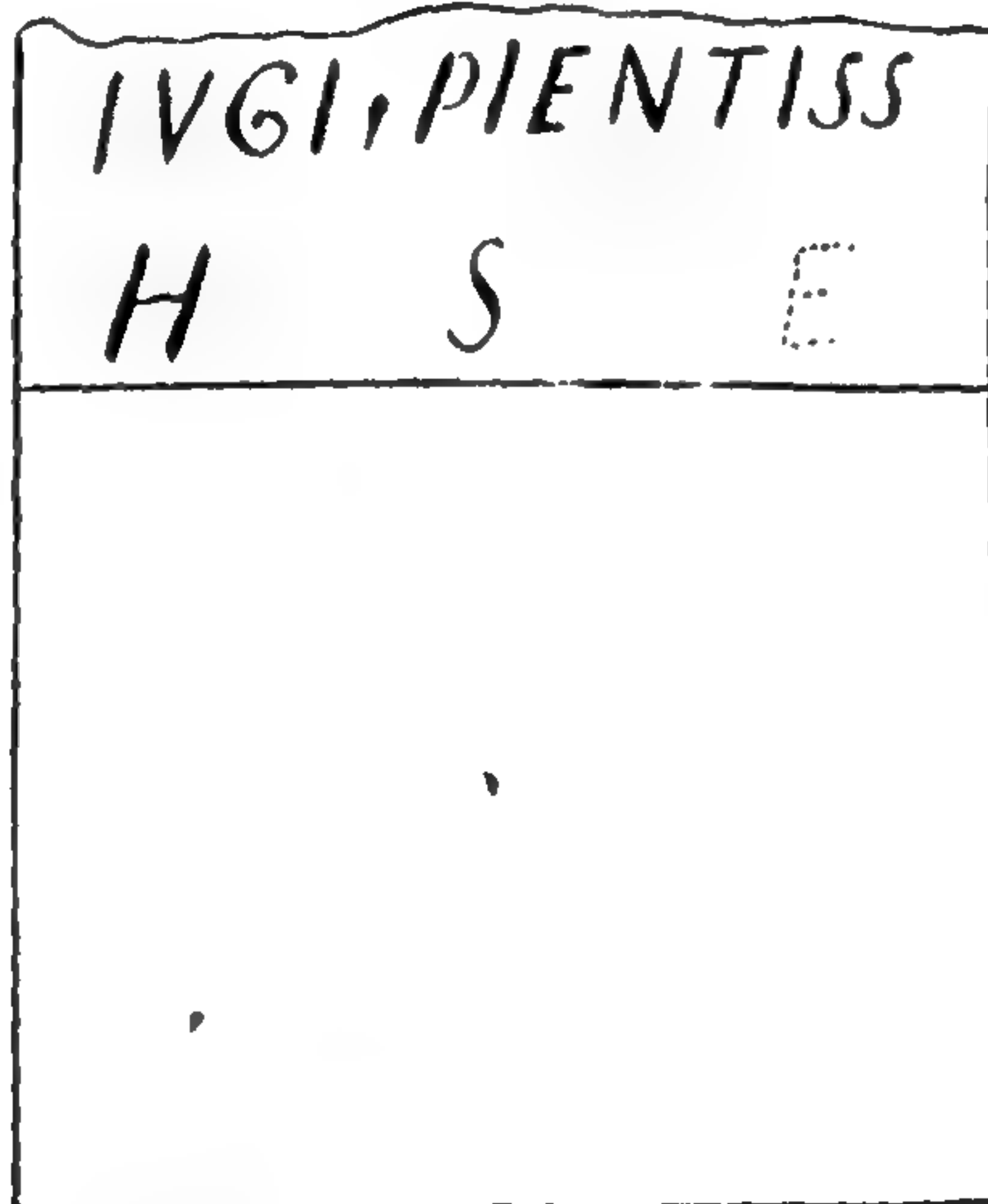


XVIII



Dui civitatis Brigantum et numinib. Augustorum Titus Aurelius Aurelianus dedicat pro se et suis

XVII



conjugi pientissimae hic sita est

XVIII



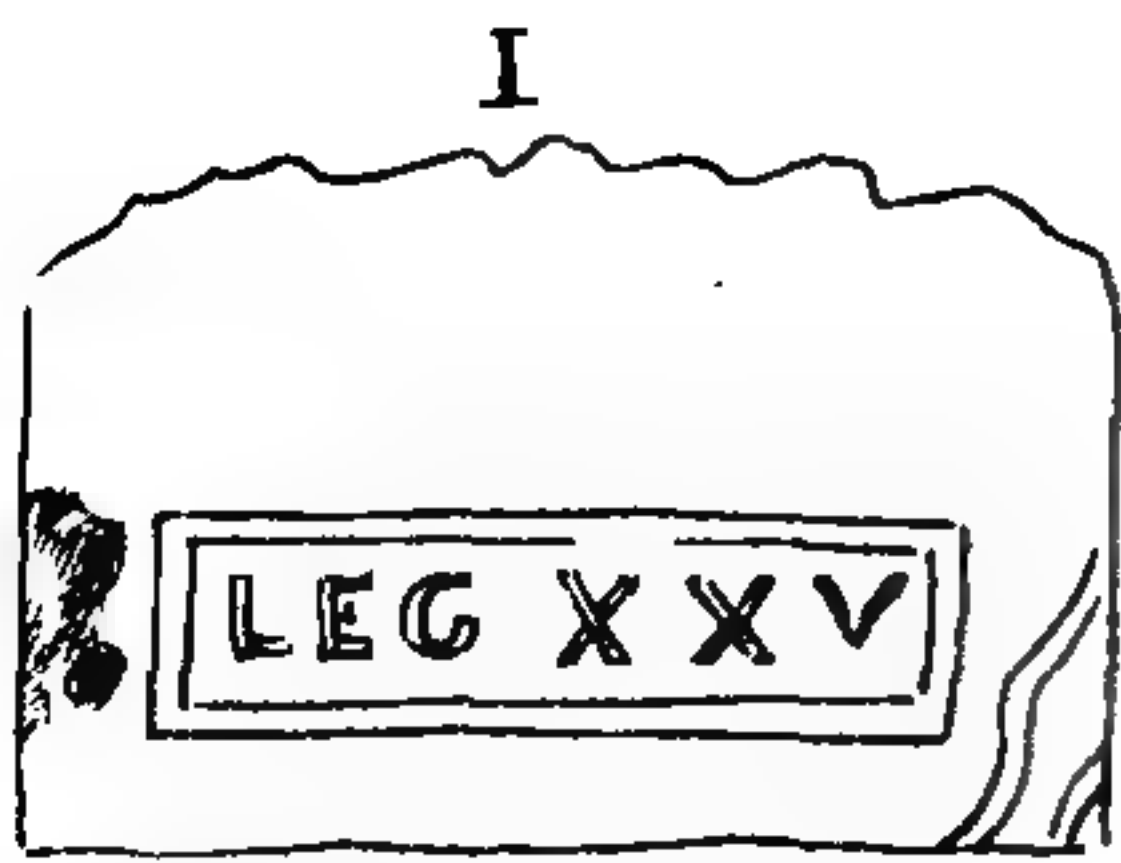
Antonino tertium & Geta consulibus

XIX



C H E S H I R E

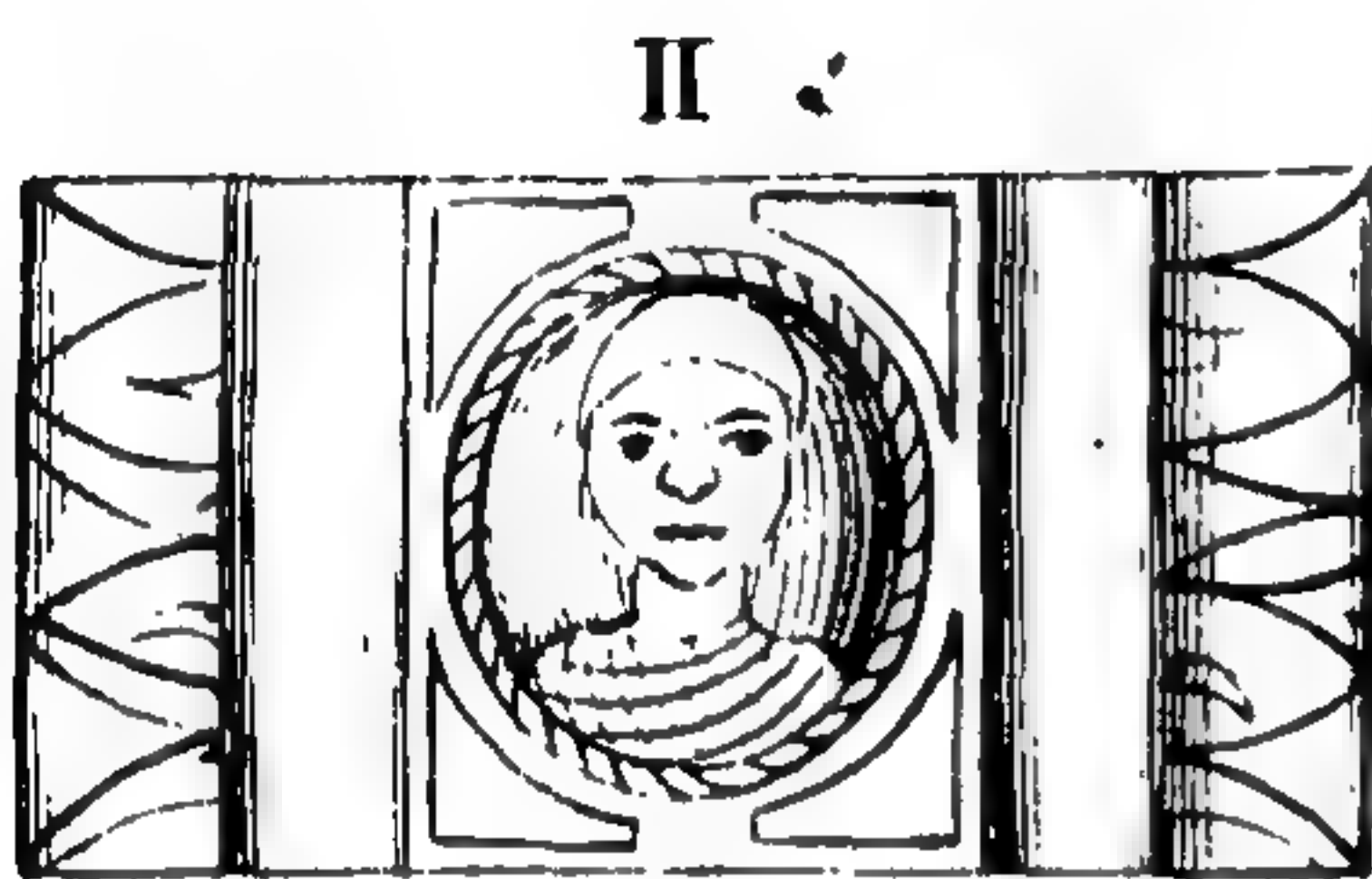
P192.N.66.



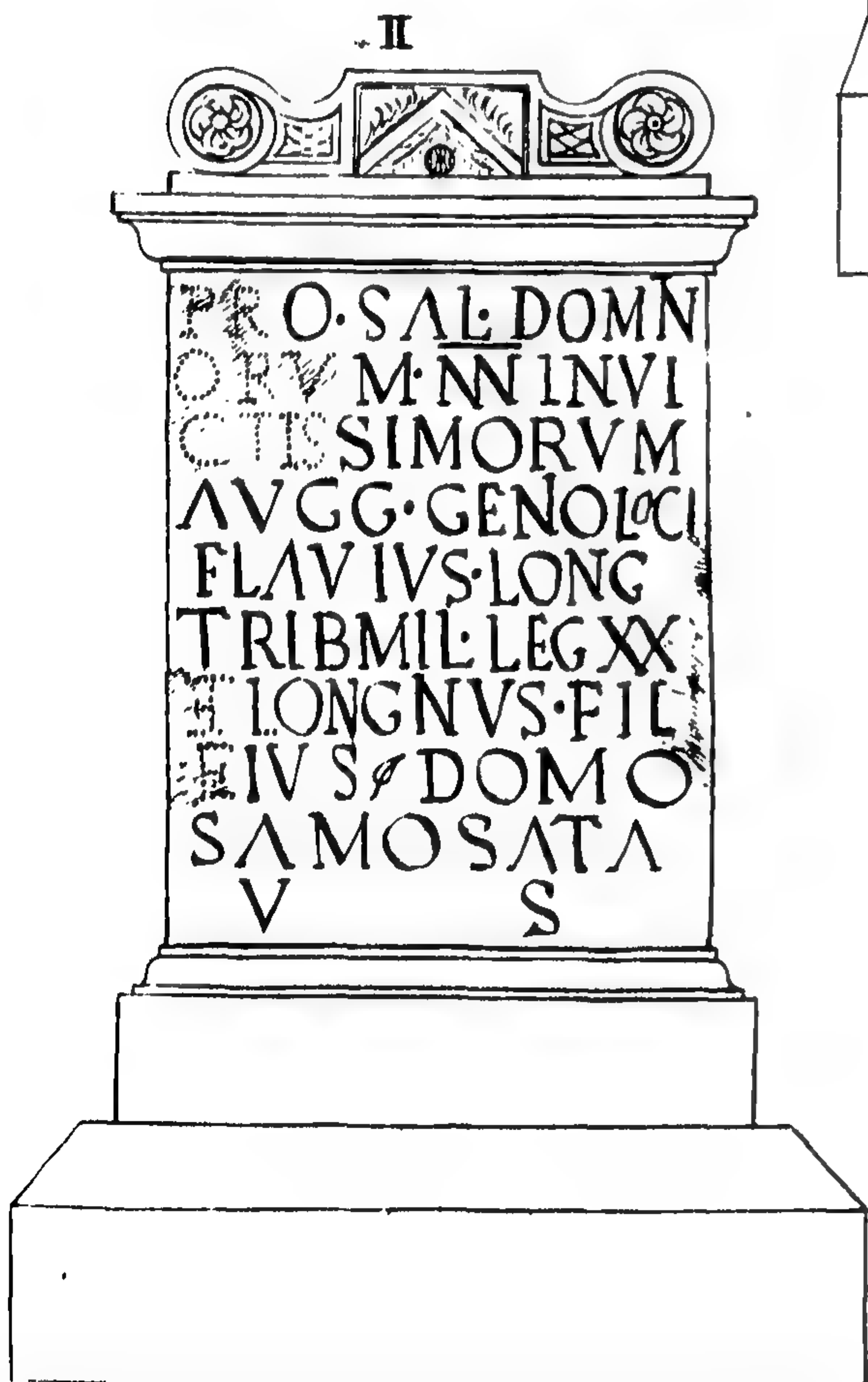
Legio vicesima
victrix



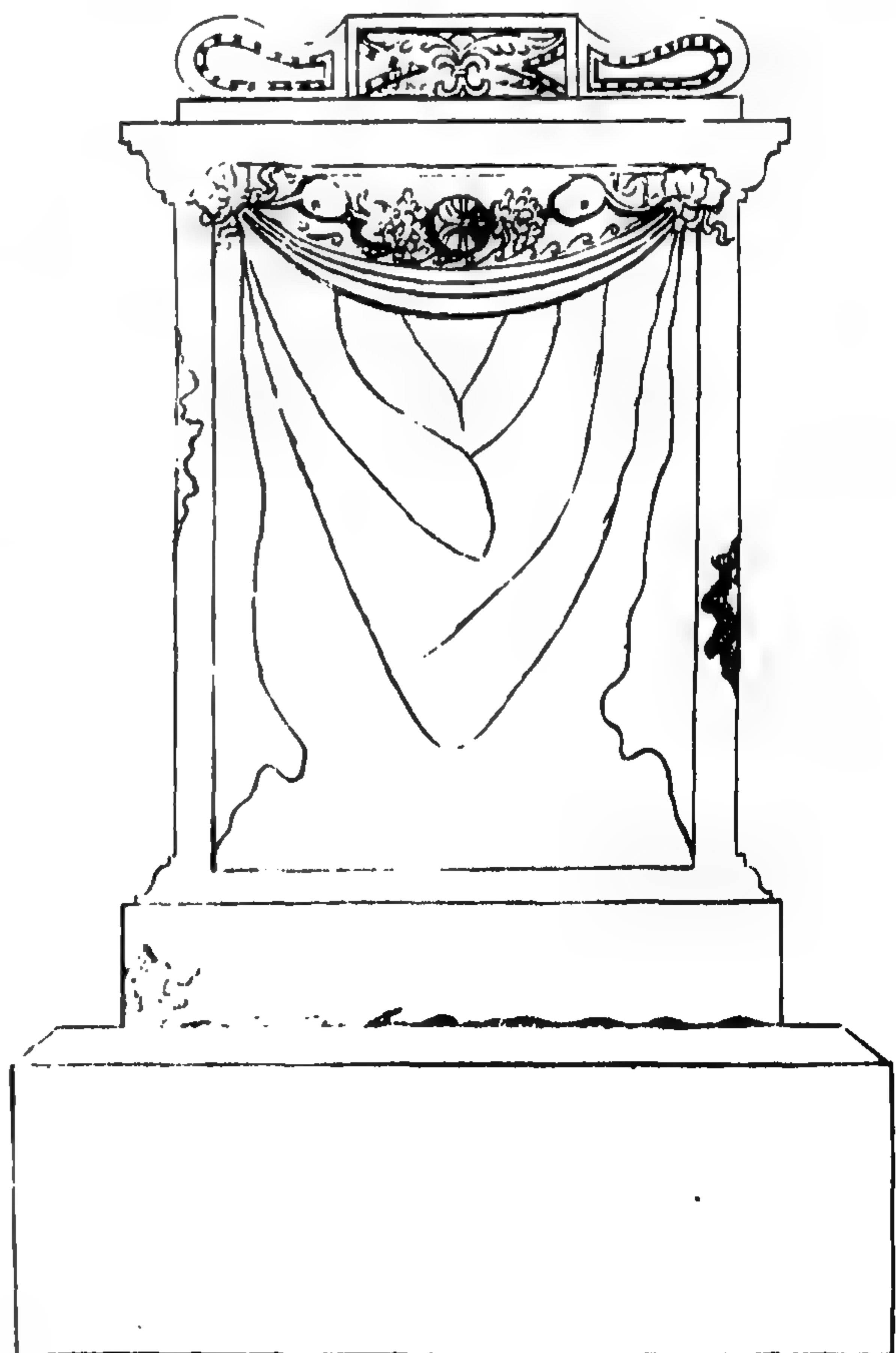
Legio vicesima
valens victrix



II

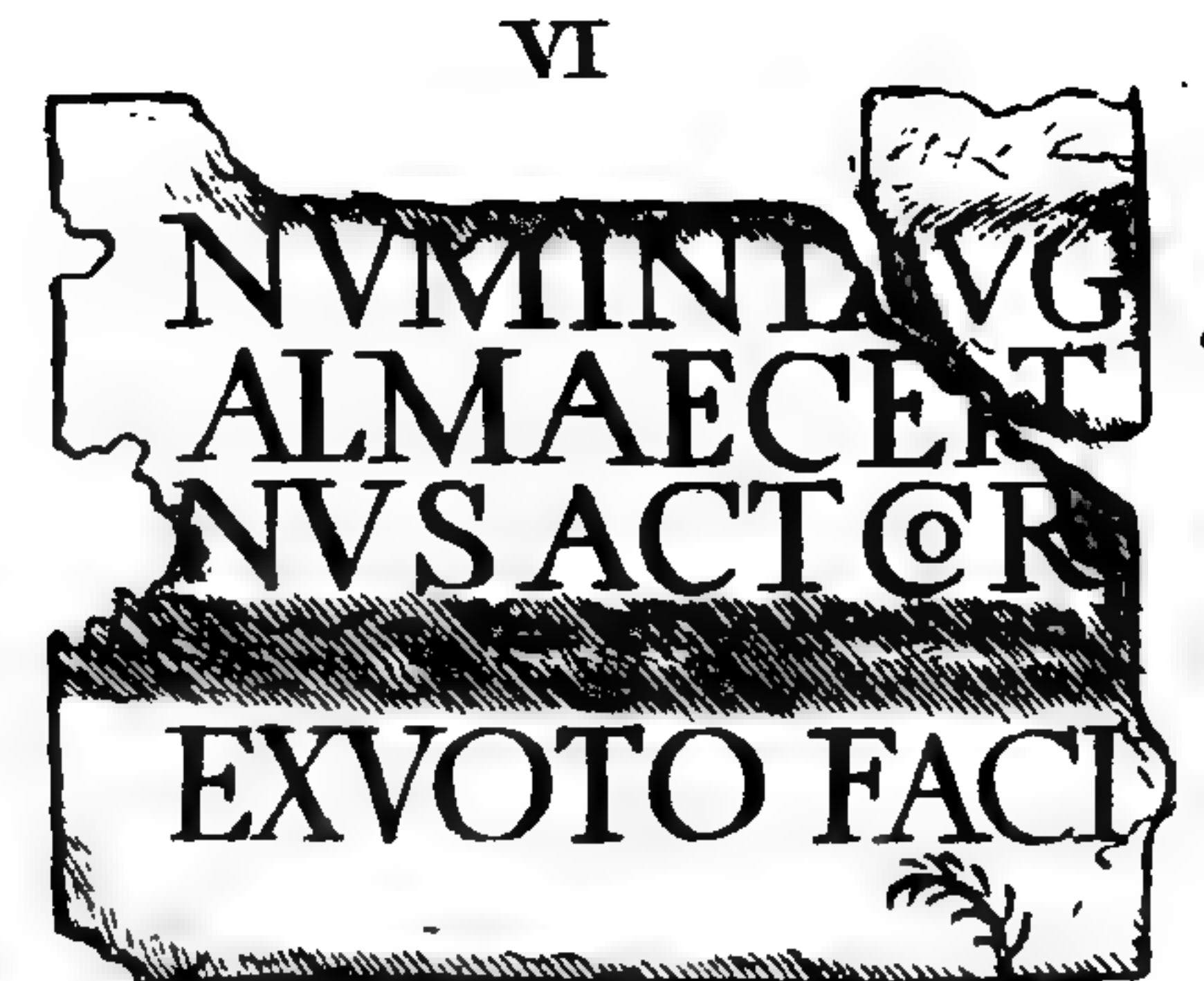
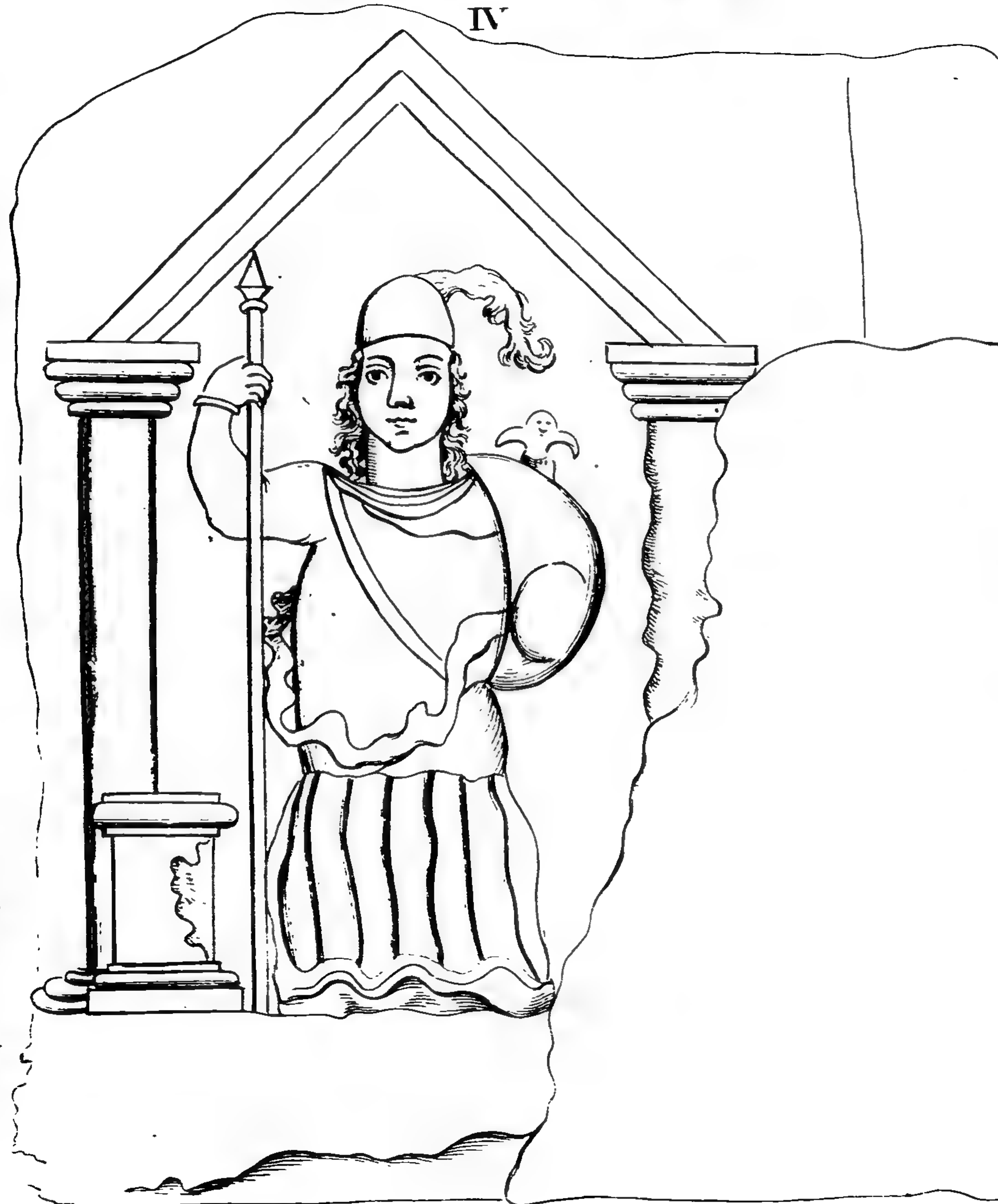


Pro salute dominorum nostrorum in-
victissimorum Augustorum Genio lo-
ci Flavius Longus tribunus militum
legionis vicesimae *victrix* et Longi-
nus filius ejus domo Samosata votum
solverunt

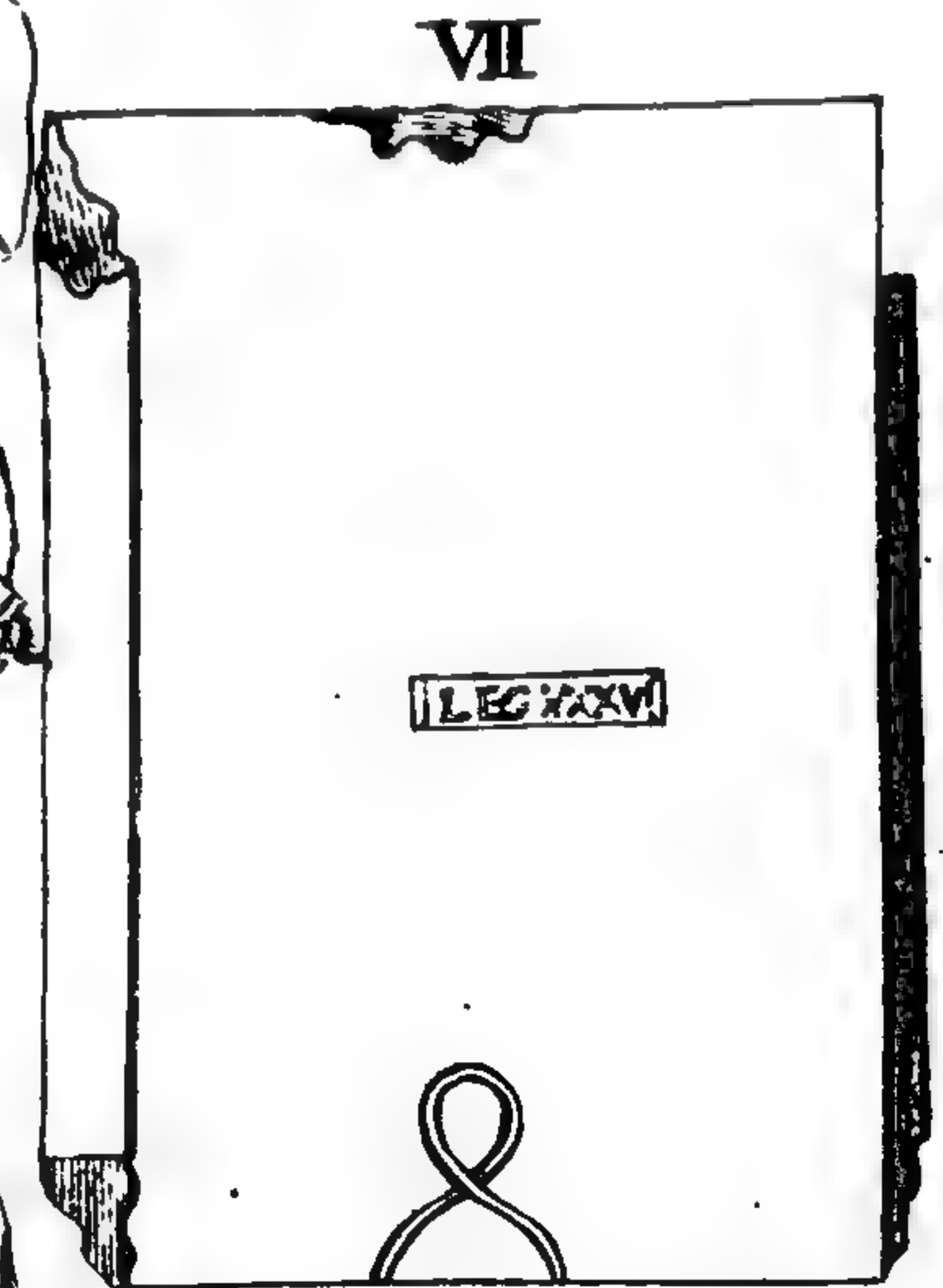




Jovi Optimo Maximo Tanaro
Titus Elupius Galeria [tribus]
Praefens Guntia primipilus
[et] praefectus legionis vi-
cesimae valentis victricis
Commodo et Laterano con-
sulibus votum solvit libens
merito



Numini Augusti
ex voto faciendum...



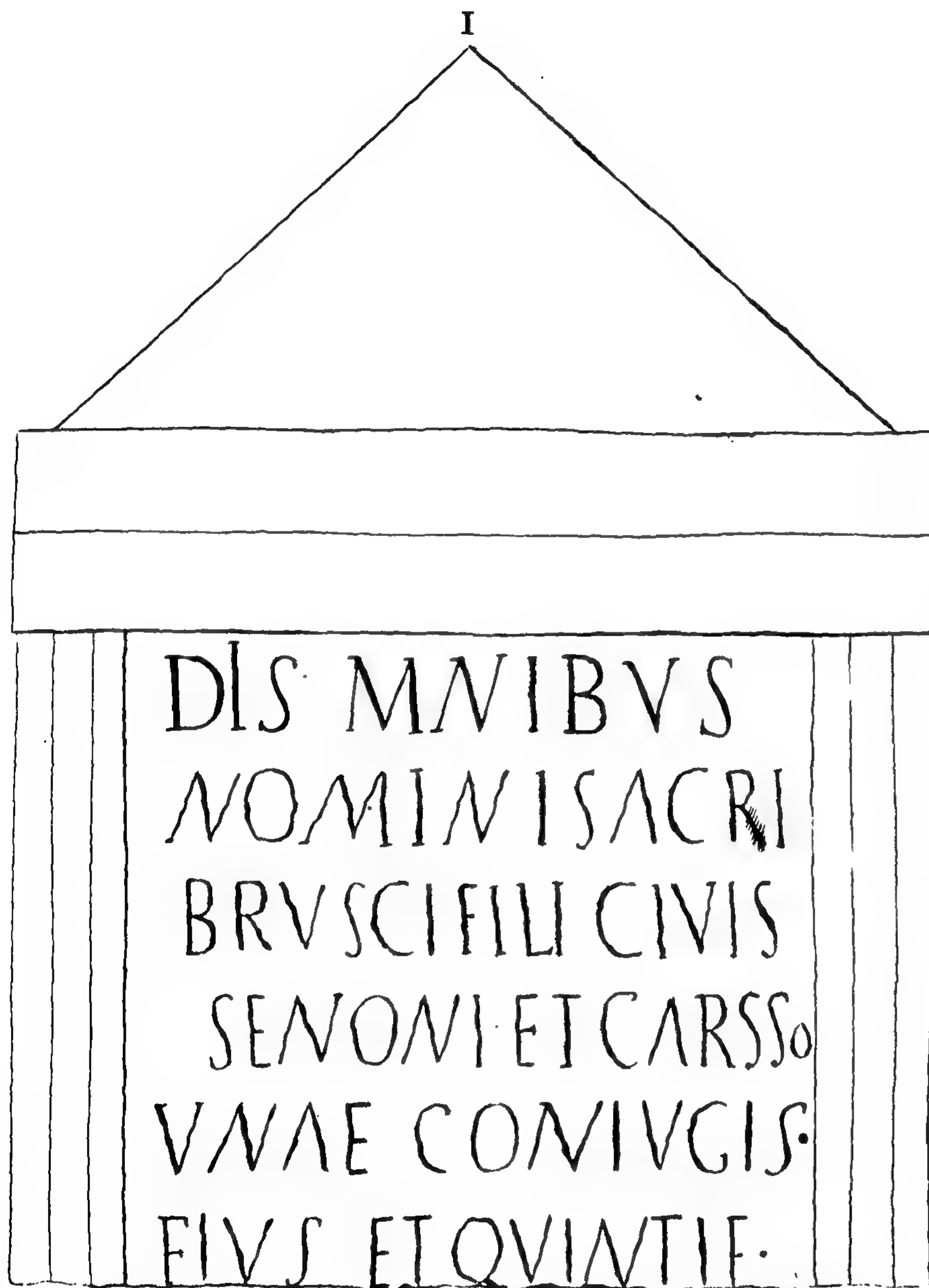
Legio vicesima valens victrix



Legio vicesima
valens victrix

There is no foot
of the letter T in
before fragments
Both these frag-
are now lost. D.

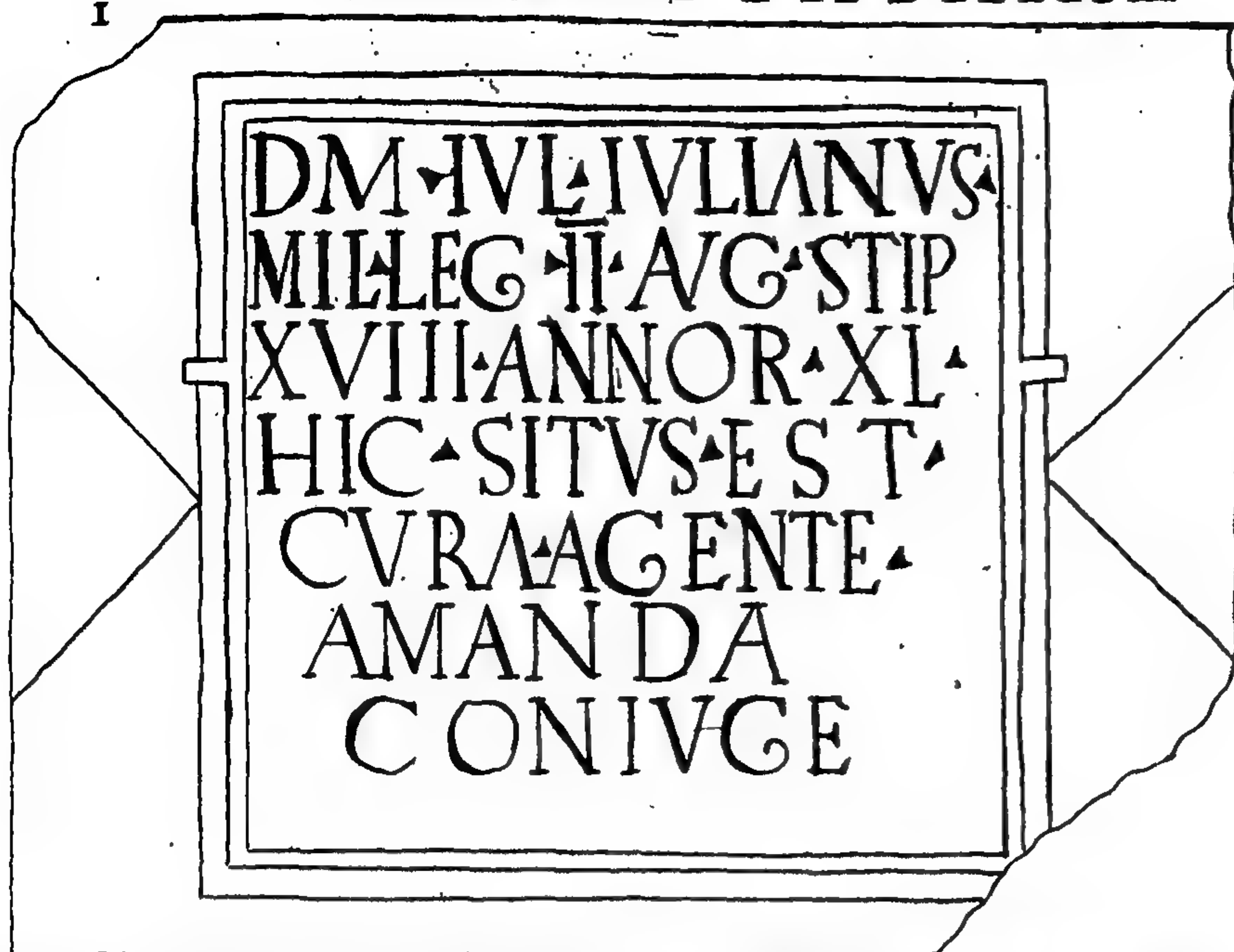
LINCOLNSHIRE



Dis Manibus Nominii Sacri Bruscifili civis Senonii
et carissimae Vaniae conjugis ejus et Quintiae

MONMOUTHSHIRE

P. 192. N. 69.



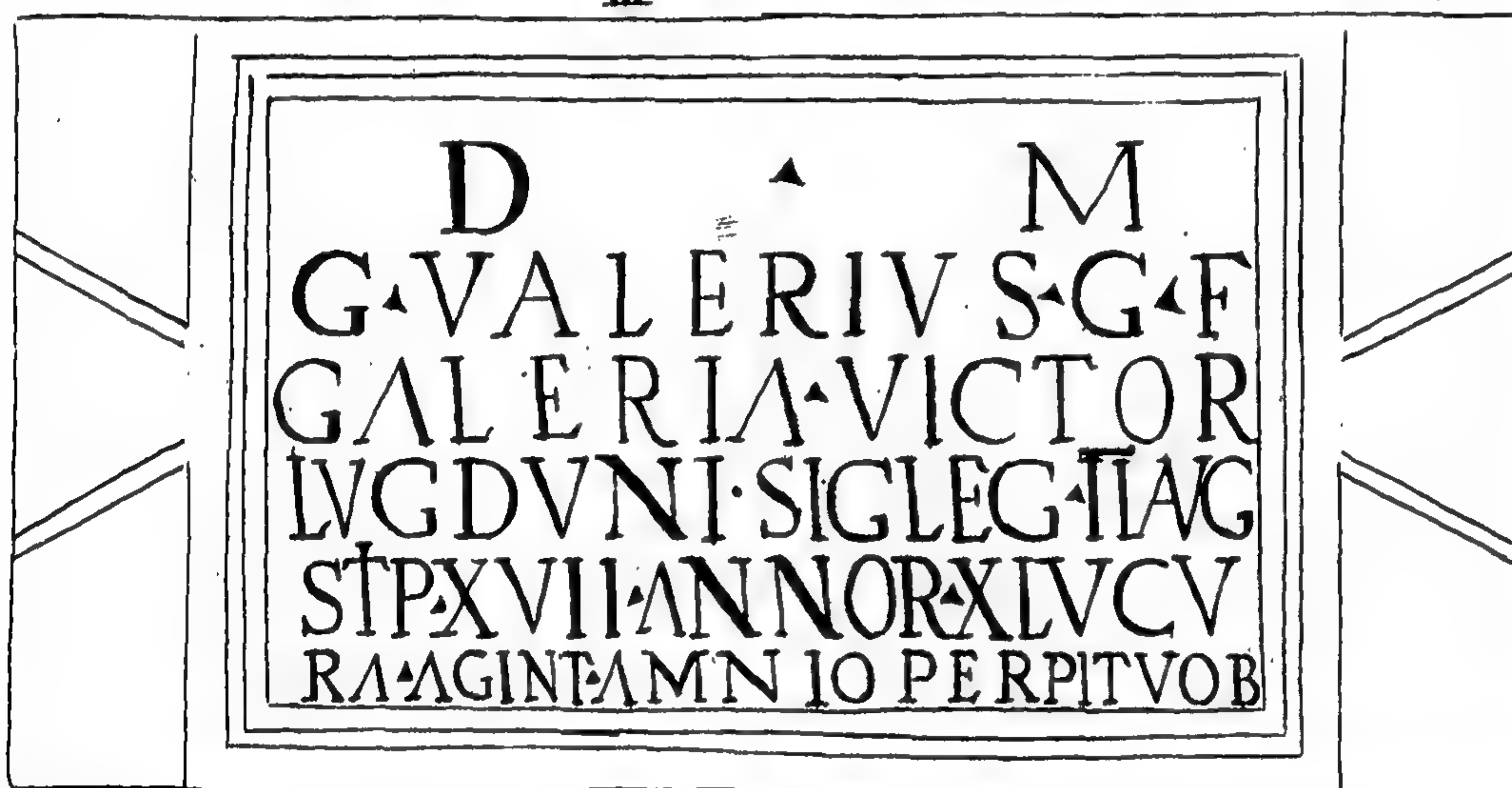
Legio
secunda
Augusta



Legio secun-
da Augusta

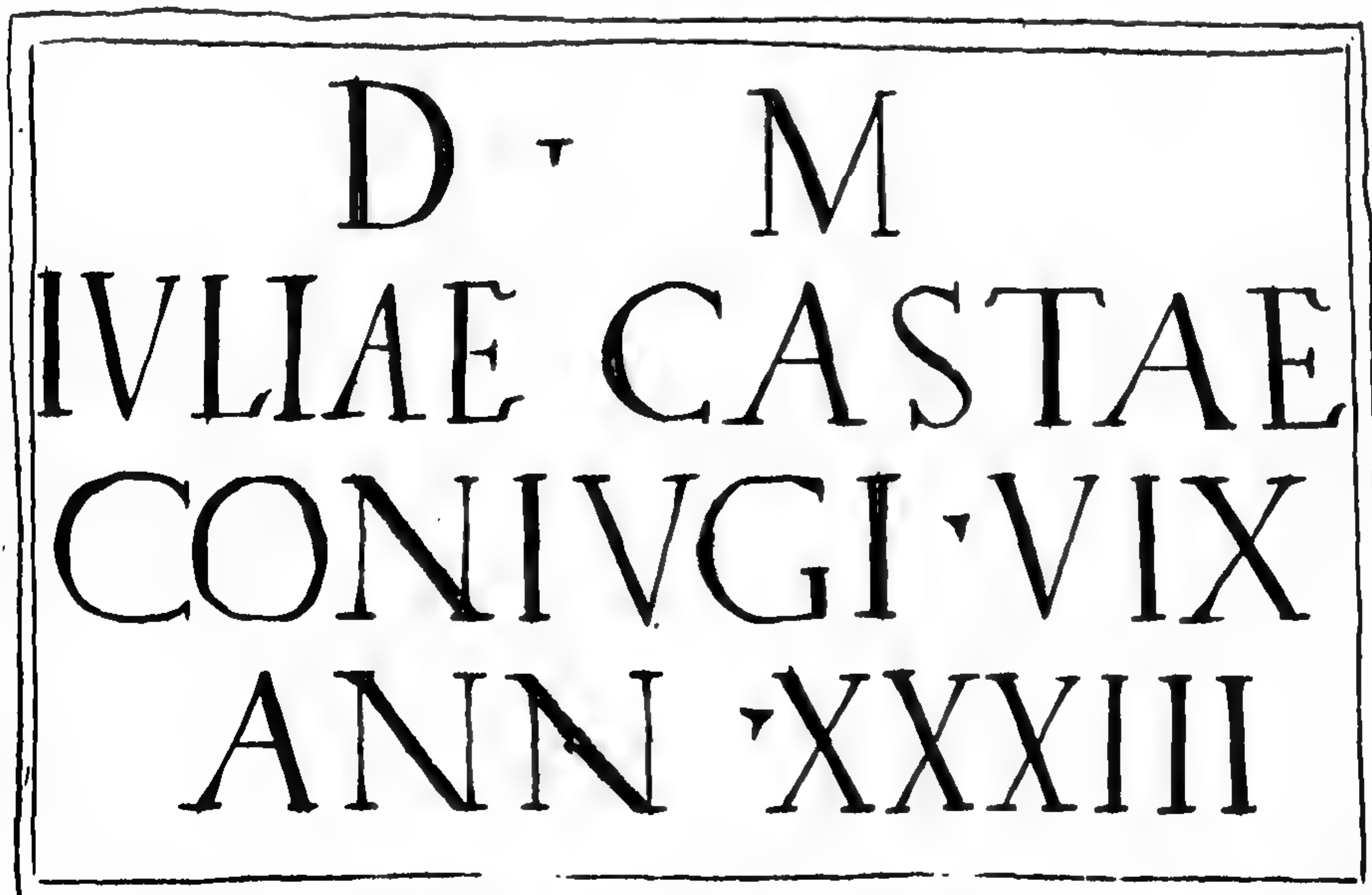
Dis Manibus Julius Julianus miles legionis secundae Augustae stipendiorum
octodecim annorum quadraginta hic situs est curā agente Amanda conjuge

III.



Dis Manibus Gaius Valerius Gaii filius Galeria *[tribus]* Victor Lugduni signifer legionis secundae Augustae
stipendiorum septendecim annorum quadraginta quinque curam agente Annio Perpetuo bene *merenti*

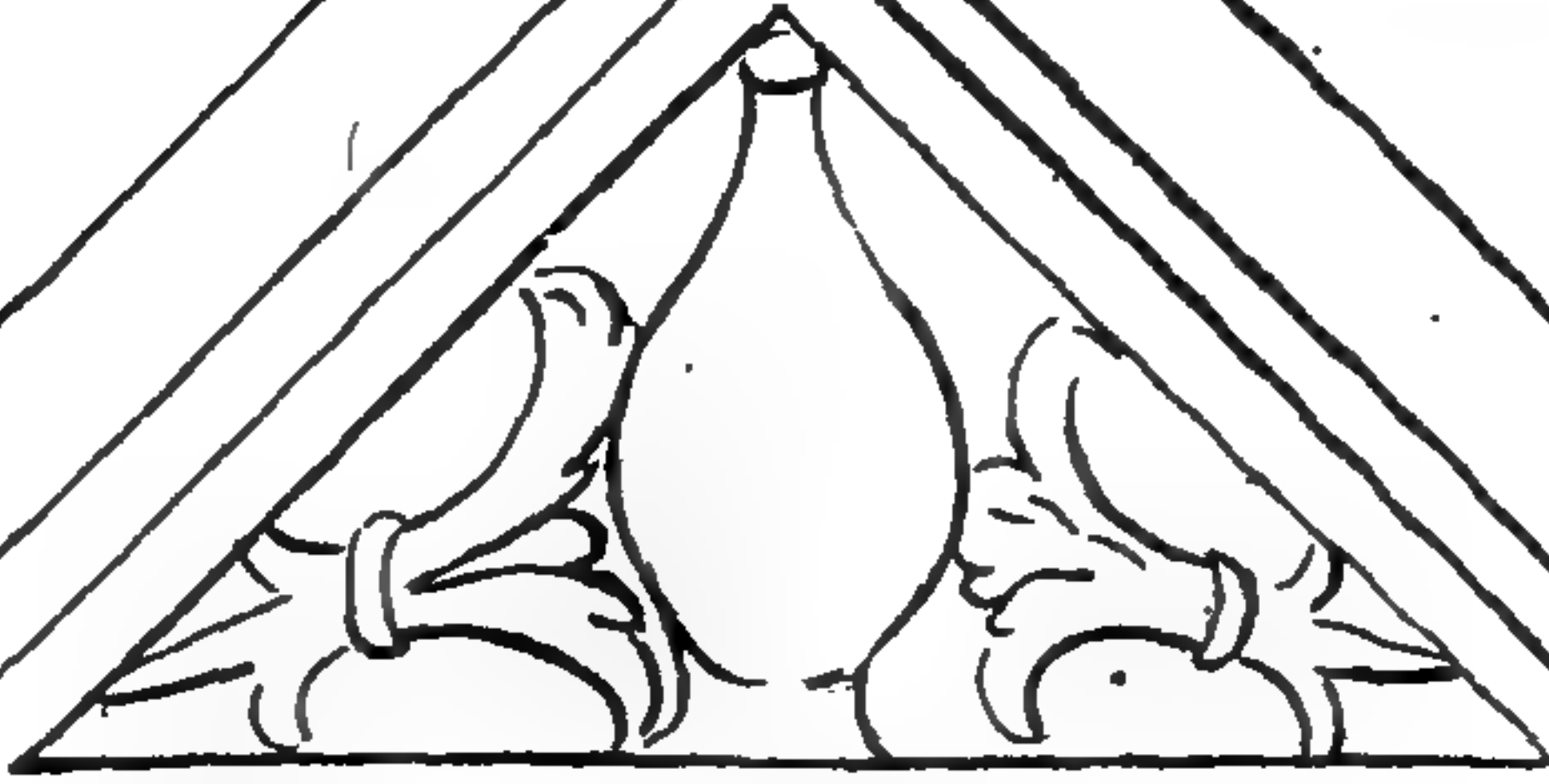
GLOCESTERSHIRE



Dis Manibus Juliae Castae conjugi vixit annos triginta tres

SOMERSET^I SHIRE

Fig. N^o 70.

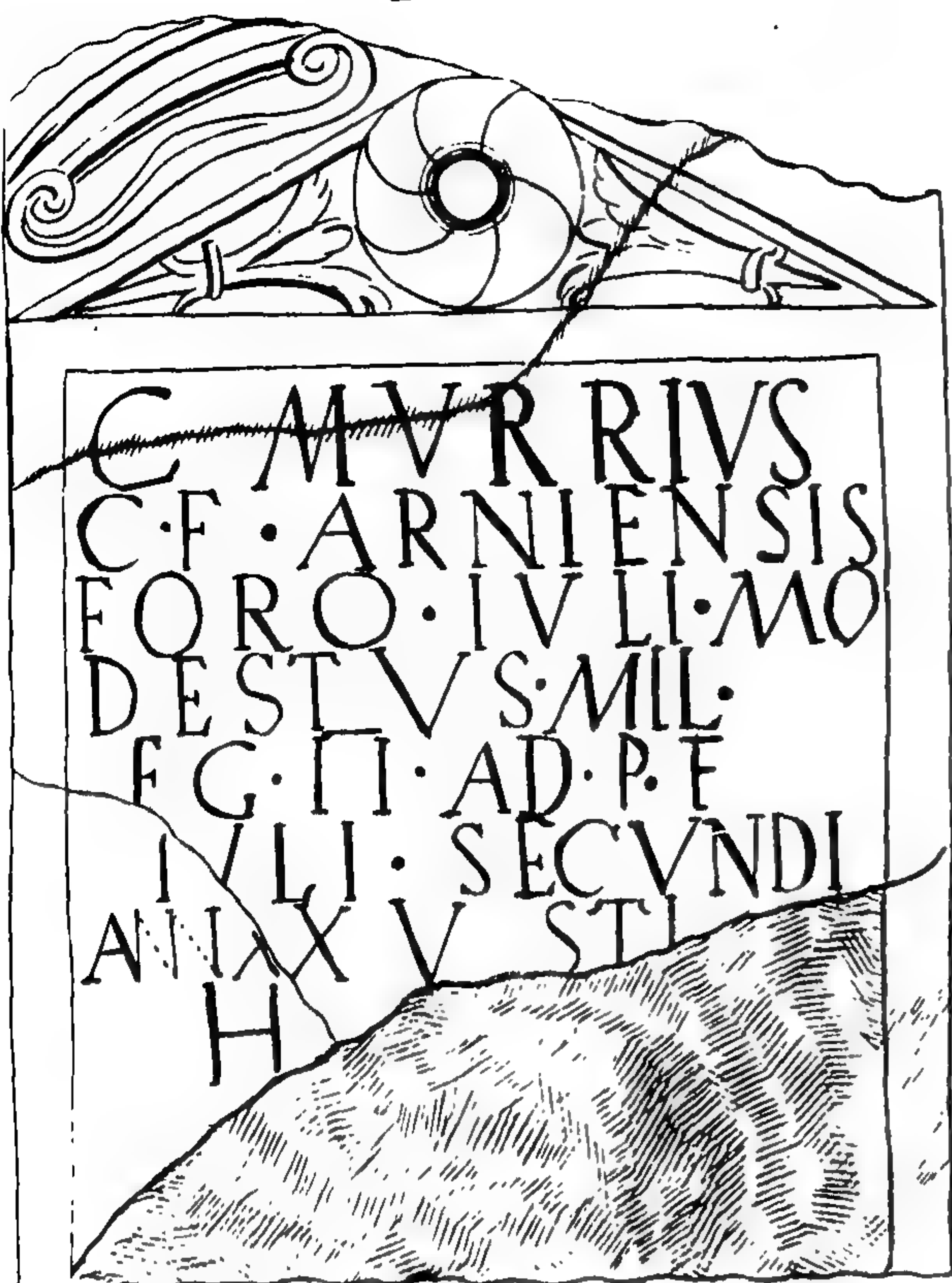


IVLIVS VITA
LIS FABRICI ES
IS · LEG · XX · V · V ·
STIPENDIO R
VMIXANORXX
IX · NATIONE BE
LGAE · X · COLEGO
FABRICE · ELATV
S · H S E

Julius Vitalis fabricielis legionis vicesimae valen
tis victoris stipendiorum novem annorum viginti
novem natione **Belga** ex collegio fabricae elatus
hic situs est

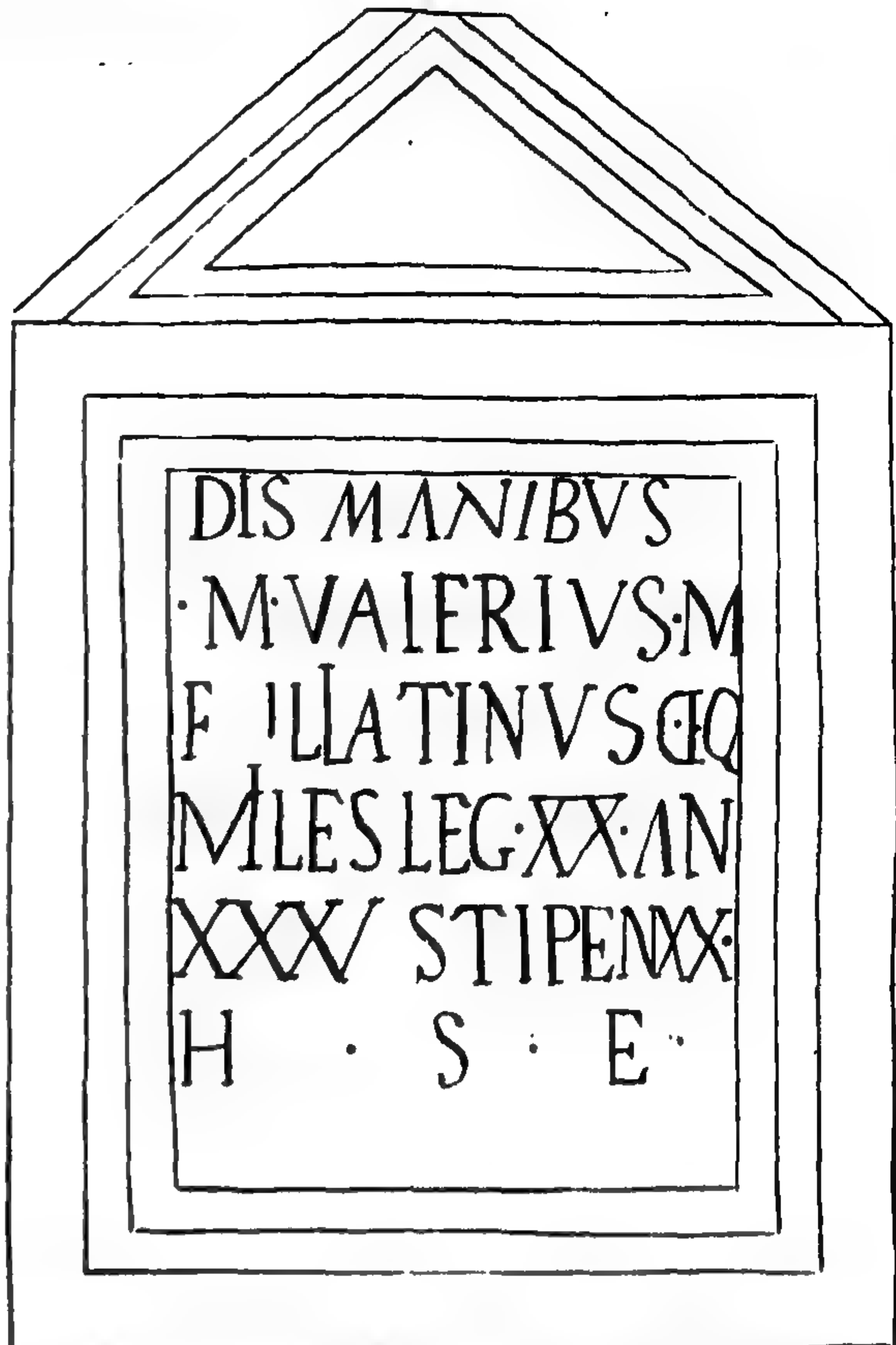
SOMERSETSHIRE

II



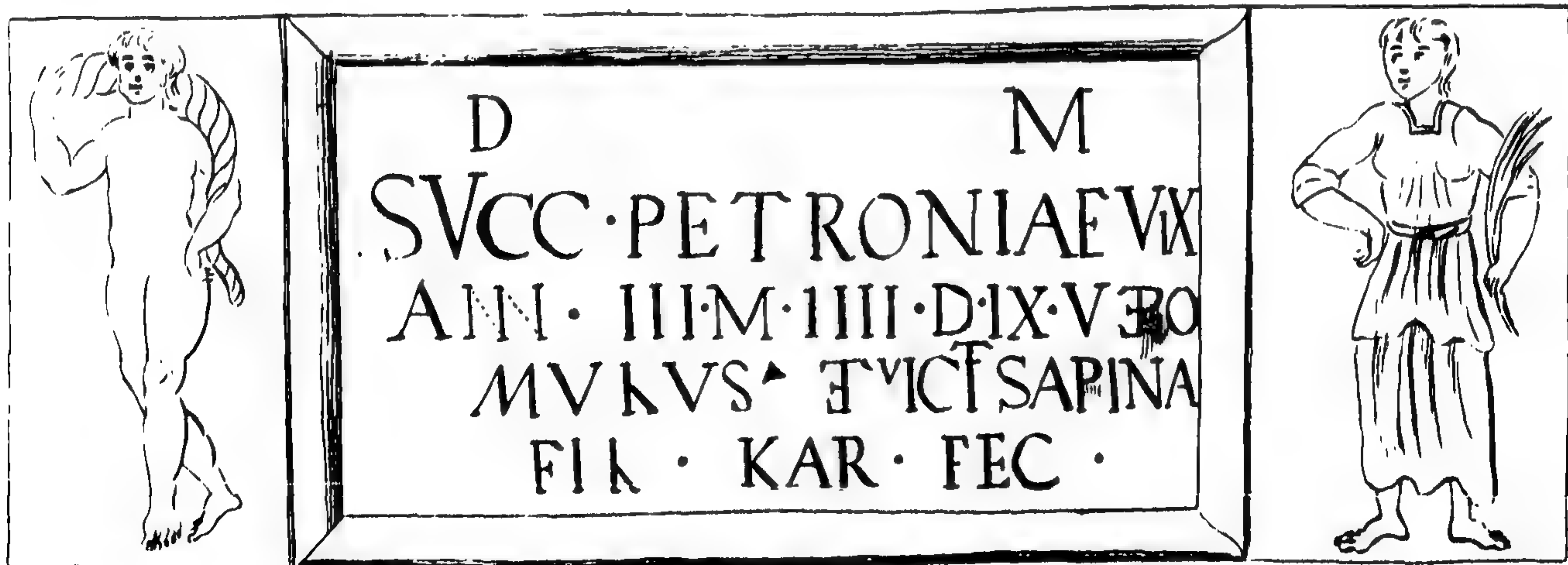
Caius Murrius Caii filius Arnienſis [tribus] Foro Julii Modestus miles legionis ſecundae adiutricis piae fidelis Julii Secundi annorum viginti quinque ſtipendiorum hic ſitus eſt

III



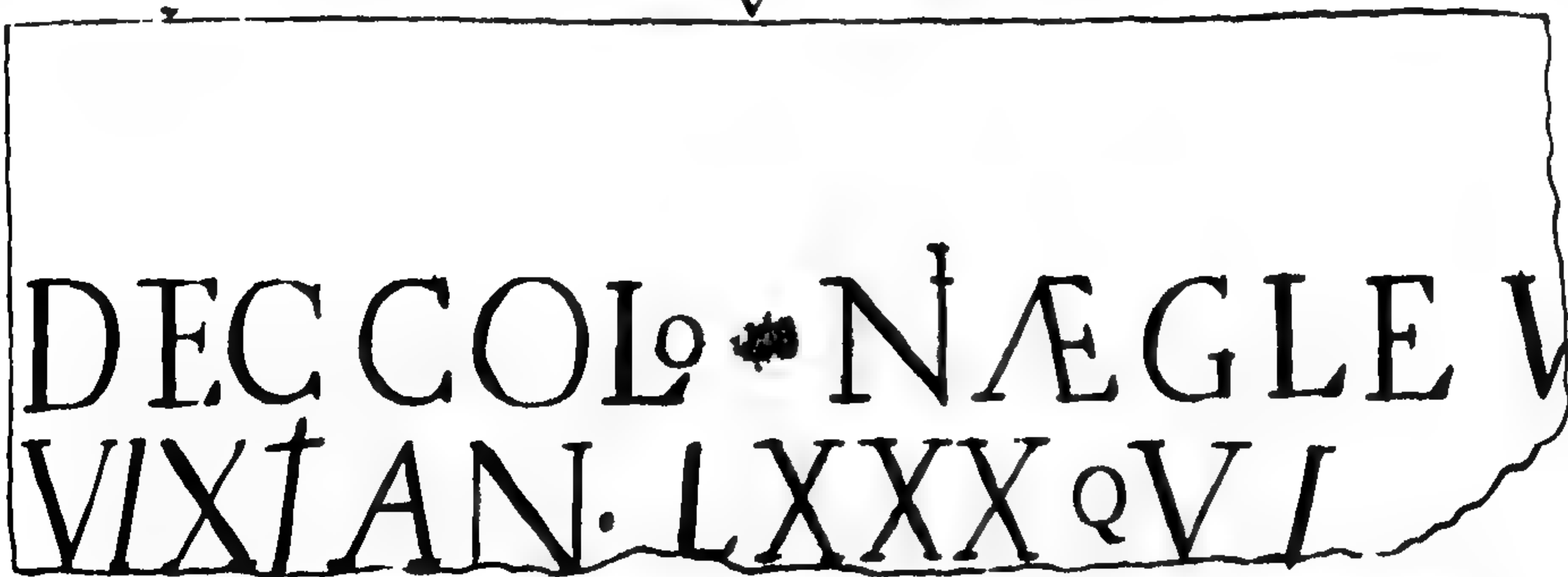
Dis Manibus Marcus Valerius Marci filius Latinus centurio eques miles legionis viceſimae annorum triginta quinque ſtipendiorum viginti hic ſitus eſt

IV



Dis Manibus Succiae Petroniae vixit annos tres meſes quatuor dies novem Valerius Petronius....et Tuiclia Sabina filiae cariffimae fecerunt

V



Decurio coloniae Glevenſis vixit annos octoginta et ſex

SOMERSETSHIRE

VI



Caput ex aere inauratum Aquis
Solis effossum A.D. MDCCXXVII

J. Mynde, sc.

SOMERSETSHIRE

VII



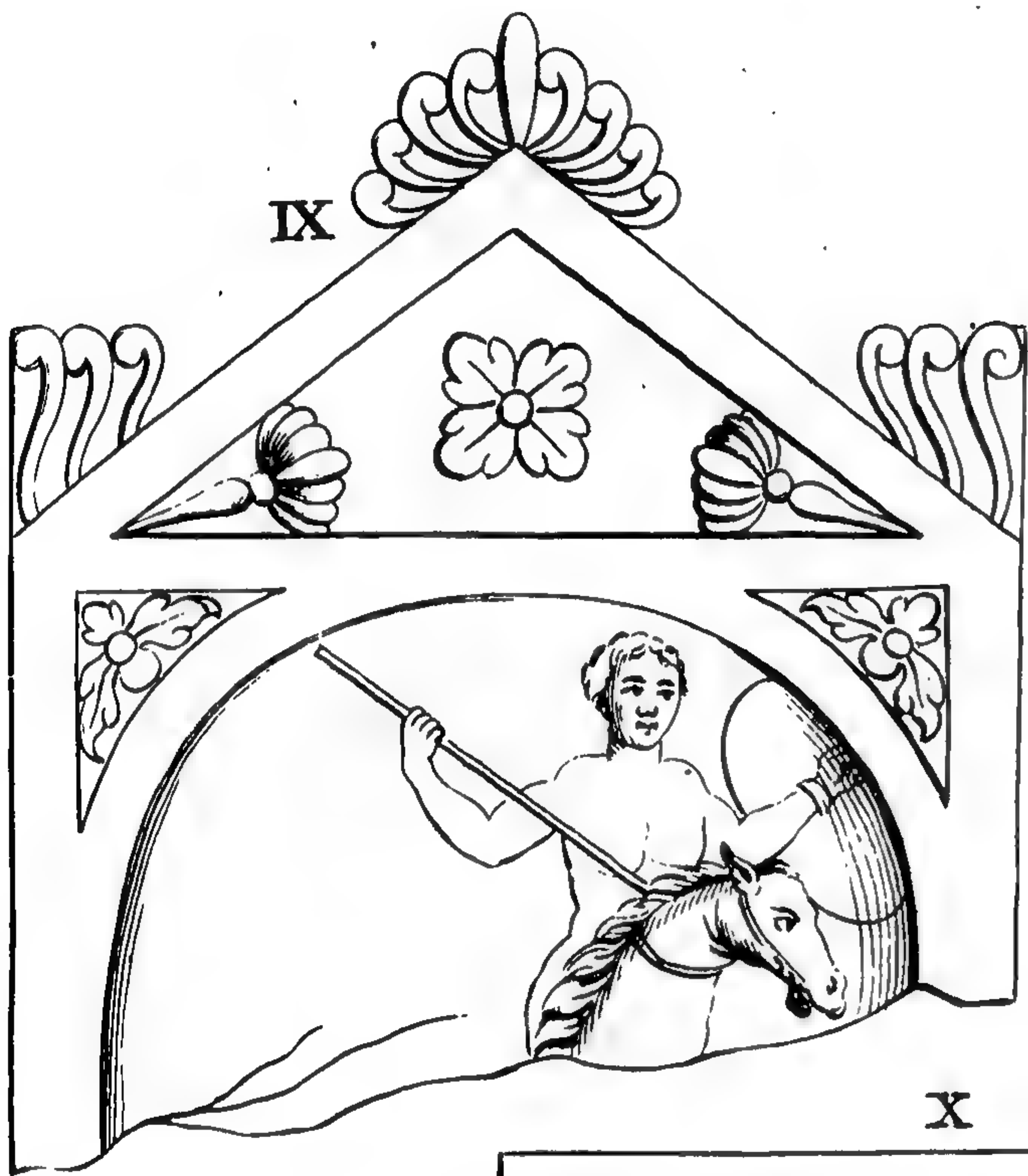
VIII



IX



IX



IX



X

IMP DVOR AVG ANTONINI
ET VERI ARMENIACORVM.

Imperatorum duorum Augustorum Anto-
nini et Veri Armeniacorum.

IX



XI



XI



WILTSHIRE

I



BEALLAVVUXELODVNCA MBOGCEANSEANNA·N·MAIS
Patera caelata ex aere apud RUDOE reperta

MIDDLESEX. I

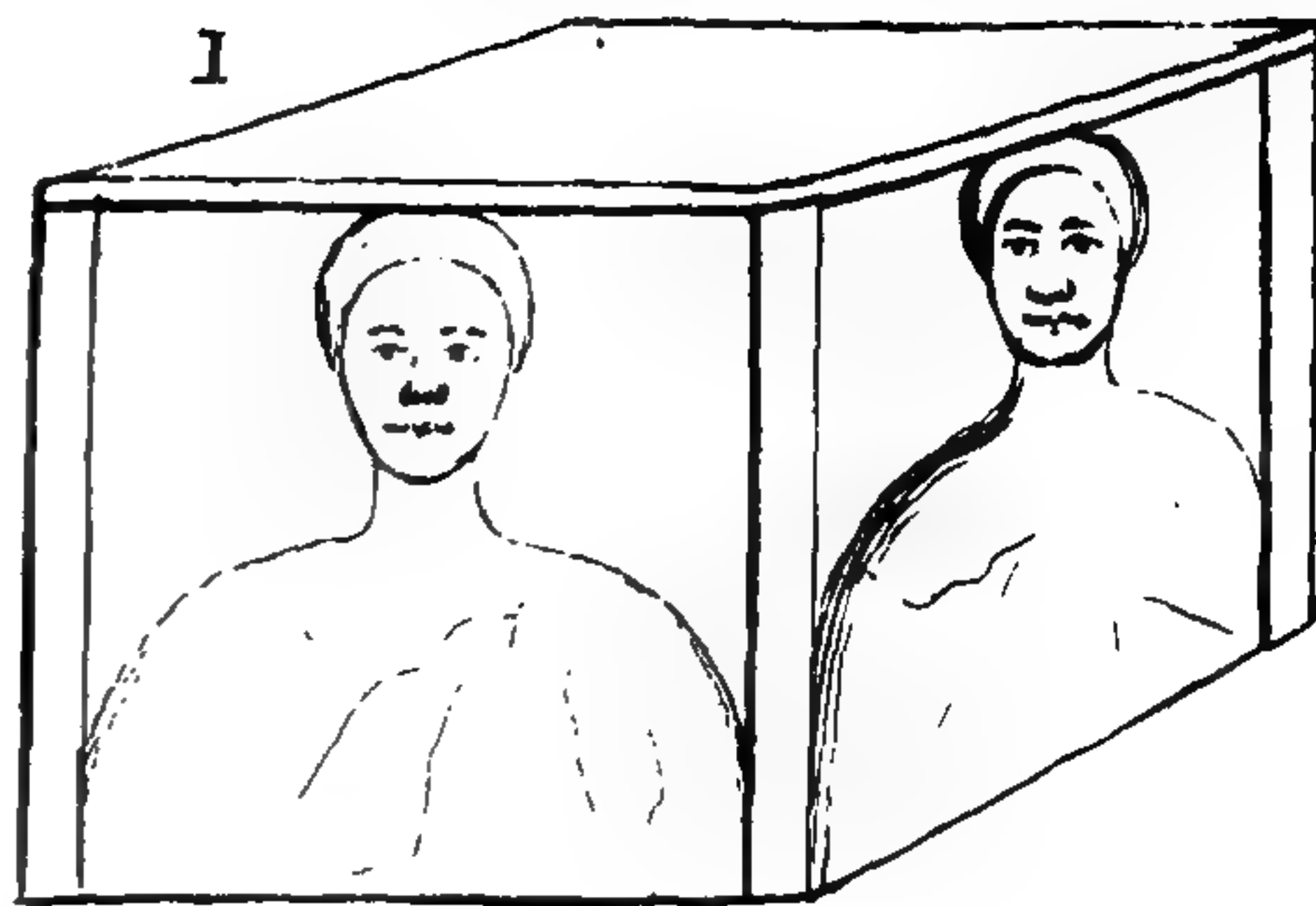
VIVIO MARC
ANO MEG II
AVG IANVARIA
MARINA CNIVNX
PIENTISSIMA POSV
IT ME MORAM



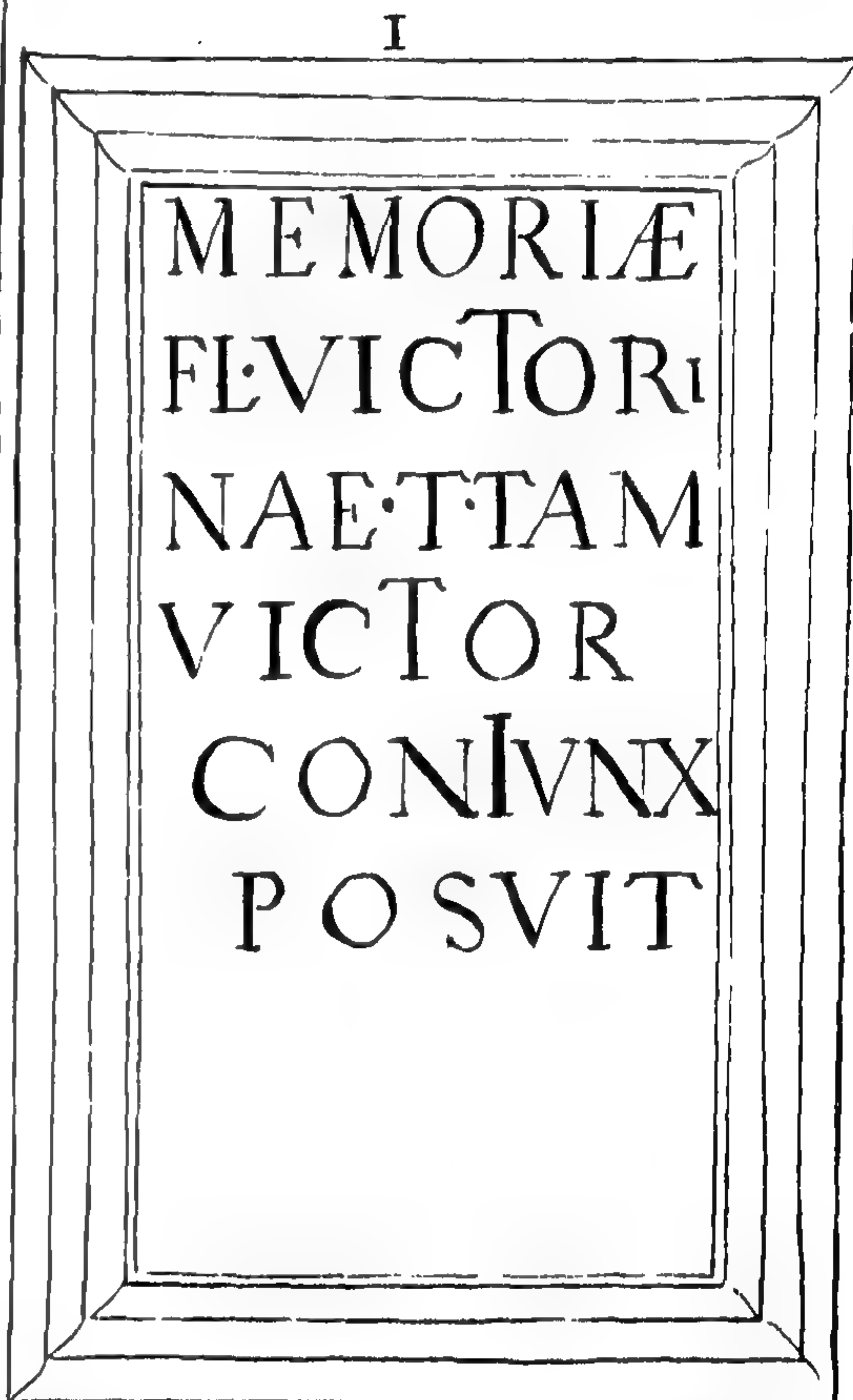
Vivio Marciano militi legionis secundae Augustae Jan-
uaria Matrina conjunx pientissima posuit memoriam

Pl 192 N. 75.

ESSEX



HAMSHIRE



Memoriae Flaviae Victorinae Titus
Tamphilus Victor conjunx posuit

KENT

I



OXFORDSHIRE

I

I · O · M
ETNMINB · AVG
M · V · R · SEVERVS
· B · C · S ·
I · A · R · A · M · C · V · M
C · A · N · C · E · L · L · I · S
· D · S · P ·

S U S S E X

I

EP TVNO · ET MINERVAE
TEMPLVM

O · S · A · L · V · T · E · D · O · M · V · S · D · I · V · I · N · A · E ·
A · V · C · T · O · R · I · T · A · T · E · T · I · B · C · L · A · U · D ·
G · I · D · V · B · N · I · R · E · G · A · A · G · N · B · R · I · T ·
G · I · V · M · F · A · B · R · O · R · T · Q · V · I · N · E · O ·
D · S · D · D · O · N · A · N · T · E · A · R · E · A · M ·
E · N · T · E · P · V · D · E · N · T · I · N · I · F · I · L ·

Neptuno et Minervae templum pro salute domus divinae ex auctoritate
Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni regis legati Augusti in Britannia collegium fabro-
rum et qui in eo a sacris / vel honorati / sunt de suo dedicaverunt donante aream
Pudente Pudentini filio

Legatus Augusti in Britannia
Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus
beneficentia sua
pro salute domus divinae
et numinibus Augusti
et Minervae
templum aedificavit
et collegium fabrorum
et qui in eo a sacris
et honorati sunt
de suo dedicaverunt
donante aream
Pudente Pudentini filio

THUS I have given a compleat collection of all the originals of *Roman* inscriptions and sculptures that are yet remaining in *Britain*, so far as they have come to my knowledge; several of these have been discovered since this work was begun, and several after the plates were engraven where they should of course have been inserted. However, I chose to engrave new plates on purpose, and make such alterations in those which were engraven, as I found necessary, rather than to throw any of these new inscriptions into an appendix. By this means every new inscription and sculpture will be found in its due order, with this difference only (by which these late discoveries may be distinguished) that to the number next preceding are added the letters of the *Greek* alphabet, which serve for distinguishing characters of these inscriptions and sculptures that were discovered after the others were engraven. Thus for instance if two or three of these new monuments should have come in after number ix, they are now placed after the same number, and marked ix^a, ix^b, ix^c, &c. This will readily appear to any one who looks over the preceding collection.

I HAVE already hinted, that the plates contain only those inscriptions and sculptures whose originals are still preserved. Not that I have had no regard to such as are now irretrievably lost; for I have carefully collected all the copies that have been published, even of such inscriptions as could not be recovered in their originals. But it was to no purpose to engrave these on copper plates, when they are only preserved to us in common *Roman* capitals. The best method therefore I could think of, was to insert the best copies of such inscriptions among my observations on the others that were found at the same places with these, and then refer to them on any occasion as being in the observations under such and such particular numbers. The preceding collection therefore, and the following observations upon it, will contain all the inscriptions that have ever as yet been discovered in *Britain*, of which either originals or copies remain at present.

I HAVE all along given the inscriptions just as they appeared to me on the originals, without ever taking the liberty of inventing or improving from my own imagination. If I found a thing doubtful or obscure, I have endeavoured to represent it just as I found it. And where the reading of the inscription was altogether uncertain, I have entirely omitted it. Where I could by no means read or understand it to my own satisfaction, I chose to act the part of an historian, and tell the learned world how the thing is in fact, and how some learned gentlemen read and understand it, rather than offer any thing directly as my own. In this case I not only give the conjectures and readings that have been published already, but also such other new explications as I have received from those learned gentlemen, who have honoured me with a correspondence on this occasion. I have the most frequent obligations to Mr. *Ward* of *Gresham College*; because this gentleman, who is eminently skilled in antiquity and classical learning, has been so kind as in a special manner to interest himself in this part of the work.

CHAPTER III.

Containing observations on the Roman inscriptions and sculptures in the preceding collection ; together with copies of such other inscriptions found in Britain, as are not now extant.

IN the beginning of the preceding chapter I opened the method which I have observed in ranging the several inscriptions and sculptures in the collection. I need not add, that I am tied down to the same order in my observations upon these inscriptions and sculptures : nor need I repeat, that the best copies of such inscriptions, the originals whereof are now lost, will be found in this chapter ; which I have also referred to the several respective places where they were discovered. And for the greater ease of the reader, the names of these places are set in the margin. I shall now therefore, without any farther introduction, proceed to the observations.

SCOTLAND.

THE inscriptions found on the *Roman* wall in *Scotland* fall very much short of those on the wall in the north of *England*, as to their number ; but in this respect they excel them, that they expressly mention the emperor by whose order and under whose reign the wall was built, and the quantiry built at such a part by each legion or vexillation.

Old Kirkpatrick.

I. THIS belongs to the first fort that has been on the west end of the wall, near *Old Kirkpatrick*.⁶ This stone lay some time at *Mugdoch*, the seat of the Duke of *Montrose*, and was afterwards presented by the late Marquis to the university of *Glasgow*, where it now is. The sculpture upon it in *relievo* is very curious. There is a pediment, supported by two *Corinthian* pilasters channeled. On the face of the stone is a *Victory* resting her left arm upon a globe, and holding under the same arm a palm branch ; with her right hand she holds a *corona*. In the bordering at the bottom underneath the *Victory* is a boar, which is very probably an emblem of *Caledonia*, or the northern parts of this island. To which *Martial* alludes as some of his best interpreters have explained him :

Nuda Caledonio sic pectora prae-buit urso ^a.

So that the sculpture denotes the victory of the *Romans* over the *Caledonians*, and their conquest even of the whole world.^a The inscription when taken together imports, that a vexillation of the twentieth legion had carried on the wall for four thousand four hundred and eleven paces, and on that occasion had erected this monument to the honour of the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. The letters of the inscriptions found on this wall differ much from one another, and all from that at *Benwel* in *Northumberland* ; tho' they were all cut in the reign of the same emperor *Antoninus Pius*. In this inscription I could discern no transverse stroke of the A in one or two places, tho' in two others it was very visible, which makes me suspect it was not originally wanting in any, tho' it cannot now be distinguished. Mr. *Gordon* has omitted one P in the bordering at the bottom, as also the little c in the *corona*, which is very visible. The P in the word *fecit* within the *corona* has the appearance of an E^b, which I suppose is owing to an accidental flaw in the stone, that looks somewhat like a

I

third

^a Spect. vii. 3.

^b Itin. Sept. p. 50. plate 9. n. 1.

third stroke in that letter. The M for *mille* is included in the four numeral strokes with the stroke at the top, or else is to be understood;^a of which we have some parallel instances. Thus an M for *mensēs* seems to be included in the three numeral strokes with a transverse line at the top in a *Cumberland* inscription^a.

a The cross the numerals is pe m, which has a mille, as it does in the Cumberland inscription. Here reference is made to Duntocher. is near stood, often

II. THIS inscription must be referred to the fort of *Duntocher*; for there it is said to have been found, but is now above the gate of *Cochnoch* house, which belongs to Mr. *Hamilton* of *Barns*, about half a mile from this fort. The sculpture of the stone is very curious, and, as Mr. *Gordon* says^b, executed with the best taste of any *Roman* stone in *Scotland*. On the foot of the stone is a *Pegasus*, at the head a sea-goat; and eagles heads on each side, with a rose at each of the four corners, all in *relievo*. The purport of the inscription is that the *legio secunda Augusta* had built three thousand two hundred and seventy one paces of the wall, and on that occasion erected this monument to the honour of the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. According to the former inscription, the vexillation of the twentieth legion had built above four miles of the wall; but this fort is not above half that space from the other fort at the end of the wall, where the preceding inscription was found. This argues that the legions who built the wall, or any part of it, did not erect the inscriptions just at the place where they begun or ended their work, but probably at the station where they rendezvoused or quartered, or perhaps at any place indifferently near the end of the wall. This is farther confirmed by observing and comparing the intervals between the other places where such like inscriptions were found.

MR. GORDON informs us^c, that there was a gold medal found in this fort, which is now in the hands of her Grace the Duchess dowager of *Hamilton*. It is one of *Hadrian's* coins, with *Fortuna redux* on the reverse.

II^a. IN the dwelling house at this place is a stone with some letters upon it, which I know not what to make of: unless the first letter be the *Gothic* V, as in the inscription at *Boroughbridge* in *Yorkshire*^d; and so the word be *Vero*.

III. THIS stone belongs to the fort at *Castle-hill*, which is not four miles from *Old Kirkpatrick* at the end of the wall. The sculpture contains the greatest variety of figures of any *Roman* monument I remember in *Scotland*; but the stone was unhappily broken thro' the middle after it was found. It was presented in the year 1694 by Mr. *Graham* of *Douglaston* to the university of *Glasgow*, where it is now carefully preserved. On the right side of the stone there is in *mezzo relievo* a horseman with a *hasta* in his right hand, and a shield in his left. Behind him stands a *Victory* with a crown in her hand, and underneath two *Caledonian* captives with their hands tied behind their backs: beside them lies a short dagger, very much resembling a *Highland* durk; and between them stands a *Roman vexillum* or two. On the other side is an eagle upon the back of a sea-goat; and under this, and near a *vexillum*, another captive with somewhat on his head not unlike the present *Scots* bonnet. The whole, no doubt, is designed to express the victory of the *Romans* over the *Caledonians*; and the sea-goat signifies the maritime parts of the country, or that the country is encompassed with the sea. These figures are remarkable, as they are one proof of the great antiquity of the customs and habits of the people in that part of *Britain*. The inscription is to the same emperor, *Antoninus Pius*, with his usual names and titles. Mr. *Gordon* has omitted *LEG II*, as likewise the s at the end of the inscription, and the remarkable stop before it^e, which are all very plain upon the stone, tho' part of the L and E are in the breach. And why

Castle-hill.

^a N. LXXI.

^b Itin. Sept. p. 51.

^c Ibid. p. 52.

^d N. VI.

^e Itin. Sept. p. 52. plate 11. n. 3.

why he should say this stone was dedicated by the sixth legion^o I know not; unless he happened to mistake this inscription for another in the same plate, that has *legio sexta victrix*: which perhaps may account also for his putting III instead of IIII;¹ for in the other inscription it is only three thousand, but in this four. I think the s must stand for *solvit*, and *votum* be understood². Some learned gentlemen have supposed this s to be the sign of the plural number, from whom I must beg leave to differ. The letters of this inscription are not very fine, tho' the sculpture is curious; which I have observed to be often the case.

New Kirkpatrick.

IV. THIS stone belongs to the fort at *New Kirkpatrick*, according to Mr. Gordon^b; but others say to *Castle-hill*^c. It is the largest of any that have been found on the wall, and is now in the collection of the university of *Glasgow*. It has curious ornaments on each side, but without any animal figures. The inscription itself is in the usual form, and admits of no doubt or difficulty, except in the latter part of it. If we refer the letters P F to the legion, I would rather read *piae fidelis*, than *piae felix*; for we have PIAE FIDEL. which must be *piae fidelis*, applied to a legion in an inscription in *Gruter*^d; and likewise on medals^e. And it by no means follows, that because P F stands for *pius felix* when applied to an emperor, therefore it must do so when applied to a legion. But if any chuse to read *perfecit*, rather than *piae fidelis*, I will not oppose them; for there is *fecit per mille passus*, and so perhaps there may be *perfecit per mille passus*; and *perfecit opus valli* we shall meet with presently^f. Most join the v in the last line to the numerals, and read it sixty five. Mr. Gordon makes it sixty six in his explication; for what reason I don't well know, unless he took the s at the end for an i, for he has omitted the s in his copy of the inscription^g: but the letters v. s. are sensibly less than the others, and have a stop between them; and so I think must here be *votum solvit*, as well as at N. xvi. where the vow is to the same emperor.

We are not always to expect fine *Latin* or nice construction in our inscriptions.^h The contrary appears from a multitude of instances. I have observed some cases where the participle *solvens* would read better than *solvit*; but I find where the word occurs at large, we have the verb in the *praeterperfect*, as *solverunt*, in a *Yorkshire* inscriptionⁱ. So here if we read P F *perfecit*, I would read also v s *votum solvit*,⁶ and suppose it to be as it were a new distinct sentence, and to refer to the monument erected to the emperor, and not to the work the vexillation had performed on the wall. The letters of this inscription are now a little faint, tho' pretty well cut. It is also remarkable, that the surface of that part of this stone on which the inscription is cut, is sensibly convex.

THERE are some other remarkable inscriptions in the curious collection at *Glasgow*, which must certainly have been found somewhere near this end of the wall, tho' the particular place may not be certainly known; and therefore I chuse to insert them here.

V. OF the same sort must be this stone, which was found in the ground of Mr. *Hamilton* of *Barns*, and presented by him to this university in the year 1695. The inscription upon it runs much in the same strain with the rest, and at the bottom of it is a boar in *relievo*. The number of paces no doubt has been originally expressed, and yet there does not appear after the P in the last line the least sign of a letter. However one may guess from the other parallel inscriptions, what the round number in all probability has been, namely three or four thousand¹. There is little curious or remarkable as to the

^a See a parallel instance in Northumberland, N. LXXIX.

^b It. Sept. p. 53.

^c See *Philos. Transact.* N. 269² and *Cambden*, p. 1291.

^d Pag. 492.

^e *Science de medailles*, p. 133, 134.

^f N. VII.

^g It. Sept. p. 52. plate II. n. 1.

^h N. IV.

ⁱ See book 1. ch. x. pag. 161.

the form of the letters, but the variety of stops may deserve observation. I am the more inclined to think that both this stone, and the two which follow, have been found not far from the west end of the wall; because these latter are said in the last edition of *Cambden's Britannia* (into which they are inserted *) to have been found at *Erskin* upon the river *Clyde*.

VI. THE stone being broken on the right side has rendered this inscription imperfect, however the defects of it may be supplied from the parallel ones without much difficulty. I think in the fifth line we must not read barely *legio*, but *VEX LEG. vexillatio legionis*; both because the vacancy requires this to fill it up, and the other inscriptions belonging to this legion were erected by the vexillation. The number of paces which is broken off in the last line appears by other similar inscriptions to have been three or four thousand. If the latter, it is probable that there has also been a c before the D, so as to make it agree with N. I.^b On that side of the stone where it is intire, there is a curious bordering, in which is an human figure and winged. Mr. *Gordon* supposes it to represent a *Victory*^c holding a laurel in her left hand. But to me it appears more like a *Genius*, with a bunch of grapes in his hand, and his head dressed with leaves or flowers^d. The figure is in *relievo*, tho' the plane in which it stands be depressed. In the angle of the stone above the figure is a rose. And there has been a like angle with such another ornament in the lower part; 'tis now broken off, but the piece of stone is preserved, and fits the corner. The other end or side of the stone which is now broken off, has no doubt had its ornaments too.

VII. THIS inscription is very curious upon account of the express mention of the *opus valli* towards the end of it. Mr. *Gordon* has inserted a double p in the beginning of the last line^e, tho' I could see but one in the original. But as *per* is in most of the other inscriptions, so there is room for it here. As for P. F. in the fifth line, I have chose to read it with others *perfecit*, rather than *piae fidelis*; because there is no verb here, which follows it, as there was above in N. IV. The figure of the M, or character for *mille*, in the last line, is also very remarkable. Mr. *Gordon* has closed it both at the top and bottom; but it is open at both in the original, and almost resembles the *Gothic* m that stands for a thousand. Perhaps it has been two c c placed thus c c, and joined by an x inserted between them, to signify ten hundred or a thousand. Thus perhaps the D that has the stroke thro' the middle, which stands for five hundred in one of the foregoing inscriptions^f, has been originally half of this figure a little varied.

VIII. THE inscription upon this stone is very highly and justly esteemed, which no doubt was found near the west end of the wall; I have been told near *Calder*, or at the fort of *Bemulie*, and that it had lain a long time neglected in some country house, before it came under the care of this university. Mr. *Gordon* represents it as if no lines had been broken off at the top, and says^g, that the inscription was unanimously read, *Posuit legio secunda Augusta Quinto Lollio Urbico legato Augusti proprætori*: but as it is certain that the stone has been broken quite along the top; so none of the learned professors I conversed with, fell in with that reading. Nor do I think it very difficult to compleat the inscription, or to find out the sense of it: for the last of these three lines being compleat at the beginning (tho' represented as defective or doubtful by Mr. *Gordon*) only a part of the Q can be wanting at the beginning of

* Pag. 1214.

^b See book 1. ch. x. pag. 161.

^c It. Sept. p. 62.

^d Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,

Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis ævi.

Hor. lib. 11. ep. 1. 143.

^e It. Sept. p. 50. plate ix. n. 2.

^f N. iv.

^g It. Sept. p. 63.

of the second line, and a whole letter at the beginning of the first, which I take for granted has been another P for *patri patriae*, the last of the titles usually given in these inscriptions to *Antoninus Pius*; to whom it is highly probable this stone, as well as the others, has been inscribed. And if we suppose the usual names of this emperor to have been contained in two lines above, that are now broken off, the stone will then become a regular oblong of a size and proportion that is not uncommon. 'Tis evident, that there are four letters wanting at the end of the second line in the name *Urbico*, which doubtless was written at length, as well as *Lollio*; and consequently, as appears by the position of the letters, there are five wanting in the first, and about three in the last; so that I presume when the lines were compleat, they ended thus:

.....AVG SVB

.....VRBICO

.....PR PR FEC *or* POS *or* V.S.

This makes the reading easy and plain, and the sense very obvious, and both perfectly agreeable to the form and matter of other inscriptions. Whereas if we suppose the monument to have been erected by the legion to the honour of the *propraetor*, 'tis a conjecture which I believe cannot be easily confirmed by other parallel instances. However the plain and express mention of the *propraetor Lollius Urbicus* is very curious, and confirms the passage in *Capitolinus*, where speaking of *Antoninus Pius*, he says, *Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit alio muro cespititio ducto, &c.*^a Tho' it be true, that no express mention is made of the wall in this inscription. LEG. AVG. I here read *legatus Augusti*. It is *legatus Augusti* and *Augustorum* generally in the *Roman* writers; but if it was to be always so read, one would expect to find it sometimes LEG. AVGG. for *legatus Augustorum*, which I do not remember ever occurs. I therefore read sometimes *legatus Augusti* as here, and sometimes *legatus Augustalis*. When two emperors were reigning, LEG. AVG. must, I think, be read *legatus Augustalis* rather than *Augustorum*.

Bemulie.

IX. THE next two stones belong to the considerable fort which has been formerly at *Bemulie* beside the river *Kelvin*, where they were found. Some of the family of the present Mr. *Stirling* of *Kier*, in whose ground the fort has stood, had built them in the walls of *Calder* house, the seat of the family. This is yet in the wall, on the right hand, within the court, as you enter the house, too high to be come at without the help of a ladder. The inscription (as is frequent) is included in a fine *corona*, supported by two *Victories*, and a double *cornucopia* below. It bears no more than that the monument was erected by the *legio secunda Augusta*, there being no mention made of any quantity of the wall built by this legion, as there is in the following. The *corona* is called by *Cambden* a laurel garland^b. Mr. *Gordon* calls it the finest *civic* crown he ever saw^c. To me it seems to be composed of bay-leaves and berries.

X. WHEN Mr. *Gordon* saw this stone, it was built up in the west end of the house^d; but it is now taken down and placed within. There is nothing singular in the inscription. *Cambden* says, that in his time it was built in the wall of a house at *Calder*^e.

Barhill.

XI. AT *Skirvay*, about a mile and a half west from *Kilsyth*, I saw the inscriptions and sculptures represented in this and the three following numbers; besides which there are two altars quite defaced, and some other stones both *Roman* and curious. They were dug up at a place a little east from this house (I suppose at *Barhill* fort or near it) which belongs to Mr. *Calder*, who expected to find more at the same place. All these stones, except N. XIV. are now removed to the university of *Glasgow*. This sculpture is the figure of a soldier.

^a Script. Hist. Aug. p. 132. See before. p. 50.

^b Pag. 1221.

^c Itin. Sept. pag. 54.

^d Itin. Septent. pag. 54.

^e Pag. 1221.

soldier. What he has in his left hand seems to be much the same in another view with what the *signifer* holds in the sculpture at *Ribston* in *Yorkshire*^a. Of the same kind is that also in the hand of the cupbearer at the *coena feralis*, represented in *Montfaucon*^b, which is called by him an *arcula* or *coffret*. Perhaps this is the basket that held each soldier's *dimensum* or measure of corn.^c What he holds in his right hand, is pretty much effaced; I take it to be a shield, his arm from the elbow being covered within it. I know not what the hollow part in the middle of the figure can be intended to represent. The navel often appears on the armour; but the shape of the hollow, and the dress of the soldier, will scarce allow this conjecture. The sculpture at *Ribston* was sepulchral, as is plain from the inscription beneath it; and the other stones and inscriptions found here appear also to have been sepulchral. Whether this likewise might not have been so, I know not; for if there ever has been any inscription at the bottom, it is now broken off and lost.

As among the baggage usually carried round for provisions, or basket, &c. &c. I do not know. But without more in Mon to me to ag.

XII. THIS stone is in two or three pieces, which were lying at a distance from one another, but plainly belonged to the same inscription, and must have been in the position in which I have here represented them. The stone has had some peculiar and curious ornaments about it. The sides of the plane of the inscription are each at one part entire. I believe it has been only an honorary monument, like that mentioned above at *Calder* house^c; and the inscription nearly the same: for it is plain there can have been no more letters either at the top or bottom.

XIII. THIS monument is also in two pieces, which were lying separate one from the other; but when I brought them together, they plainly appeared to belong both to the same inscription. I believe the second A has been included in the N of the second line in the word *Salmani*. And the s at the end of the fourth line I rather take for *foror*, than a part of the name. It has been a funeral monument, adorned with a garland, two branches, probably of cypress, and two globes quartered. The letters are meanly cut. Mr. *Ward* has favoured me with the following remark upon it. "The antients were not agreed in their opinions concerning the *Dii Manes*, some taking them for the same as the *dei inferi*, others for the ghosts of persons deceased, and others again for the same as the *genii*, or familiar spirits, which attended persons from their birth thro' this world into the next". These and several other opinions about them may be found in *Servius*, upon those lines of *Virgil*:

"*Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens*

"*Aggeritur tumulo tellus: stant manibus arae*".

"When they are mentioned upon inscriptions, they sometimes seem to be taken for the ghost of the deceased person to whom the monument is erected, and at other times not. And the better to discern this difference, it may be observed, that the name of the deceased is expressed in the nominative, genitive, or dative case. When 'tis used in the nominative, the construction will not well permit us to apply the words *DIS MANIBVS* to the ghost of the deceased. And besides, in some instances of that form persons while living erected their own monument, where 'tis evident the sense cannot be so taken. And the like may be said, with regard to the construction, where the name is expressed in the dative. But when 'tis put in the genitive, as is supposed in this inscription, and is plainly so in some others, they seem necessarily to refer to the ghost of the person deceased."

XIV. THIS is another sepulchral monument, but imperfect. It still remains at *Skirvay*. The name of the person for whom it was erected, was *Verecundus*, who probably died young; and therefore the stone is adorned with a garland, like

^a N. VIII.

^b A la fin du second tome.

^c N. IX.

^d Aen. III. 62.

^e See Hor. Ep. II. lib. II. 187.⁶ ^f This citation

like the former. The shape of the stone at the top is somewhat peculiar, and the cut of the letters rather better than in the last.

XV. THIS monument belongs also to the fort of *Barhill*, but is now in Baron *Clerk's* collection. It is a curious altar, but has no inscription upon it which can now be discerned. Mr. *Gordon* has published a draught of it^a in much the same manner as I have done. On the side opposite to the bow is a quiver uncovered, and full of arrows, the tops of which appear above the quiver. This I have placed separately, since it could be no otherwise represented, without giving another draught of the altar.

AT or near this place was found an altar, now in the possession of Mr. *Glen* of *Lithgow*, with a *praefericulum* on one side, and a *patera* on the other; but nothing peculiar in either, and no visible inscription upon the face of the altar, for which reason I have omitted it; but it may be seen on the same plate in Mr. *Gordon's* work.


XVI. AT the same fort this stone was likewise found, which is now in the possession of the learned Baron *Clerk*. It is part of a pillar, on which is a legible inscription, importing that it was erected to the emperor *Antoninus Pius* by a vexillation; but it is not said of what legion, tho' considering the neighbouring inscriptions, it was probably of the *legio sexta victrix*. Mr. *Gordon* has also published it^b. He has only a single L in his draught, nor did I observe a double L in the word *vexillatio*, when I saw the inscription. And the learned Baron himself, having reviewed it, informs me, "that he cannot be certain about the LL," tho' indeed it ought to have been so.

Crowy-hill.

XVII. THIS and the following belong to the fort at *Crowy-hill*, where they were found, but are now both in the aforesaid Baron's collection. This was discovered by Mr. *Gordon*, who looks upon it as an invaluable curiosity, reading it *legio quinta*^c. But tho' there be no space between the letters and the angular borderings on each side, yet why may not it be read *legio victrix*, and by it be meant the *legio sexta victrix*, which by the following inscription appears to have been at this very fort? As there was not room both for VI and V (*sexta* and *victrix*) it is more likely that the number would be omitted, than the honourable title or epithet; especially since in this case the title would sufficiently distinguish them without the number. Besides the *legio quinta* is a legion unheard of in *Britain*. In one inscription upon a stone in the library at *Durham*, we have LEG. VI. XX. AVG.^d to express the three legions which were then in *Britain*. And why might they not put *legio victrix*, as well as *legio Augusta*? So that upon the whole I can't but think, tho' an I has not been lost in the cut of the stone or bordering, yet we are to read *legio victrix*, and understand it of the same legion that erected the next which follows.

XVIII. THERE is nothing peculiar in this; it is exactly like the centurial stones^e, and was set up by the *legio sexta victrix*. The contracted TR has been mistaken for a P by Mr. *Gordon*^f.

Westerwood.

XIX. AT *Westerwood* fort was found a remarkable *Priapus* or *fallus*, now also in the same Baron's collection. Below it is EX VOTO, and at the top these letters XAN, which I read *decem annorum*; and may denote perhaps the continuance of some indisposition, upon the recovery from which this was erected; or else the time of barrenness, after which a child was obtained. But

deccency

^a Plate XIII. fig. 1, 2. inserted at p. 55. of his It. Sept.

^b Plate IX. fig. 4. inserted p. 50. It. Sept.

^c It. Sept. p. 56.

^d Northumberland, N. LXXVIII.

^e For an account of the name centurial frequently used in these observations, see above, book I. ch. VIII. pag. 127.

^f It. Sept. p. 56.

decency forbids the saying any more on this subject, as it obliges me to conceal the figure.

XX. THE four following inscriptions must be referred to the fort upon the wall, called *Castlecary*; for here they are said to have been found^a. Mr. Gordon has informed us that this altar is in the house of the Earl of *Wigton* at *Cumbernauld*, and that he heard it had *legio Britannorum* upon it, tho' he could not procure a sight of it. This copy is taken with care from the original, which favour his Lordship was so obliging as to grant very readily. The stone is evidently the lower part of an altar, both that and the inscription upon it being imperfect. There is nothing of *legio* in the inscription, and the first word is plainly *BRITTON*. As there were several cohorts of *Britones* or *Brettones*^b, I think there is no reason to doubt but that this altar has been erected by a cohort which consisted of the same people. And I would conclude them to be the people that inhabited that part of *France* now called *Bretagne*, and antiently *Armorica*, rather than inhabitants of our own island. For these went by the name of *Britanni*,^c at least they are constantly, I think, so called in the *classics* and *Roman* historians. One cohort of this people appears also from another inscription to have been in this island^d. Most probably this has been the same.

Castlecary.

*See Cellar.
Vol. 1. p. 259.*

XXI. THIS is another piece of an altar now at the same place. It is the upper part, as the other was the lower, but not of the same altar, as is plain from the different measures. The word on the capital is almost obliterated, but by the remaining faint strokes it seems to have been *MATRIB* for *Matribus*. "These *Matres* or *Deae Matres*, as they are sometimes wrote, occur in "several inscriptions in *Britain*. And *Spon*'s account of them is^e, that they "were deified women, who while living were thought to have the gift of "prophecy. 'Tis plain from antient writers, that the *Germans* paid much "regard to this sort of women. *Ariovistus* had them in his camp, and con- "sulted them as we learn from *Caesar*^f. And *Tacitus*, speaking of the "Germans, mentions some of these women, who were worshipped by them "as goddesses^g. And 'tis probable the same custom prevailed in most of the "northern countries. *Spon* has given us several inscriptions erected to them "in *France*, in one of which they are called *Matronae*. And it seems plain "from a passage in *Tacitus*, that the *Britons* had these enthusiastic women "among them: for speaking of the omens by which they were excited to "attack the *Roman* colony *Camulodunum*, in the reign of *Nero*, among other "things he says: The image of *Victory* at *Camulodunum* without any apparent "reason dropt down, and turned backwards, as if it submitted to the enemy. "And the inspired women prophesied, *the destruction of the place was at hand*^h. "After their death they seem to have been worshipped as a sort of *genii*, or "tutelar deities of the places where they resided; and hence we meet with "them under so many different names, as will appear in the series of this "collectionⁱ." I think it remarkable that these women are called *matres familias* in *Caesar*, as also that *Tacitus* says they were so much esteemed by the *Germans*. The former intimates the name *matres*, and the latter is very agreeable to what we meet with in some of our inscriptions^j. *Horace* speaks of

^a It. Sept. p. 57.

^b Goltz. Thesaur. c. 8. pag. 178.

^c See Northumberland, N. LXXVI. and also Book I. chap. vi. pag. 89.

^d Miscell. erud. antiq. p. 105.

^e B.G. Lib. 1. cap. 40.

^f Vidimus sub Divo Vespasiano Velledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deus. De Mor. Germ. cap. 8.

^g Nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae, ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus. Et seminas in furore turbatae adesse exitium canebant. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 32.

^h This remark is added by Mr. Ward; and if any others occur in these observations distinguished by double comma's, and not referred to any other person, they are to be ascribed to him.

ⁱ See observations on the Cumberland inscriptions under N. II.

of the old *Sabine* woman, as foretelling his fate^a. But why they should be always named in the plural (*Matres*) and why generally represented as three in number, may deserve a farther enquiry^b. The vexillation which erected this altar was most probably of the *legio sexta victrix*^c.

THESE two altars with the two imperfect inscriptions have been supposed one inscription; tho' it is plain they were not, because, as I have said, the measures don't agree. The author of the additional inscriptions of the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*, inserted in *Cambden's Britannia*^d, gives us the draught of an altar, which both as to the upper and under part of it, answers well enough to these two different pieces; and upon the altar this inscription:

MATRIBVS [on the capital]

MILITES

VEXILL IO

LEG XX VI

BRITTON

V. S. L. PM.

This is manifestly composed of the two pieces of inscriptions mentioned before; only the fourth line, which I believe has belonged to the upper part, is not now visible, but seems to have been either LEG. VI. VI. *legionis sextae victricis*; or else LEG. XX. VAL. VIC. *legionis vicesimae valentis victricis*. The letters favour this reading, but the number of inscriptions erected about this place by the *legio sexta victrix* seem rather to favour the former; tho' if the letters of his copy be right and exact, it should then be read *vexillatio legionum Augustae et sextae* or *victricis*.

XXII. THIS stone belongs also to the same place. It was found here, but I could not discover where it now is, for I saw it not in Baron *Clerk's* collection. Both the stone and inscription are imperfect. Mr. *Gordon* not improperly supposes it to have been *cohors Batavorum*, which is all we can know of it^e.

XXIII. THIS is also obscure and imperfect. Nothing but the reading and meaning of the four last letters is certain, being the usual form of concluding, V. S. L. M. *votum solvit libens merito*. The preceding letters have probably been the name or title of the person who erected the altar. Mr. *Ward* conjectures, "that this inscription was erected by a *libertus* in gratitude to his patron; that the words *pro salute*, with his own name in the nominative case, and his patron's in the genitive, have been upon the upper part of the stone, which is broken off; and that what remains is to be read *patroni optimi ex suo votum solvit libens merito*. *Optimus* is a very common epithet upon inscriptions for a patron, and the letters *ES* for *ex suo* as common. Indeed the letters *PO* do sometimes stand for *princeps optimus*, but the small size of the altar, together with the *ES* that follow, rather incline one to think, that it was erected by one private person in gratitude to another."

A *ROMAN* lamp of brass was also found at this fort, but 'tis uncertain now what is become of it.

Caer-ridden.

XXIV. THIS stone is built up in the house at *Caer-ridden*, where most suppose the *Roman* wall to have ended. Mr. *Gordon's* copy of the inscription differs somewhat from mine, and his reading much more; for he takes it to be *cohors Julia*, and the rest unintelligible^f. But a *cohors Julia* is unknown in Britain,

^a Confice, namque instat fatum mihi tristo, Sabella

Quod puero cecinit divinae mota anus urna.

Hor. sat. ix. lib. i. v. 29, 30.

^b See Northumberland, N. XLVIII, XLIX, L. and

the observations on those sculptures.

^c See above, N. XVI. and the observations on it.

^d Pag. 1289.

^e It. Septent. p. 57.

^f Ibid. p. 60.

Britain, and the stone is evidently of the centurial kind, the usual mark being clear and distinct, which he has taken for an A. This indeed is the most curious that I have any where seen of the kind, with respect to the sculpture; but the inscription seems to have contained no more than as usual, the number of the cohort, and name of the person who commanded the century. The top stroke of the second I, which makes it look like a T, seems to be a part of the usual stroke set above the head of numeral letters. The sculpture represents an eagle with expanded wings, holding a *corona* in her bill, and placed between two *Roman signa*, or ensigns, to denote perhaps the victory and triumph of the *Romans* over the *Caledonians* and other inhabitants of *Britain*. But what the letter T, or figure resembling it, placed behind the head of the eagle can mean, I am at a loss to determine. "As to the sculptures (says my learned friend Mr. *Ward*) "I am inclined to think, that this century "having built the wall at this end, thought proper to set up the *Roman* ensigns "and eagle at the boundary; for which reason likewise they have given the stone "more ornaments than we meet with upon other centurial stones. And this "seems to be further confirmed by the letter T, which, as *Manutius* observes, is "sometimes put for *terminus*", and in that sense suits very well with this inscription." If these conjectures be admitted, they will furnish us with a probable argument that the *Romans* begun to build the northern wall at the western limit, and ended at the eastern, as I have supposed them to have done^b.

XXV. THIS inscription is upon a piece of a pillar now preserved in the library of the university of *Edinburgh*, and said to have been presented to them by Sir *Robert Sibbald*. The inscription appears plainly by the titles to have been to *Antoninus Pius*, and the way of contracting PRO here deserves a remark. The stone was erected when this emperor was the third time consul. It is probable that this has been one of those monuments which were erected when the wall was built (tho' in its shape it more resembles a milliary pillar) and so gives us the very year in which this was done, namely 140, when *Antoninus Pius* was the third time consul. It is the common opinion, that this stone was brought from the *Roman* wall. Mr. *Gordon* says it was certainly dug out of the wall, and inclines to read *legio quinta Germanorum*^c. But besides that this seems a force upon the letters, it does not appear there was any fifth legion here in *Britain*. The inscription was copied with the utmost impartiality, according to the appearance of the letters, and was several times re-examined, and plainly reads, *cohors prima Cugernorum*. The *Cugerni* were a people of *Belgic Gaul*, lying between the *Ubii* and *Batavi*, mentioned by *Pliny*^d and *Tacitus*^e. *Cellarius* observes, they were antiently called *Sicambri* or *Sigambri*, and got the name of *Cugerni* after they had been removed by *Augustus*, together with the *Ubii*, out of *Germany* into *Gaul*^f. As this stone was presented to the university of *Edinburgh* by Sir *Robert Sibbald*, I have a strong suspicion it is the same that was once in Sir *Robert's* garden at *Edinburgh*, and is thus represented by himself^g.

.....
AVG. COS. IV.
GERMANICVS
PONTIFEX. MAX.

This inscription is said to be upon a part of a pillar, as is that now at *Edinburgh*. It is also said, that on each side was the *Roman securis*; which is plainly nothing but the angular borderings or ornaments on each side the inscription. We are told likewise that it was found in the grounds of *Inglisfrown*, which

^a Orthograph. rat. in not.

^b See above, book 1. chap. x. pag. 159.

^c It. Sept. p. 62.

^d H. N. l. iv. c. 17.

^e Hist. l. v. c. 16, 18.

^f Geogr. Ant. l. ii. c. 3.

^g Cambden, p. 1189. Sir Robert gives it thus in his *Auctarium musei Balfourensi e museo Sibbaldiano, printed at Edinburgh, 1697.*

COS IIII

IMP. TP. PP. PM

GERMANICVS

He calls it, *Inscriptio columnae triumphalis.*

which seems to be rather too far from the wall. Lastly, *Domitian* is supposed to be the emperor, whose name here was designedly erased, according to an order of the senate to that purpose. But the true copy is sufficient to rectify all such imaginations.

XXVI. WE have here another curious inscription, much of the same sort with those usually found upon the wall. It is now in *Mareschal* college at *Aberdeen*, having been presented by the Countess *Mareschal*, after it had continued for a long time in the possession of that family. There is nothing peculiar in the inscription, except that some of the words are writ more at length than usual, as VAL.VIC. and MIL. for *mille*. *Cambden* tells us that in his time this stone was built up in the castle of *Dunnotyre*^a, and that the then Earl *Mareschal* being an admirer of antiquity had caused the letters of it to be gilded^b. I doubt our present antiquaries would scarce thank the noble Lord for this expression of his value and zeal for antiquity. There is now some black colouring as well as gilding upon it. The effaced N after *vexillatio* must I think have been a mistake in the cutter, and so struck out again by him.

I HAVE now gone through all the inscriptions which I suppose have belonged to the wall; and as I know of none that are properly south from the wall, except an imperfect one at *Middleby*, I shall proceed to take notice of those which are to the north or east from it.

Cramond.

XXVII. THIS belongs to the station at *Cramond*, and is now carefully preserved in the seat of the Earl of *Rutherglen*, who was pleased to honour me with a sight of it. The stone of the altar is of a reddish colour, not very coarse, but much of the same grit with the stone used by the *Romans* most frequently upon such occasions. The inscription is exactly of the same form with a great many others in this collection. At *House-Steeds* alone there are several that run in the same strain. Possibly an I is included in the latter N of the fourth line, or perhaps *Honus* is the name. The names of the prefect found not very like *Roman*, excepting the last of the three; but this is not uncommon. I suppose he was no native of *Rome* or *Italy*, and that the two first names might be his own, the third assumed upon his being made a citizen. The A in the third line in the word *praeest* is lost in the break; but as there is room enough for it, so the other letters shew that this vacancy is to be supplied in that manner. The greatest curiosity is in the second line, which undoubtedly is to be read *cohors quinta*; for this is the only inscription wherein the fifth cohort of the *Gauls* is mentioned. The fourth often occurs. The different cut of the letter L is also remarkable.

XXVIII. BESIDES the altar already mentioned, there is another large altar, with a horned head and bearded face upon it, which had been generally taken for *Jupiter Ammon*. The *focus* at the top is compleat, and the marks of fire upon it very visible. It seemed to be not unlike the upper part of the capital of the former altar, which had been broken off. The colour and grit of the stones suit well enough, but the one was rather too large for the other; and my Lord himself observed to me, that they were found at a distance from one another. And besides, tho' the other altar shews that *Jupiter* was worshipped here, and most of the altars found at the same place are generally devoted to the same deity; yet the lines of the face, and the shape and situation of the horns rather favour *Silvanus*. "Perhaps the two things, that come out on each side from under his beard, might be designed to represent the feet of a goat. For *Silvanus* is usually clothed with the skin of this animal, fastened at his neck by the two fore feet."

XXIX.

^a Pag. 1321.

^b Ibid. pag. 1357.

XXIX. THIS stone is in the garden of Sir *John Inglis*, where it has been long exposed to the weather ; so that great part of the inscription is now become very obscure and uncertain. The original was twice examined, and compared with the copy in Mr. *Gordon*. I particularly remarked what letters were plain and distinct, and what are not so, and have given the copy in the most perfect manner I could. The altar was erected to the *Deae Matres*, here called *Alatervae* (probably from the antient name of the place) as also *Campestres*, by the *cohors prima Tungrorum*. So far I think all the copies agree. Indeed the numeral 1 does not appear distinctly ; but since it is the first cohort of the *Tungrians* that occurs in other inscriptions^a, 'tis probable that it has been the same also in this. But what to make of the rest of the inscription I know not. I sometimes imagined the next words might have been, *instituerunt sacram aram*. This appears not disagreeable to the remains of the letters ; and then the last line may possibly have been thus : CONL. RES. XX. V. V. *conlapsam restituit* [*legio*] *vicefima valens victrix*. The oblong figure of the *focus* of this altar being remarkable, I have represented the top of the capital in the other figure marked XXIX.

XXX. THIS is another stone found at the same place, and now in Baron *Clerk's* collection. It is evidently of the centurial kind. According to Mr. *Gordon* it may be read, *Jovi votivo sacrum legio secunda fecit*^b. But as the stone is not an altar, and *Jupiter votivus* would be singular in *Britain* ; I rather think we should read it, *legio secunda Augusta fecit jussa*. The position of the letters, or form of the inscription, favours this reading more than the other ; and a single letter is very often put for a double one upon inscriptions. So we find IVSIT for IVSSIT in *Gruter*^c. *Jussa* is the same with *ex jussu*, and it is well known how common it was for them to pretend that they took their vows upon them, or erected altars and monuments from some divine command or impulse^d.

BESIDES these inscriptions, abundance of medals have also been found here. Sir *John Inglis* himself has several ; Baron *Clerk* has forty or fifty in his collection ; and my Lord *Rutherglen* has a *Diocletian* with a *Genius* on the reverse, and this inscription, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI : which serves to shew that the *Romans* were late possessed of this station.

XXXI. THIS stone was found at the famous *Roman* camp of *Ardoch*, and is now preserved at *Drummond* castle. It is a funeral monument for *Ammonius Damionis*, a centurion of the first cohort of the *Spaniards*, who had served twenty seven campaigns. Some take *Damionis* to be the genitive, and read *Ammonius* the son or servant of *Damion*. But I rather take *Damionis* to be the nominative, and *Ammonius Damionis* to be as *Petilius Cerealis*, and several other names. Some observe that in the *Roman* legions the soldiers after twenty years service became *emeriti*. But how far any rule of this kind might be extended to the auxiliaries may be a different question. However our *Ammonius* if he had been seven and twenty years in the service, was not now a common soldier, but a centurion.

Ardoch.

THE representation of this inscription in *Cambden's Britannia*^e is another instance of the disadvantages the greatest men must labour under, who have no opportunity of seeing the originals. For thus it is there :

D15

^a Northumberland, N. xxxvi to xlii.

^b It. Sept. p. 116.

^c Pag. 1. 5.

^d Alter [consulium] quasi monitu deorum—
diis Manibus se devoverit. L. Flor. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Ecce Jovis monitu, &c. Ovid. Metam. lib. xiii.
v. 216.

Hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso
Effigiem statuere. Virg. Aen. ii. v. 183.

^e Pag. 1239.

DIS MANIBVS
ANTONIVS
DAIMONIVS
COHORTIS I.
LEGIONIS
XVII HISPANORVM
HEREDES
F. C.

And this makes me strongly suspect that inscription in *Cambden*^a, which runs thus :

COHORTIS HISPANORVM TIBICEN
HIC IACET.

is no other than this at *Drummond* castle ; for it is spoken of in the *Britannia* only as hear-say. And at *Stirling* it was affirmed, that there was upon one of the steps that lead down to the garden at *Drummond* castle this inscription,

HIC IACET
IN TVMVLO

which upon examination proved no other than the preceding.

So also the inscription said to be on a rock at *Stirling*^b, and thus represented,

IN EXCVAGITLE
LEG

I believe to be no other than that which is now upon a rock on the north side of *Sterling* castle, and does not appear to be *Roman*. Some suppose it to be in the *Highland* tongue. It was thus taken by a careful and impartial hand :

DE
IXIEX COTH AQIS
DI LET ALM
RE

FOR the same reason I dare not answer for it, that in the following inscription it was HAMIOR in the original ; tho' it be so in the copy, with which I am afraid we must now be content. It is said in *Cambden*^c to be in a village called *Miniabrough* (which I am told is the same with *Kilsyth*) and to have been removed out of the minister's house into that of a neighbouring gentleman.

D. M.
C. JVLII
MARCELLINI
PRÆF.
COH. I. HAMIOR.

*Dis Manibus
Caii Julii
Marcellini
praefecti
cohortis primae Hamiorum.*

THERE is yet one inscription more, whose original is lost, and the copy comes from the same hand, viz.

APOLLINI
GRANNO
Q. LVSIVS
SABINIA
NVS
PROC.
AVG.
V. S. S. LV. M.

*Apollini
Granno
Quintus Lucius
Sabinia-
nus
proconsul
Augusti*

votum susceptum solvit lubens merito.

This, as we are told in *Cambden*^d, was found near *Musselburgh*, where likewise 'tis said, " That *Apollo Grannus* among the *Romans* was the same with " the *Grecian* *Ἀπόλλων ἀκροσεχόμενος*, that is, *long-locked*: for *Isidore* calls the

" long

^a Pag. 1290.

^b Pag. 1286.

^c Pag. 1222.

^d Pag. 1185.

" long hair of the *Goths granni*." ^a And agreeably to this notion of the word, *Apollo* is celebrated by the poets for his long and flowing locks. Thus *Tibullus* :

*Nunc indue vestem
Sepositam, longas nunc bene pectè comas* ^a.

And *Ovid* :

Dignos et Apolline crines ^b.

The two letters LV for *lubens*, when the rest of the words have only the initial letters, may be remarked as somewhat singular. In the edition of *Cambden's* description of *Scotland* by Sir *James Dalrymple* ^c, we are told that this stone with the inscription upon it was found at *Marchiston*, about a mile distant from the west part of *Edinburgh*. It was mentioned by *John Napier* Lord *Marchiston*, a learned man, ancestor to the present Lord *Napier*, in his commentaries upon the *Apocalypse*, and was copied by Sir *Petier Young* tutor to King *James VI*.

a It may be added in favour of this conjecture, that in the history of the word, the braided of her head, the expression by, *Coma* *criminavit*, is not, *fecit* c. x. v. 3. *Sal* *drives* the word *granum*, and *tan* *long*, *discovered* *ed* *at* *the* *end*, *with* *more* *antient* *La* *ors* *call* *crinos* *cu* *Plan* *Exercit* *p. 7* *Commodianus* *gr* *capillos* *in* *licitis*, *oc* *ligine* *relinitis* *Locat* *the* *comu* *lat* *gr* *fronte* *de* *gr*

THERE is in the appendix to the *Marmora Oxoniensia* an inscription, said to be found at *Cadir* in *Sterlingshire*. According to that author, it was added by *Cambden* in the margin of his *Britannia*. The original no doubt is lost, but the copy of it is thus:

DEO
SILVANO
L TANICVS
VERVS

Deo
Silvano
Lucius Tanicus
Verus

b This is in Wedge

PRAEF. V. S. LL. M. *praefectus votum solvit libentissime merito.*

I believe it was first published by the learned *Selden* in his additions to the *Marmora Arundeliana*. *Cadir* is no doubt designed for *Calder*. For in *Cambden's* account of *Sterlingshire* in his *Britannia* he gives us an inscription which according to him was fixed in the wall of a house at *Cadir*. This inscription is exactly the same with N. X. which as I have already said was formerly built in the wall of *Calder* house.

XXXII. I HAVE thought proper also to add this imperfect inscription upon a broken stone built up in one of the houses at *Middleby*. Baron *Clerk*, who was so obliging as to send me the draught and account of it, intended I believe to remove it to his own seat. It seems to have been of the centurial kind, and that's all I have to say of it.

Middleby.

N O R T H U M B E R L A N D.

I. THIS stone, with the five next (as also a piece of an altar and part of a pedestal) are all placed in niches in the outside of a wall belonging to *Cousins's* house, where they have stood unobserved and neglected for many years, and being exposed to the winds and weather, have suffered very much by that means. I cannot find that the least notice has been taken of them before, tho' they have very probably remained in the same place ever since my great uncle gave being and name to this mansion. The four first are plainly *centurial*, such as were generally placed in the face of the wall, and are rarely found in any other station. Hence we have one argument, that this station was built at the same time with the wall, in the reign of *Severus* ^a. The cohorts mentioned in these inscriptions were certainly legionary. The mark for the century is very clear and distinct in all of them, and the names of the centuries (as in most others of the same kind) are in the genitive. For which reason I think that the mark is not to be read here *centurio*, but *centuria*, (as 'tis frequently read in *Gruter*) and that *posuit* is to be supplied or understood

Cousins's house.

^a Eleg. ii.

^b Metam. lib. iii. v. 421.

^c Pag. 38, 39.

^d See above, book i. chap. viii. p. 131.

stood at the end ; so that *cohortis primae centuria Fiari*, is much the same as to say, such a captain's company of such a regiment. Indeed *centurio cohortis*, or the centurion of a cohort, does often occur in inscriptions, but does not necessarily imply that the whole command of the cohort was in a single centurion ; for we have also *centurio legionis* and *miles legionis*, which can signify no more than that such a person was a centurion or a soldier in such a legion. I will not undertake to determine whether in CHO for *cohortis* here, and in N. IX. the first o was designedly omitted, or transposed, or forgot to be inserted in the body of the c.

II. As the former century was of the *first cohort*, so this belonged to the *second*. There is nothing else remarkable in it.

III. THIS stone as it now stands is inverted. As soon as the ingenious gentleman who was with me had made this remark, the difficulty in reading the inscription immediately vanished ; and it appeared to be a monument of the same sort with the others, erected by the century of *Justinus Secundus* in the tenth cohort.

IV. THIS has sustained more damage than any of the former, by being exposed to the weather ; for the number of the cohort is effaced, excepting a faint and very doubtful appearance of a cross stroke like an x ; the mark for the century is also faint, and one of the centurion's names very obscure, but the other name, *Priscus*, is plain and clear, the letters being gross, tho' short, and cut very deep in the stone. The former name *Siinsus* sounds somewhat oddly, but there are many as uncouth in *Gruter*.

V. I AM wholly at a loss what to make of the imperfect remains of this stone. To suppose from the letters VIC it was a monument erected by the *legio sexta victrix*, would be a groundless conjecture ; since that legion does not appear to have been employed on this part of the wall.

VI. THIS is a small altar, which at first sight did not seem to me to have had any inscription upon it ; but re-examining it very closely, there appeared an obscure trace of an o, as here represented, which is sufficient to shew, that the altar had been dedicated to *Jupiter optimus maximus*. The stone of this altar is of a reddish colour, tho' all the former are whitish. They are all of a very coarse and peculiar grit, so as to be easily distinguishable from the stones that are wrought out of the neighbouring quarries ; nor can the people thereabouts imagine from whence the *Romans* had their stones, there being none such now to be found there. But they who would know more of this matter may consult the *Philosophical Transactions*, and see what Dr. *Lister* has there said on this subject *, as also what I have in other places interspersed to the same purpose.

OF these inscriptions abovementioned, N. V. is the best ; I, II, and III the next ; and IV the worst ; and they all answer well enough in the cut of the letters, mark for the century, and other characters, to the time of *Severus*. And I doubt not but they were inserted by those who built the wall and this station at *Segedunum* ; for they are sometimes found upon the north or enemy's side of the wall, and consequently cannot so well be supposed to have been erected, or the inscriptions cut, by those who guarded the wall within.

Benwel.

VII. BETWEEN *Cousins's house* and *Benwel* I could not meet with any *Roman* inscriptions or sculptures. I never heard of any found at *Newcastle* ; nor is this much to be wondered at, considering how large a town it has long been, and how easy it is to suppose, that all that was *Roman* has been lost some ages ago amongst such numerous buildings. I therefore proceed to the inscriptions

* Number 4.

inscriptions at *Benwel*. There are three belonging to this fort, of which this and the next have been published only (I think) by Mr. *Gordon*^a. That part of the two first lines, which is lost in the break of the stone, is so supplied by Mr. *Gordon*, as if the whole had been, *Jovi optimo maximo et numinibus, &c.* and as if the words *optimo maximo* had been wrote at large, so as to fill up the whole vacancy. But those words are seldom found at length upon an altar, and will by no means consist with the letters HENO, which are very plain and distinct. The reading I have given, seems to answer as to the letters, and to fill up the space with the greatest exactness. And it will be hard to find another word, into which the letters HENO will enter. Nor is there any occasion to search for any other, since *Jupiter Dolichenus* had not only several altars dedicated to him in other places, but one or two likewise in *Britain*^b. *Caesar* in the short natural history he gives of *Britain*, tells us, “The inland countries afford tin, and the maritime iron, tho’ no great plenty of it^c.” This passage of *Caesar* may give us some light into the reason of these altars being dedicated to *Jupiter Dolichenus*, when compared with another inscription to the same deity published by *Reinesius*, and referred to in *Cambden*^d. The inscription is this: IOVI. OPTIMO. MAXIMO. DOLYCHENO. VBI. FERRVM. NASCITVR. C. SEMPRONIVS. RECTVS. CENT. FRVMENTARIVS. D. D. ^e *Reinesius* thinks *Jupiter* had this name given him from *Δολιχην*, a town of *Epirus* or *Macedonia*, which country *Strabo*^f represents as rugged and mountainous, and productive of metals, among which *Reinesius* supposes there was iron. If this was the case, tho’ *Strabo*, I think, don’t mention iron, the words, *ubi ferrum nascitur*, may seem to intimate, that *Jupiter Dolichenus* had some particular concern in iron mines, and so might well be applied to for assistance and conduct by those who entertained hopes of making beneficial discoveries in that way. Now *Benwel* is not many miles from the sea, and this country abounds with mines of coal, that bring yearly a very large sum of money into it. And the *Romans* from *Caesar*’s account, and other circumstances, might expect to find iron mines in these parts, and upon that occasion pay their devotion to *Jupiter Dolichenus*. *Montfaucon* has given us one image of this deity, found at *Marseilles*, clad in armour, and standing upon a bull, which seems to agree very well with this account. But another image represents him in a rustic habit, with an ox under him^g. And *Stephanus*, who calls him *Δολιχαῖος Ζεὺς*, derives his name from *Dolichene* a city of *Commagene* in *Asia*^h, which *Strabo* describes as a fruitful country, well planed with trees and vinesⁱ. It is not unlikely therefore he might be worshipped at both these places, and that the words in *Reinesius*’s inscription, *ubi ferrum nascitur*, might be designed as descriptive of the *Grecian* deity. It may not be improper to remark here, that there is a coalry not far from *Benwel*, a part of which is judged by those who are best skilled in such affairs, to have been wrought by the *Romans*. The next thing which deserves consideration is, what we are to understand by *Numina Augusti*. in this and other inscriptions, where these words occur. Writers are not agreed as to this, and probably it has not always the same meaning. Here and in some other instances it should seem, as if those deities were meant to which the emperor was peculiarly devoted, and that they, who erected the altars, complimented the emperor by paying honour, and professing their devotion to the same deities. We find several inscriptions in *Gruter*, that are consecrated *numinibus Augusti*^k; and one like this, *Jovi O. M. et numinibus Augusti*^l. And that addresses were made to the gods in behalf

^a Itin. Sept. p. 49.

^b See the observations upon the last inscription in Monmouthshire, and the inscription at Risingham in Northumberland, N. LXXXV.

^c Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum: sed ejus exigua est copia. B. G. l. v. c. 10.

^d Pag. 721.

^e Class. prim. xv.

^f L. vii. p. 327, &c.

^g L’ Ant. expl. tom. i. pl. xviii.

^h De popul.

ⁱ L. xii. p. 535.

^k Pag. cxii.

^l Pag. iv. 13.

behalf of the emperors, notwithstanding they were often complemented as deities themselves, is likewise evident from many of their coins, on which we have *Jovi, Apollini, Marti, Mercurio conservatori Augusti*, with several others of a like nature^a. However some have thought, that if this interpretation should be admitted, *Jupiter optimus maximus* would be excluded from the number of the emperor's deities. But in answer to this it may be said, that either the words may be so understood, as if it had been expressed, *Jovi optimo maximo, et [ceteris] numinibus Augusti*; or else that *Jupiter* is by way of eminency distinguished from the *lares* or *tutelar gods* of the emperor, which were often many in number, and made up partly of deceased persons, as well as other fictitious deities. So *Flavius Vopiscus* in his life of *Aurelian*, speaking of his going into the temple of *Heliogabalus*, says, "There he found that image of the deity, which he saw favouring him in the war^b." And *Julius Capitolinus* in the life of *Aurelius*, addressed to the emperor *Diocletian*, says, "The statues of *Marcus Antoninus* are to this day set up in many houses among the family deities." And soon after: "He is to this time esteemed a god, as you always thought, and do think, most sacred emperor *Diocletian*, who worship him among your deities, not as the rest, but in a peculiar manner^c." But in some other inscriptions the word *numina* or *numen* is applied to the emperor himself, as I shall shew hereafter^d. Nor are instances wanting in good writers, where *numina* in the plural is applied to a particular deity. So we have *numina Dianae* in *Horace*^e, and in *Virgil*, *numina Phoebi*^f. And what comes nearer to our purpose, the same poet, when speaking of *Augustus* himself, and by his sordid flattery ranking him among the gods, but uncertain where to place him, uses these words:

*An deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautae
Numina sola colant^g.*

On the other hand *numen* in the singular is sometimes joined to a plurality of deities, as in *Virgil*:

Non haec sine numine divum eveniunt^h.

And in *Gruter* we have *numini deorum Augusti*ⁱ. The *legio secunda Augusta*, for whose preservation, together with that of the emperor, this altar was erected, must at this time have been upon the wall in *Northumberland*, which very probably (if *Pausanias*'s account be true) might be after they had defeated the *Brigantes*, and taken from them a great part of their land^k. The words which I read, *centurio legionis ejusdem*, are by Mr. *Gordon* read, *legatus ejusdem*. Which mistake he seems to have been led into by not observing the centurial mark. So that here is no foundation to suppose a new *propraetor* or lieutenant *M. Liburnius Fronto* from this inscription. This curious altar has on one side the sacrificing knife and ax; on the other side both the *patera* and *praefericulum*. Both this and the following inscription are carefully preserved in the court of *Robert Shafto Esq*;

VIII. THIS is an imperfect inscription upon the lower part of a broken altar, found in the same place with the preceding. And as that was erected by a centurion of the second legion called *Augusta*, so this by another such officer of the twentieth legion called *valens victrix*. The mark for the centurion is very plain and distinct upon the stone, tho' omitted by Mr. *Gordon*^l. Nor do I remember an instance in *Britain* of an altar erected by a whole legion,

^a See Spanh. de praest. et usu numm. tom. II. pag. 525.

^b Illic eam formam numinis reperit, quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. Script. A.H. p. 860.

^c Hodie in multis domibus Marci Antonini statuae consistunt inter deos penates—Deus usque etiam nunc habetur, ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime imperator *Diocletiane*, et semper visum est, et videtur: qui cum inter numina vestra, non ut ceteros, sed specialiter veneramini. Ibid. p. 192, 195.

^d See N. LII, CVIII. of this country.

^e Epod. 17.

^f Aen. I. III. v. 359.

^g Georg. lib. I. v. 29, 30.

^h Aen. II. 777.

ⁱ Pag. x. 6.

^k *Pausanias*, speaking of *Antoninus*, says, Ἀπὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βρετανίᾳ Βριγάντων τὴν ποίλῃν, ὅν ἐπιστάτην καὶ ἔτι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤρξαν τὴν Γενναίαν μοῖραν ὑπὸ καὶ Ρωμαίων. In *Arcad.* p. 273. Ed. Franc. 1583.

^l It. Sept. p. 49.

legion, tho' it was frequently done by a cohort. My reason for reading *valens victrix*, and not *Valeria* or *Valeriana*, I have given before ^a.

IX. It is about fifteen or sixteen years since I first discovered this inscription in the side wall of a house at *East Denton*, which village stands upon the wall, about a quarter of a mile west from *Benwel* fort. The house was afterwards demolished, and this stone thrown among the dirt and rubbish; but being again recovered by a curious gentleman of my acquaintance, is now in my possession. Tho' the word *fecit*, as synonymous with *posuit* ^b, is frequently applied to an altar or monument, and therefore does not certainly prove that the legion was at this time employed in building the wall, or the *vallum*; yet as no person is named in the inscription, to whose honour this monument was erected, the word *fecit* may possibly refer to some other work than purely setting up such a stone, and to none more likely than to the building that part of the wall; but this I have considered in its proper place ^c. It is somewhat rare and curious, to have the name of the legion and the number of the cohort set down both together so distinctly as here. There are some other parallel instances of legionary cohorts in *Britain*, but not very many.

IX^a. IN a memorandum left by the late Dr. *Woodward* of *Gresham college*, this stone is said to have been found on the *Roman* wall near *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, and to have been sent to him by Dr. *Cay* of that town. ^d The monument corresponds so exactly to the description I had from an eye-witness, of one found at *Benwel* fort, and preserved for some time at *Benwel* house, that there can remain no doubt, but it must be the very same. I am told it was first presented by the present Mr. *Shafto's* grandmother, during the minority of the late Mr. *Shafto* of *Benwel* to the late Dr. *Cay*, a learned and curious physician of *Newcastle*, by whom it was transmitted to *London*. Since the death of Dr. *Woodward*, and the disposal of his collection, in which I saw it, it is now in the possession of Mr. *West*. The distinct mention made in this monument of the *ala prima Astorum*, renders it highly curious and valuable, as it confirms the *Roman* town and fort upon the wall at *Benwell* hill to be the antient *Condercum*, the third station *per lineam valli*; where according to the *Notitia* this *ala* was in garrison. I was agreeably surprized with the sight of it, because it is a farther confirmation of the scheme I had advanced concerning these stations ^e. I was also pleased to discover the small o at the end of the last line, which is sufficiently distinct and certain, and proves the word to be *Astorum* not *Asturum*, in which it agrees with the *Notitia*. That part of the stone, which is near the M in the bordering, is imperfect and broken. I make no doubt but the letters RV have been before the M, and that it is to be read ASTORVM; and then the PRA on the other side can be for nothing else but *praefectus*. There is no appearance left of any cross strokes of the E after ALA in the last line; but as these may have been worn out, I am of opinion, that it was at first ALÆ, and that the monument was set up by *Felix* the commander of this *ala*. It seems plainly to have been erected *Victoriae Augustorum*, for the word *Victoriae* is compleat and distinct; and the upper parts of the two GG are yet visible; and Dr. *Woodward* had put a v before them in his copy, tho' I could not discern any vestige of it on the stone. I suppose a stroke or two in the next letters are now effaced, and that they were originally a double N conjoined for *nostrorum*. And whoever considers the frequent variation of letters we often meet with in the same monument, won't think it strange that the first stroke is more oblique here, than in one or two instances of the same letter afterwards. The letters FE at the end of this line must in all probability stand for the word *fecit*. If my reading be allowed, the monument must have been erected by *Felix* who was the grandson of *Sofius Senecio* the consul, and the commander of the first wing of the *Asti*. Mr. *Ward* chuses

a) Woodward says;
the following inscription
but does not mention
where it was
VICTORIAE
AVGG
DD
NN

^a See above, book 1. chap. VI. p. 83, 84.

^b Cumberland, N. xxxviii.

^c See above, book 1. chap. VIII. pag. 130.

^d See book 1. chap. VII. p. 105.

See another instance
of the name, p. 221.
Sofius Felix is men-
tioned in Gruter. p.
cxix. 4. and Sofius
is mentioned by Hender.

chuses to read the third and fourth lines thus: *Numerius Sofius Senecio nepos consulis Felix*.^a The letter N, put for a *praenomen*, signifies *Numerius*, according to *Diomedes*.^b *Sofius* was one of the consul's names, who is called *C. Sofius Senecio* in the *Fasti consulares*. And N for *nepos* is very common upon inscriptions. As to the situation of the words *nepos consulis*, 'tis usual in inscriptions to insert such words as express any relation, or other circumstance, of those who erect them before the last name.^c But N S in *Goltzius*^d is made to stand for *Numerius* as well as N alone. This being admitted, we may read *Numerius Senecio nepos consulis Felix*. But I much incline to the reading that I have given, which occurred to me at the first. 'Tis evident, that no regard is had in this inscription to the usual order of the words in others; there seems rather to be an affected singularity as to this matter. *Senecio* who is mentioned in an inscription or two found at *Brugh* in *Richmondshire*^e (the originals of which are now lost) was probably of the same family, tho' rather too late to be the same person with him, who is described in this monument; for he (as appears from these inscriptions which I have referred to) lived under the reign of *Commodus*, and continued at least till the joint reign of *Severus* and *Caracalla*: but this is later than a grandson of *Sofius Senecio* the consul can well be supposed to have lived; for *Sofius Senecio* was the fourth and last time consul in conjunction with *Licinius Sura* in the year 107, under the reign of *Trajan*; from whence to the beginning of the joint reign of *Severus* and *Caracalla* is little less than a century. For the same reason it is not so probable that the two emperors here intended, are *Severus* and *Caracalla*, but rather *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*; who, as well as the others, carried on a war with success against the *Britons*; and *Calpurnius Agricola* was their legate, whose name we meet with in some inscriptions found near the *Roman wall*. And as they begun to reign jointly above thirty years before the other two, that time suits better than the other. So that upon the whole, I take this monument to have been erected to the honour of the emperors *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, upon occasion of some victory they had gained over the northern *Britons* by *Calpurnius Agricola* their legate, in which this *Felix Senecio* had the command of the first wing of the *Asti*. The *Asti* according to *Pancirollus* were the inhabitants of *Asta* a colony in *Liguria*.^f *Asta* is mentioned by *Pliny* and others. No doubt they were distinct from the *Astures*, a people of *Spain*.

IX^β. THESE four inscriptions which follow are on stones built up in the walls of houses in the village of *Benwel*. This is a funeral monument, but imperfect, and has been much abused. I have given the best reading of it I could. It is now built up in the front of Mrs. *Lion's* house near the door. There appears something like a stop after the A in the last line; but yet I incline to read it *alae primae*, and most probably *Astorum*. For this was the only *ala prima* stationed on the principal line of the wall. This seems to be of the lower empire, and more strongly proves this fort to be the ancient *Condercum*.

IX^γ. THIS of *Peregrinus* is now built up in the fore wall of the house of *William Gill*.

IX^δ. THIS is very useful and curious; tho' it contains only the name of the *legio secunda Augusta*, and the number of the cohort, namely the tenth. For this farther confirms what I had from other reasons and inscriptions conjectured before, that this legion was employed on the east end of the wall, and this cohort of that legion in particular'. The sea-goat and *Pegasus* at the

^a N nota praenominis sola Numerium significat. De orat. Lib. n. p. 420. Ed. Putsch.

^b See *Cumberland inscrip.* N. LVI, LVII.

^c Thesaur. c. 24. p. 302.

^d See observations on the Yorkshire inscriptions after N. xviii.

^e Notit. Imp. occident. cap. 89.

^f See above, book I. ch. viii. pag. 130.

the top are not uncommon, and seem to denote the maritime situation of the country on the one hand, and the swiftness of the *Roman* victory on the other. There is a breach in the upper part of the stone, which was mistaken by a very learned antiquary for a *Roman vexillum*. And we have a *Roman vexillum* supported by a *Pegasus* and a sea-goat at *Little chesters* on the wall^a. This stone is now in the fore wall of the house of *Joseph Wallis* near the door.

IX^a. THIS of *Arrius* is in the back wall of the house of *Matthew Garret*, both the stone and letters are very coarse. *Arrius* is a *Roman* name; *Horace* has it once and again^b.

IX^c. This stone was found by the highway side near *Denton*, and is now in my own possession. *Herennius Herennianus* occurs in a remarkable inscription found in *Spain*, and published in the *Transactions*^c. The name on this stone is plainly *Herennianus*.

THIS station on *Benwel* hill has furnished a good many inscriptions, but I remember not to have seen or heard of any *Roman* coins found here. Nor can I say in the general that *Roman* coins are so frequent in the stations on the wall, as in some other places. But the fine urn which they now preserve in the library at *Durham* was found at this place. The cut of the letters in the inscriptions belonging to *Benwel* is tolerably good; and the inscriptions themselves are not so much perplexed with ligatures of letters, as those of later dates often are; tho' these are not wholly free from them.

X. THE three following are at a place upon the wall called *Walbotle*. This is a centurial inscription, which is now in the fore wall of a cow-house in this village. It contains nothing distinct but the character and name of the centurion.

XI. THIS contains only the number of the cohort. I believe there never has been any thing more inscribed on it, and am apt to think it was the eighth cohort of the *legio secunda Augusta*, the same with that before in the inscription at *East Denton*^d.

XII. THE inscriptions contained under this number are only some obscure and doubtful remains of numeral letters. The two first have most probably been VIII and IX, denoting the numbers of the cohorts. They are in the corner of a stone wall, through which a small brook passes a little west from the town. And of the same sort with these are the rest; but placed in several parts of the inside of the wall, which incloses the field. There were two or three more of the same sort and size, with number i upon them, and another also with number v, besides those which I have described.

XIII. THE next five inscriptions may be reduced to the station at *Rutcheſter*. At *Throckley* (which is nearer *Rutcheſter* than any other station) I had certain information from a mason, that some stones have been found there with the figures x and v upon them. These it is plain have been centurial also, and of the same sort with the others already described. This and the next are in the north side of *Severus's* wall at a part called *High-seat* between *Harlow* hill and *Rutcheſter*, but nearer to *Rutcheſter*. They were discovered and shewn me by a labouring man, whom I encouraged with a small reward to make search for more. This is a centurial inscription in the usual form. The centurion's name *Voconius* is visible, but the number of the cohort is effaced.

Rutcheſter.

XIV. THIS

^a See N. I. x.

^b Lib. II. fol. 3. v. 86.

^c N. 359.

^d N. IX.

XIV. THIS contains the number of the cohort, which might probably be one of those that carried on the work of the wall from *Walbotle* hither. It appeared first like XI, but it was easy to observe how the stone had been bedded and that it is now inverted. And indeed it is remarkable, that tho' we have all the intermediate numbers from one to ten, yet ten is never exceeded on such stones. This confirms them to be the numbers of the legionary cohorts.

XV. THERE is no appearance of letters on this stone at present, tho' by its shape and size it must have had an inscription upon it, and was most probably erected by some particular cohort.

XVI. IT may be doubtful whether this stone, with the figure like a building, ever had any inscription, tho' the stone with the inscription of *Blestius Diovicus* at *Risingham* is not unlike it in form^a. Whether the figure upon this has been the representation of some temple, or other building, I shall not venture to determine. The other under this same number represents only a stone chequered as usual in the *Roman* buildings. These two stones were discovered and shewn me by the schoolmaster of *Harlow* hill, who at my request took great pains to search all the stone walls thereabouts, and found these about half way between *High-seat* and *Harlow* hill, where they now remain.

UNDER this same number I have also represented another facing stone, now at *Harlow* hill, which I discovered the last time I rode that way. It has two figures on it; one is a little obscure, but has the appearance of an altar, as the other of an augural staff.

XVII. THE first under this number was found much about the same place, and is now in my own possession. It appeared at first sight to be plainly centurial, and of the usual form; but the implication of the letters is very odd, part of the letters of both the names being thrown together in the same cypher, in which no fewer than four or five letters are united: NIPRI. The name *Priscus* is in another centurial inscription at *Cousins's house*^b, and in two in *Cumberland*^c.

UNDER the same number I have included three other stones of the same sort, the one having *cohors tertia* upon it, and another a part of a centurion's name. These were found, and yet remain hereabouts; as was also the next, which has a peculiar figure upon it. I was told at *Harlow* hill of a stone with a single x upon it, but I could not recover the sight of it. 'Tis plain however that it has been of the same sort with the rest, and that the x denotes the tenth cohort.

Halton chesters.

XVIII. BETWEEN this and *Harlow* hill, at a *castellum* were found some urns; a piece of one of them I saw, which was coarse and whitish; but I met with no more inscriptions between this place and *Halton chesters*, to which station belong the two that follow. Besides which there is a very large altar in *Halton* church-yard, but nothing now visible upon it that is curious, nor any appearance of a letter. This is a curious and useful inscription, as it confirms this place to be the station of *Hunnum*, as I have shewn in its proper place^d. The cut of the letters is neither very good nor exact; nor are they very regular as to their magnitude or distances one from another, and the whole favours of the lower empire. The original of this inscription is now at *Conington*, and there are some defects in the copy which *Cambden* has given us^e; particularly the s in the beginning of the second line, and the imperfect letters

^a See Northumberland, N. xc.

^b N. iv.

^c N. xviii, xxii.

^d See book 1. chap. vii. pag. 105

^e Pag. 1087.

letters at the top are wholly omitted by him. *Noricus* is a *Roman* name, that occurs several times in *Gruter*. And the name *Messorius* is found also in an inscription at *Risingham* in this county^a. The *v* in *ALVE* is manifestly an *A* inverted by mistake. There appears but one *i* in *Sabinianae* connected with the last stroke of the *n*, which however must be sounded both before the *n* and after it, or else we must suppose the former *i* to be included in the preceding *B*, as before in the *R*. The mark at the bottom looked like a part of a letter, as if this stone had been parted from another, upon which there was some inscription, tho' perhaps it may be only an accidental flaw. *Cambden* supposes that *Sabina*, *Hadrian's* wife, gave the name to this *ala*^b. But it seems more probable to me, that it was taken from *Sabinia* the wife of the emperor *Gordian*^c, to whose time this inscription much better agrees.

THERE is another inscription in *Cambden* referred to this place, the original whereof I suppose is lost.

M. MARI
VS VELLI
A LONG
VS. AQVI
S HANC
POSVIT
V. S. L. M.

*Marcus Mari-
us Vellia [tribu]
Longus
eques
hanc [aram]
posuit
votum solvit libens merito.*^d

*d / should read
soluta libenter*

I take it for granted that *AQVIS* here is for *EQVES*, so *EQVIS* for *EQVES* we meet with in other instances; and perhaps an *A* for the *E* has been an error of the transcriber. This horseman might'also belong to the *ala Sabiniana*.

CAMBDEN says^e, " there was also dug up here a piece of an old stone, " wherein was drawn the portraiture of a man lying on a bed, leaning upon " his left hand, and resting his right hand upon his knee on the same side." The stone was plainly sepulchral, but whether it belonged to either of the preceding inscriptions is not expressly affirmed.

XIX. THIS is an imperfect inscription upon a broken stone in the possession of one of the tenants at *Halton*. When I first heard of it, I was in hopes it might have been some remains of one of the forementioned inscriptions. But it does not appear so, nor do I know what else to make of it.

XX. THE two next were found near the second milliary *castellum* west from *Portgate*. This was in the wall of an inclosure not far from that castle. It was erected by the century of *Statius Solon*, a centurion of the sixth cohort, probably of the sixth legion, called *victorious*; which legion erected the following inscription.

XXI. THIS was at *Beaufront*, when I copied it. There is nothing particularly remarkable in it, except the uneven position of the letters.

XXII. THE next place upon the wall where we meet with any *Roman* inscriptions or sculptures, is the station *Cilurnum*, now called *Chesters*, and for distinction's sake *East chesters* or *Walwick chesters*. And to this place belong the five following; all which, except N. XXV, have been removed to *Walwick grange*, and remain there, which is distant about half a mile from the *chesters*. This is but a coarse, though I think a curious sculpture, which has never, that I know of, been published before. It is in the fore wall of a cow-house at *Walwick grange*. I first imagined it to have been sepulchral, as most of the other inscriptions and sculptures are, which belong to this

^a N. LXXXVII. For the meaning of the word *duplaris* used here, see N. XCV. ^b Pag. 1044.

^c See Cumberland inscriptions, N. LV. ^d Pag. 1087.

this place. But if it be the mother of the gods, who is here represented, or any other principal deity, the stone has probably been of a more publick nature, and not a sepulchral monument for any particular person. There is a broken stone with an imperfect sculpture upon it at *Corbridge*, which I take to be of the same nature^a. The sculpture represents a female seated, holding a key in her right hand, and I think a *thyrsus* or *hasta* in her left; and on the other part of the stone an human figure lying along, and a lion with one of his paws gently raising up the head. The lion respects *Cybele* the mother goddess, and the *thyrsus* and *hasta* are her common symbols, and sometimes the key^b. And I am of opinion that this is the figure of *Cybele* the *Syrian* goddess; for as *Montfaucon* observes^c, “*Dea Syria* was one of the most celebrated names “ of *Cybele*; and she was so called, because much or chiefly worshipped in “ *Syria*. The symbols were the same, a towered head, lions, a *tympanum*, “ *thyrsus*, &c.” This sculpture then may very probably represent *Cybele*, for both the key and the *thyrsus* were her symbols, by one of which was denoted the opening of the earth, and by the other the producing of wine. And as we have an altar at *Little chesters* devoted to her, this may still render it more probable. And if it be *Cybele*, who is here represented, the lion that is gently raising up the head of the human figure, may signify the revival of man by the spring, and produce of the earth; or by the wine and fruits it affords: for the lion does not seem to be in a devouring posture, but rather guarding or cherishing. In the sculpture at *Corbridge* the reviving figure has not been human, but some other animal; and the produce of the earth restores, and cherishes, both man and beast.

XXIII. THE figure at the top of this stone is no doubt that of one of the women deceased. The F in the fourth line is reversed, as the A was before, N. XVIII. and the s in the inscription at *Hexham*^d. The first letter in the last line I have represented, as it appeared upon washing the stone. It is plainly an F, tho’ Mr. *Gordon* has made VA of it, and VAVRIO of the name^e. This person was brother to the party (not named) who erected this monument, as is intimated by the word *germanus*.

XXIV. IN *Cambden*^f this is called a fine statue of a naked man on horseback; but Mr. *Gordon* says more justly, that both this and the former, as to their sculpture, are very ill executed, and therefore refers them to the lower times of the empire^g. The letters DM prove this also to be a sepulchral monument, and the figure shews that the deceased belonged to the horse, and therefore probably was one of the *ala secunda Astorum*, which in the lower empire kept garrison at *Cilurnum*, as the *Notitia* informs us. *Suillius* is among the consular names. *M. Suillius Rufus* was consul in the year 50, according to the *Fasti consulares*. It is therefore very probable that this name may have been designed for *Marcus Suillius Victor*. The sword in the right hand of the image seems to be of the *Dacian* form^h. In copying both these monuments I was obliged in some things to differ from Mr. *Gordon*’s representation. They were found, as I was told, in a field called the *Ox-clofe*, that lies between *Walwick grange* and the *chesters*.

XXV. THIS is a fine altar, but the inscription by being exposed to the weather is so defaced, that only I. O. M. at the top are intelligible; whereby it appears to have been dedicated to *Jupiter optimus maximus*. There are the traces of two or three more letters below, but nothing can be made of them. The altar has on one side a *praefericulum*. There was also another altar just beside this, but not the least mark of any letter discernible upon it. Both the altars are

^a See N. civ.

^b Isidor. l. viii. c. ii. §. De diis gentium.

^c Tom. i. part. i. liv. i. chap. 3.

^d N. cviii.

^e It. Sept. p. 72. plate 31. n. 1.

^f Pag. 1054.

^g It. Sept. pag. 73.

^h See Montfaucon, tome iv. part. i. liv. i. ch. 12.

are much of the same size, and the nature of the stones much harder and finer than usual. They were found at the *chesters*, and removed from thence to this place. The want of visible inscriptions upon them is, I suppose, the reason why no notice has been taken of them before.

XXVI. THIS altar was also at the same place, but carried off to *Hexham* by Mr. *Warburton*, and from thence with the rest to *Durham*, where it continues. It has only been published before in Mr. *Warburton's* map of *Northumberland*. I take it to have been erected to the *Dii Manes* by *Fabius Honoratus* and *Aurelia Eglectiane*, the parents of *Fabia Honorata* deceased. I suppose the letter E is wanting at the beginning of the sixth line. *Eglectiane* has certainly been of *Grecian* extract. It is needless to observe that this termination is common in *Greek* names, even when latinized in other respects. This makes it more probable that the *Honoratus* mentioned here is the same with him in N. XCIV^a, and may help us to account for the *Greek* inscriptions, and the *Greek* construction^a and names in some *Latin* ones, found hereabouts.

^a What Greek construction is in the inscription?

XXVII. THIS and the two following inscriptions are all of the centurial fort and found near *Towertay*, almost half way between the two forts. Possibly the last name in this is *Bitalis* for *Vitalis*.

XXVIII. THIS as well as the preceding was lying loose at the foot of an exploratory turret near the cottage called *Towertay*.

XXIX. THIS was built up in a stone wall about a furlong south-west from the same cottage. Two of these at least seem to be different from all those published by Dr. *Hunter* in the *Transactions*^a. The centurial mark is visible in them all, but I cannot with certainty make out any of the names.

XXX. THIS was in the face of the *Roman* wall, about a furlong west from *Towertay*, and near an exploratory turret. It is one of those which has been published in the *Transactions* by Dr. *Hunter*^b. Nor is there any difference between the two copies, except in a single letter of the centurion's name. The letters are plain tho' coarse; and the sixth cohort at the head is very distinct.

XXXI. THIS is built up in the inner wall of the cottage at *Towertay*, and the weaver's loom, who lives in the cottage, set up against it; so that it was with difficulty that any part of it could be seen. I perceived that it must be the same which was published by Dr. *Hunter* in the *Transactions*^c, being a small monument erected by the sixth cohort in that *loco suavi*; as the doctor reads and explains it, who observed to me also the peculiarity of connecting the o and c together in such a manner. I once suspected that it might be *Laus Suavis*. The original favours the other reading. But I rather incline to Mr. *Ward's* opinion, that it is to be read *Logus Suavis*; both which names occur several times in *Gruter*; and there might probably be a designed ambiguity in cutting the first name. When the doctor copied this, it was with the others in the face of the wall.

DR. *HUNTER*^d has given us more of these inscriptions; but I could not find the originals. Two of them are thus, according to his description:

COH X
IVNRV

COH VI
OLI BE
M. S.

These must have been erected by centuries or centurions of the sixth and tenth

^a N. 278.
^b Ibid.

^c N. 278.
^d Ibid.

tenth cohorts, tho' the names of them are not compleat, and therefore uncertain. The centurial mark is not expressed in the copy of the first, tho' I doubt not it has been in the original. The second looks like the inscription, N. XXVII. and I imagined it must be the same when I came to compare it more nearly.

THE doctor has added two more, consisting each of a line ;

ELIVLIANI and JCVSINIO.

I think there is no doubt but these also must have been the names of centurions, the former in the genitive, and the latter in the nominative case ; both which are usual. I suppose the first has had the centurial mark prefixed to it, tho' then effaced, or else overlooked by the doctor ; and I think his name must have been *Flavius Julianus*.

THERE are two others, which consist only of two letters each, tho' the centurial mark appears I think in them both :

OPP and ORb

These, I suppose, have been some remaining letters or appearances of letters in the names of these centurions.

Carrawburgh.

XXXII. THIS and the three following belong to *Carrawburgh*, of which this altar, dedicated to the goddess *Fortune*, is the most curious and valuable, because by mentioning the *cohors prima Batavorum*, it confirms this station to be *Procolitia*. This inscription was published several years ago by Mr. *Thoresby* in the *Philosophical Transactions*^a, by a copy he had received from Dr. *Cay* of *Newcastle*. It is also taken from thence, and inserted in *Cambden's Britannia*^b. Mr. *Warburton* has it also in his map of *Northumberland*, tho' the latter part of it is much confused in his copy. However we are obliged to this gentleman for the certain account of its being found at *Carrawburgh* or very near it. For by the account in the *Transactions*, " that it was taken out of the *Roman wall* not far " from *Collerton* or *Chollerton*," one would have imagined it to have belonged rather to *Walwick chesters*. It was removed by Mr. *Warburton* from *Carraw* to *Hexham*, and from thence to *Durham*, where it now is. The altar is still entire, and the inscription easy enough to be read. I have read the commander's name *Melaccinius*, as it had been read before. Dr. *Hunter* reads it *Marcus Flaccinius*, but on a review I still thought the second letter in the last line but one to be rather an E. It is remarkable that this altar has no *focus*.

MR. *WARBURTON* in his map of *Northumberland* gives us the draught of another small altar and inscription upon it ; but a great part of the figure, particularly the representation of the emperor sacrificing, was added by himself. The inscription runs thus : DEO VETERI VOTVM VCCVSVL. I doubt not but instead of VETERI it has been VITIRI in the original, being the same local deity that we often meet with elsewhere^c. And *Uccusius* (if the word has been rightly transcribed which I very much question) must be the name of the person, whose votive altar this has been. I cannot certainly learn what is become of the original.

XXXIII. This inscription is curious enough of the sort, being a sepulchral stone, or an altar without any *focus* at the top, erected to the *Dii Manes* by *Tranquilla Severa* for her and hers. The stone was removed by Mr. *Warburton* to *Hexham*, and afterwards to *Durham*, where it now remains. The inscription is inserted in that gentleman's map of *Northumberland*, and also in Mr. *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*^d. The principal curiosity in the form or manner of the letters is the expression of the v and i together like a y ; tho' it is only placing the v above the i, as is very evident both from the original and

^a N. 231.

^b Pag. 1082.

^c See *Durham*, N. vi.

^d Pag. 95.

and the draught I have given of it: for in the fourth line there is a visible distance or separation between them, tho' it is not so in the second; which, with some other small matters, has been overlooked in the copies published before. The letters are strong and well cut, tho' involved and connected. The name *Tranquila* I find in this and other inscriptions with a single L.

XXXIV. THIS stone contains only an human figure, which Mr. Gordon supposes to represent a man ^a. But to me the face appeared rather to be female. I took the stone to have been sepulchral, like that at *Watwick grange* ^b, and the image may possibly have been the above-mentioned *Tranquila Severa*.

XXXV. THIS is an inscription of the centurial sort, that has not been regarded before. It is upon a broken stone lying at the doot of one of the houses at *Carrawburgh*. There was another in the outside of an old garden wall, at the north-east corner, on which the centurial mark was likewise visible and plain; but the rest was so doubtful, that it is not worth while to give the draught of it.

XXXVI. THESE sixteen which follow are the inscriptions and sculptures that belong to the famous station at *Housesteads*. There may be two or three other stations in *Britain* (as *Burdoswald Elenborough* and *Lanchester*) that exceed this in number of inscriptions; but none I think equal it as to the extent of the ruins of the town, or the number, variety, and curiosity of the sculptures, which yet remain here. This and the next are curious inscriptions upon two fine altars. There is a hill, or large ruinous heap, distant about two or three furlongs to the south from this station, which is supposed to be the ruins of a considerable temple, and is now called the *Chapel-hill*, a name which I have often observed to be given to such remains of *Roman* buildings. Here were these two altars dug up, and here they were lying when I saw them, fully exposed (as are all the curiosities in this place) to the injuries of the weather, whereby these fine and fair inscriptions are already rendered more faint and obscure, and must in time be intirely effaced. The inscriptions were, not long after the first discovery of them, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* by Dr. *Hunter* ^c, and lately again by Mr. *Gordon* ^d. They are also in *Cambden's Britannia* ^e. The unusual shape of the I in the capital is remarkable. As to the words NVMINIBVS AVGVSTI, nothing more need be added here, to what I have said before upon the inscription at *Benwell* ^f. The *Tungri* mentioned in this and the following inscriptions were a people of *Belgic Gaul*.

Housesteads.

XXXVII. IT is plain by the tenour of this inscription, that I. O. M. *Jovis optimo maximo*, was placed in the capital, as well as it appears to be in that of the former, tho' nothing of this nature appears in any of the copies which have been published before. But upon a close view of the original, I plainly discovered the I, but could perceive neither O nor M. This however inclines me to charge this defect rather on time and the weather, than upon the workman. But without these letters, 'tis evident that the sense of the inscription is not compleat; the E R, with which it begins on the plane of the altar, necessarily supposing somewhat on the capital. On one side of this altar is a *praefericulum*, and on the other a *patera*, each included in a waved ornament. I dare not venture positively to say these inscriptions are as old as *Antoninus Pius*. Tho' I know of no other in this form, but these here at *Housesteads*, and that upon the altar at *Benwell* ^f, which last expressly mentions this emperor. Nor do I think that any objection against this antiquity of them can be taken from the cut of the letters, or the numeral stroke above the

^a Itin. Septent. p. 75.

^b N. xxiii.

^c N. 278.

^d Itin. Sept. p. 75.

^e Pag. 1671.

^f N. vii.

^g Ibid.

the 1, which have nothing in them that favours the lower times. I only add, that some gentlemen chuse to read these inscriptions, *cohortis primae Tungrorum milites*.

XXXVIII. MR. GORDON says there were five or six altars within the ruins of this temple^a. I saw no more here but the two preceding; the rest which that gentleman describes, were with a good many more sculptures and altars lying at the bottom of a field south-east of the station, in which field remain the visible ruins of streets and buildings. Between this ruinous hill and the *Roman* town, not far from the hill, lay a large and very fine altar, but the inscription entirely gone. I have given a representation of one side of it, because the *patera* and ornaments about it seemed to be singular. Perhaps the circle and cross line at bottom may represent the place of the *patera* in the temple.

XXXIX. THIS with the nine following inscriptions and sculptures were lying, as I said before, at the foot of the field, where the *Roman* town stood; and most of them were also erected by the same cohort of the *Tungrians*, and this in particular when under the same prefect, or at least one of the same name, as N. XXXVII, namely *Quintus Julius Maximus*. The letters I. O. M. at the top were obscure, and have been overlooked by Mr. Gordon. The vs in the fifth line were visible enough, and no doubt are the last letters in the word MAXIMVS. And probably the word *praefectus* has followed, but this is effaced. The letters are not so large, or so well cut, as in the former inscriptions.

XL. THIS next is erected to the god *Mars* by *Quintus Florius Maternus* prefect of the same cohort. The globe on the base of the altar is remarkable, and the letter A is without a transverse. The inscription is well cut, and has nothing of the lower empire in it.

XLI. PROBABLY this may be later than the former. It is dedicated to *Hercules* by the same cohort, under a new commander *Publius Aelius Modestus*. Nothing more is remarkable in it.

XLII. THIS following is to the *deae matres*. The name of the cohort is very plain and distinct, and part of the word *matribus*, but the rest is obliterated. Only half of a v appears in the under line, which I take to be the v in the last syllable of *Tungrorum*. But the commander's name, if it ever has been mentioned, is not now visible. These *matres* are supposed to have been local deities, and worshipped at this place^b. In the *Cumberland* inscriptions, and others of *Britain*, we meet with *matres tramarinae*, *matres domesticae*, *matres campestris*, and sometimes *matres* alone; all which I shall consider as they occur.

XLIII. THERE is still another fine altar here, erected to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, and I believe by the same cohort, tho' the names both of the commander and cohort are now destroyed by the weather; and only part of the word *praefectus* left visible upon the plane of the stone. I cannot find that this altar has been published before.

I FOUND another altar lying in the same place, of much the same size and shape with that dedicated to *Mars*, but no legible inscription upon it; for which reason I have not given the draught.

MR. *WARBURTON* has given us a funeral inscription at this place in his map of *Northumberland*, which I could no where meet with upon the strictest enquiry. According to his representation it is thus:

D M

^a Itin. Sept. p. 75.

^b See N. XLVIII, XLIX, L.

D M
HVRMIO
LE VBASNI
MIL C^OHI
TVNGROR
BE PRÆF
CAPVRIS
HER-EC

This copy is without doubt incorrect, tho' the main design is obvious enough. The same cohort of the *Tungrians* is plainly mentioned, and enough beside to shew that it was now under a different commander from any of those whose names occur in the former inscriptions. I imagine we must read it *Dis Manibus Hurmio Leubasnius miles cohortis primae Tungrorum cui praeest* (perhaps *Capurnus* or *Capurnius*) *haeredes fecerunt*. It is plain that this may justly be reckoned among the inscriptions in which the name of this cohort distinctly appears under five different commanders, besides two or three more, which are doubtful by reason of their being effaced. These inscriptions strongly prove this place to be *Borcovicus*, the station upon the wall, where according to the *Notitia* this cohort was in garrison.

XLIV. BESIDES the inscriptions already mentioned, there is one more, which is upon a piece of an altar, the upper part being broken off and lost. This is also lying at the same place, where the others are, that I have just now described. It has been published in the *Philosophical Transactions* by Dr. Hunter^a, and more lately by Mr. Gordon^b. But in both, the remains of two imperfect letters in the break at the top are neglected. And yet I take these to be material, because the last is plainly the half of an inverted c, the usual mark of a century or centurion. But the name of this centurion of the sixth legion, and the god to whom the altar was dedicated, are gone. The inscription, as to this part of the form of it, may be compared with the altars and inscriptions upon them at *Benwel*^c. I read *LL libentissime*, because it is supported by the best authorities, and seems also the most easy and natural. Some chuse to read *libens lubens*, as the words occur at length in some inscriptions; and others read *libens laetus*, from the expression of *Cloanthus* in his vow:

*Dî, quibus imperium pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
Vobis LAETUS ego hoc candentem in littore taurum
Constituam ante aras voti reus^a.*

But I keep to the usual reading. Sometimes we have *MM*, which must be read *meritissimo*.

*α Do they ever
together? The
show is not
perceptive. B
the inscription
altar at York is
Trans. v. XLVIII*

XLV. AT this place also are several curious sculptures, most of which are described by Mr. Gordon^c, and in the main very justly. But the account we have of them in *Cambden's Britannia*^d seems to me not so exact. For what is there called a *Mercury*, is plainly a *Victory*. And we are told of the statues of *Jupiter*, *Bacchus*, and a *Flamen*, which, by all I can possibly discern, are only the figures of two *Roman* soldiers, and three female figures supposed to be the *deae matres* or *campestres*. This first is a *Victory* standing upon a globe, winged and with the usual drapery. The sculpture is good in *alto relievo*, and the figure is placed within a nich.

XLVI. THIS is also in *alto relievo*, being the figure of a *Roman* soldier at length, in the usual military dress; his bow in his left hand, and his poniard in his right; his sword hung by his side at his girdle;^e and his quiver with arrows behind his right shoulder. This figure also stands within a nich.

XLVII.

*α Josephus tells
the Roman so-
were two soldiers
on the left side,
other on the right
former of which was the
the other not being above
span long. De Ant. J. c. 11*

^a N. 278.

^b It. Sept. p. 76. plate 47. n. 5. at p. 81.

^c N. vii, &c.

^d Virg. Aen. v. 235.

^e It. Sept. p. 76, 77.

^f Pag. 1053.

XLVII. THIS is the figure of another soldier in his accoutrements, but somewhat imperfect. His two belts are visible crossing each other, agreeable to the description of *Ajax's* armour in *Homer*^a. The broader belt over the right shoulder must have been that of the shield, as we learn from the same poet^b.

XLVIII. THESE are three female figures seated. The draught here given was taken from the originals, which plainly appear naked up to the knees; and therefore I know not the reason why Mr. *Gordon*, who published them before, has drawn them with their legs covered down to the ankles^c. These are not improbably supposed to be local goddesses, or the *deae matres* or *campestres*. We have three female figures represented together at two other places in this *Roman* station, which I shall describe in their order. The vessels which these three have in their hands appear not unlike the *calathus* or *modius* on the heads of *Serapis* and *Fortune*, and oft upon the heads of the *Roman* emperors; which may favour the opinion of their being the *deae campestres*, who in these parts had the care of corn and country affairs, and were supposed to give plenty. Whether these vessels be of that sort, or whether they represent those in which the *sortes* or lots were cast (which also might be a proper attribute of the *deae matres*^d) and whether their being three in number has any relation to the number of the *Parcae*, I shall leave to others to explain. Perhaps their savage dress may have some reference to that madness which was always ascribed to the *matres* or antient prophetesses.

XLIX. ABOUT a furlong or less to the east, near the side of a brook and close to a hedge, are three other female figures seated, each in a separate chair. Mr. *Gordon* takes notice of two only^e, but a third was also lying near the others covered with grass and bushes. The heads and hands are broken off from all the three and the drapery is somewhat different in each of them. I have endeavoured to represent them exactly as they appear in the originals, and shall here subjoin the following explication of them by Mr. *Ward*.

“Tis well known that every heathen nation and state had anciently their peculiar deities, to whom in a more especial manner they addressed themselves, and whose images were set up in their temples. But as these deities could not change the settled order of things decreed by the fates; when the time approached for the destruction of any state or city, they are represented as leaving it. So *Aeneas* thus accosts his companions, the night Troy was taken:

also that of

Quae sit rebus fortuna videtis,
Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat^f.

And when *Josephus* tells us, that before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, upon the festival called the *Pentecoste*, the priests having entered the inner temple to perform their usual service, first heard, as they said, a motion and rushing noise, and afterwards a voice of many together, *Let us depart*.

Τῷ βαδύω πλαυῶνι περὶ εἰδῶσι τιτῶδω,
ἦτοι δ' αὖτ' αἰκῶ, δ' ὅ παρῶνι ἀργυρῶν.
Il. ε. 404.

But there no pass the crossing belts afford,
One brace'd his shield, and one sustain'd his sword.
Pope.

Ἀψ' ἐπὶ τυφάδῳ ἐπιταίνετο χαμπύλα τέλα,
καὶ δάλα' ἐπιταίνετο, πυχῶν κτ' ἀξιδὼν δ' αὖτ'
Θρησκῶ γυμῶν
Τυφάδῳ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖσι διὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
ἔδρε ὅ τιν' αὖτ' ἀνακτα παρ' ἰσποισιν καὶ ὄχλῳ
ἔλκε ἀναψύχοντα, τὸ μιν δάλα Πάνδαρος ἰδὼ
ἰδῶν γὰρ μιν ὄταρην ὑπὸ πλατῆσι πλαμῶν
Ἀσπιδῶ σὺνδῶν.
Il. ε. 97. 793. 3

To cool his glowing wound he sat apart,
(The wound inflicted by the Lycian dart)
Large drops of sweat from all his limbs descend,
Beneath his ponderous shield his sinews bend,
Whose ample belt thus o'er his shoulder lay,
He eas'd; and wash'd the clogged gore away.
Pope.

^a It. Sept. plate 36. pag. 76.

^b See the passage of *Horace*, quoted before in the explication of *deae matres*, p. 202.

Quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna.

Sat. 9. lib. 1. v. 30.

^c It. Sept. p. 77. plate 39.

^d Virg. Aen. II. 350.

“ *part hence*”; tho’ he does not go so far in complaisance to the *Romans*,
 “ as to say whose voice this was; yet *Tacitus*, who very probably took his
 “ account from him, relates it agreeably to the *Roman* theology at that time.
 “ His words are these: The doors of the inner temple flew open on a sud-
 “ dain, and a voice greater than humane was heard, The gods are departing,
 “ attended with a great noise of their going out^b. *Josephus* had just before
 “ mentioned the first part of this miracle relating to the doors of the temple,
 “ but not as happening at the same time. But it was customary with the
 “ *Romans*, before they attacked any city, that they might not offend the deities,
 “ to invite them out of it by their priests, who promised them the like, or a
 “ more pompous worship at *Rome*^c. And *Macrobius* has given us the form
 “ of words used by the priests on that occasion^d. Now as these people ima-
 “ gined the deities had a peculiar regard for their statues, which they set up
 “ in their temples, and really inhabited them^e; so the poet *Sophocles* in one
 “ of his plays had introduced the gods carrying off their own images upon
 “ their shoulders, when they saw *Troy* was taken. That play is not now ex-
 “ tant, but we are told this by the scholiast upon *Aeschylus*^f. Fancying there-
 “ fore that while they retained the images, this would be a means to secure
 “ the presence and protection of their gods, they sometimes chained them
 “ down, or otherwise fastened them in the temples. This seems to have
 “ been a very ancient custom, for ’tis not improbable that the prophet *Isaiah*
 “ refers to it, when he says: The workman melteth a graven image
 “ and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and casteth silver chains^g.
 “ And thus *Pausanias* informs us, that the *Spartans* chained down the
 “ image of their god *Enyalios* or *Mars*; as the *Athenians* kept an image of
 “ *Victory* without wings, both for the same reason, that they might not de-
 “ fert them. He mentions likewise a statue of *Venus Morpho* among the
 “ *Spartans*, whose feet were fettered^h. And *Curtius* relates, that when *Tyre*
 “ was besieged by *Alexander*, one of the citizens having reported in public,
 “ that *Apollo*, whom they worshipped very devoutly, appeared to him in his
 “ sleep, as leaving the city, they bound his image with a golden chain to
 “ the altar of *Hercules*, who was the guardian deity of their city, that he
 “ might keep *Apollo* among themⁱ. This custom of binding images was
 “ sometimes practised also by the *Romans*, and continued among them very
 “ late. So *Heliogabalus* is reported to have taken an image out of the tem-
 “ ple of *Vesta*, which he thought was the *Palladium*, and placed it in the
 “ temple of his own god, bound with a chain of gold^k. This practice
 “ therefore, I suppose, was designed to be expressed by the cords, as they
 “ seem to be, round the legs of the middle figure of the three before us.
 “ ’Tis very probable from the posture of the arms, that when intire, they had
 “ something in their hands, and perhaps the same kind of vessel, as the
 “ three above; so that these likewise, may be three more of the *deae matres*.
 “ ’Tis remarkable that the figure which is bound is larger than any of the
 “ rest. This might be the principal deity among them, and for that reason
 “ none of the rest might be confined; because the securing her might be
 “ thought a sufficient inducement for the rest to stay, who from their regard
 “ to her would not move without her. I am inclined to think these six
 “ figures

6 The gods of Tyre
 Epheesus was bound
 the same manner,
 near by for image
 case, which has been
 described from some
 and fastened to the g
 See Vaillant Hist.
 Ins. Rom. Græc. p.

a Child of Rome
 speaking of the
 deities of Tyre: Si
 mundi iussu
 putantur, q
 foris his op
 quid infelic
 rit, quam e
 casibus ita u
 fluit, et plu
 vinctiōis? &

^a Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἰορτῶν, ἢ πυντικῶν χαλῶται, ὑκτῶν
 οἱ ἱερεῖς παραδόντες αἰς τὸ ἕνδον ἱερῶν, ὡς περ αὐτοῖς
 ἔδωκεν ἡν, πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσας
 ἀνπλασίδας ἔφεσαν καὶ κτύπον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ φωνῆς
 ἀδελφῆς. Μεταβαίναμεν ἐν ἰσίδιον. De B. J. Lib. vi.
 cap. 5. §. 3.

^b Expansæ repente delubri fores, et audita major
 humana vox, Excedere deos: simul ingens motus
 excedentium. Hist. lib. v. cap. 13.

^c Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat,
 in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Roma-
 nis sacerdotibus vocari deum, cujus in tutela id
 oppidum esset, promittique illi eundem, aut am-

pliozem apud Romanos cultum. Plin. N. H.
 xxvii. 2. See likewise Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. 61.

^d Saturnal. iii. 9. and Livy v. 21.

^e Vid. Arnobium. lib. vi.

^f Ἐρεται ἐν Ποιοφρεσι Σοφοκλῆς, ὡς δὲ θεοὶ
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄμων τὰ ταυτὰν ἔθρανα,
 οἰδύτης δὲ ἀλίσκαται. In Ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπὶ Θέσταις.

^g Chap. xl. 19.

^h Aekov. p. 97. ed. 1583.

ⁱ Lib. iv. cap. 3.

^k Lamprid. in vit. Et auro vinctum in sui dei
 templo collocavit.

“ figures were originally placed in some temple built in the *Roman* town
 “ adjoining to this station, together with the three following, whom I do
 “ not take to be deities, but rather priestesses, two of which hold some sort
 “ of vessel in their right hand as a symbol of their office. The difference of
 “ their habit seems to favour this opinion, as likewise that of their posture;
 “ for they are standing, which is the posture of attendants; but the others sit,
 “ which was always esteemed a posture of majesty.”

At this place too there lies a broken altar of the larger size, but no visible letters upon it.

L. IN the station itself, and against a hedge, were three other female figures, but standing, which are published likewise by Mr. *Gordon*^a. The sea-goat and two fishes above must probably have some reference to *Britain's* being an island. The sea-goat occurs in some other sculptures found in the north^b. The vessels which these hold in their hands don't appear like the *Patera*. They may possibly be intended for vases of the same sort with those in the hands of the three sitting, only in another position. If they are the vessels into which the *sortes* were put, these figures may represent the action of throwing them out. It may not be amiss to observe here that *Virgil*, in the prophecy of *Helenus*, uses the expression *sortiri fata* for the decrees of heaven.

Sic fata deum rex

Sortitur^c.

In the sculpture inscribed DEABVS MAIRABVS in *Montfaucon*^d, the goddesses are represented standing, in an attitude not very unlike these. The middle figure there holds fruit, either in a vessel or in the folding of her garment; the figure on the right holds a vessel, which *Montfaucon* calls a *patera*^e; and she on the left holds a branch downwards. That great antiquary observes, that the ancients usually made three of those goddesses that were worshipped in the plural number, whether good or bad; as the *Gorgons*, the *Graecae*, the daughters of *Phorcus*, as also the *Parcae*, the *Sirenes*, the *Harpyies*, the *Hesperides*, the *Stymphalides*, the *Graces*, nay even the *Sibyls*, and the *Muses* according to the most ancient authors^f.

LI. MR. GORDON, when upon the spot with Baron *Clerk*, dug up from the ruins of the *Roman* town here, a small statue of a soldier in the *Roman* military habit, holding a spear in his right hand, and resting with his left upon a shield^g. This is now in the Baron's collection.

THERE are also in the same honourable person's collection two other small altars found here; but as they have no inscriptions, or any thing remarkable about them, I have not given the draughts.

BESIDES all these there are likewise several other pieces of sculptures, altars, pedestals, and pillars, scattered here and there; and one piece of a fine channelled pillar lying in the midst of the station. But it would not be worth while to give the figures of them.

THERE is one inscription more which belongs to this place, that was published

^a It. Sept. plate 39. p. 77.

^b See that at Cambeck. Cumberland, N. xxxii. and Scotland, N. ii.

^c Aen. iii. 375.

^d Tom. ii. pl. cxii. fig. 3.

^e Suppl. a tome i. liv. vi. c. 7.

^f R. Fabrettus de aqueductibus. p. 107. observat post Ausonium idyllio xi. cujus titulus est *Gryphus*, deas illas, quae plures simul colebantur, terno ut plurimum numero fuisse; ut exempli causa *Gorgones* seu *furiae*, *Graecae* *Reginae*, sorores earum *Phorci* filiae, quarum nomina erant *Pa-*

phredo, *Enyo* et *Dion*; quas commemorat *Hesiodus* in *Theogonia*, et *Aeschylus* in *Prometheo*—*Parcae* quoque tres numero erant, ut *Sirenes*, *Harpyiae*, *Hesperides*, *Stymphalides*, *Gratae*; imo etiam *Sibyllae*, ut in eodem idyllio refert *Ausonius*. *Musae* quoque secundum vetustissimos auctores tres erant, ut in capite *Musarum* primo *Antiquitar.* expl. tomo retulimus.— Hinc compertum veteres illos profanos, illas feminas deas, seu bonas, seu malas et exitiosas monstrosasque tres simul libenter posuisse. Id. ibid.

^g It. Sept. plate 37. p. 77.

published in the *Transactions*^a by Dr. *Hunter* several years ago. The doctor says, the stone lay against a hedge at about a quarter of a mile's distance. And I my self saw a stone in a hedge, which I believed to have had a sepulchral inscription upon it, and at nearly this distance; but there was not one letter visible upon it. The inscription was imperfect when the doctor saw it, who has given it thus:

NI VENO RI	... ni Venotrionis [filio]
G OFERSIONIS	g . . Oferfionis
ROMVLO ALIMAH	Romulo Alimahionis
MANSVETIO SENICIONI	Mansuetio Senecionis
REVINCE QVARTIONIS	Revincio Quartionis
ERESI PROCVRAVIT. DELF	erigi procuravit Delfius
VS RAVTIONIS. EX. G. S.	Rautionis ex gratia sua.

I imagine this to have been a sepulchral monument, erected for several persons whose fathers names ended in IO, as well perhaps as some of their own. I am apt to think these remaining lines must have been read as above. Mr. *Ward* disliking the expression *ex gratia sua*, chuses to read *ex Germania superiori*.

DR. *STUKELY* had the cast of a bust (I suppose of the common sepulchral kind) which he saw at this place; but the original is not now to be found.

LII. THE next station upon the wall, and the next place where any inscriptions are found, is *Little chesters*. But before I give an account of the originals, which I saw and examined, I must observe, that there is one which seems to have been the most curious and useful, the inscription whereof is now quite destroyed. This stone was some years ago removed from *Little chesters* to *Beltingham*, where the masons wrought it up for a gravestone, and utterly destroyed the inscription. I went on purpose to see it, but all I could do upon viewing it, was to take the dimensions, as they now are. I found it to be about two yards long, and about three quarters of a yard broad. I have given the cut of it, as also the inscription which Dr. *Hunter* published from the original^b, but in my own measures.^c The inscription is curious and useful upon a double account, both as it has probably contained the name of the *cohors quarta Gallorum*, and so proves this place to be *Vindolana*; and also as it seems to me to mention a new *propraetor*, *Claudius Xenophon*, whose name I remember not to have met with elsewhere, either in inscriptions or history; for I am persuaded that the three last words in the fifth line have been LEG AVG. PRPR . . . and what is wanting in the last line has been the name of the person who took care of the work. The towers here mentioned might be some of those upon the ramparts of the station, which are still very visible. Dr. *Hunter* says the field, where this inscription was found, goes by the name of the *Bower*. The title *optimo principi*, together with the name of a new legate, who does not occur in any history, would incline one to ascribe the monument to *Trajan*, during whose reign the *Roman* historians are silent as to *Britain*; but as there is nothing in this inconsistent with several of the succeeding reigns,^d and it is doubted whether the *Romans* had any considerable footing here in *Trajan's* time, we cannot fix the date of this inscription with any certainty.

Little chesters.

x There must be wanting at the end of this inscription the words *opus* *propraetoris* *Claudii* *Xenophoni* *legati* *augustini* *legionis* *quarta* *Gallorum* *procuratoris* *Delphici* *ex gratia* *sua*.

c The title *optimo principi* is of the coins of *Constantine* *Pius* and other succeeding emperors.

LIII. IT is plain from *Cambden's* own account of his journey, that he went no farther along the wall eastward, than a little beyond *Carrvoran*, where the wall is still highest, and in the greatest perfection. After which he turned down to the river *Tine*, and went along or near the present high road. His words are: "From hence [*Carrvoran*] the wall bends about by *Iverton*, " *Forsten*, and *Chester on the wall* near *Busy-gap*, noted for robberies, where " we heard there were forts; but durst not go and view them, for fear of the " moss-troopers. This *Chester* we were told was very large, insomuch as I

^a N. 278.

^b *Philos. Transact.* N. 278.

^c guess

“guess it to be the station of the second cohort of the *Dalmatians*, which the *Notitia* calls *Magna*; where may be read the following inscription.” This inscription is the following^b, and the description of the place agrees to *House-steeds*; tho’ ’tis plain that *Great chesters*, *Little chesters*, and *House-steeds*, must be the forts he refers to. He mentions likewise this inscription, which he says was then at the little hamlet of *Melkrigg*; but now both are at *Conington*, and I am much inclined to believe both belong to *Little chesters*: for this is much nearer the river *Tine*, upon which the village of *Melkrigg* stands. *Melkrigg-sheel* is a different place, and upon the very wall. However I shall give an account of both the inscriptions here, and leave the reader to refer them to which of the places he pleases. That which is now before us, is upon an altar erected to the *Syrian* goddess. *Lucian* among the antients, and *Selden* among the moderns, have professedly treated on the subject of this deity. And Sir *Isaac Newton* says ’tis one of the names of *Venus*^c. It is very certain that what is physically the same is often represented by several deities; and the same deity has several names considered under different relations, or as conferring different benefits. Thus *Cybele*, *Ceres*, *Vesta*, *Rhea*, and *Tellus* all signify the *Earth*; and *Dea Syria* is only another of *Cybele*’s names, who is usually called the *mother of the gods*. The like may be said of *Apollo* and several others. As for the inscription, the letters of the first line, and *CALP* in the second, and part of the *AG* in the third are yet very plain and distinct; tho’ the rest of it since *Cambden*’s time is entirely gone, together with the outer or upper *stratum* of this part of the stone, deeper than the cut of the letters; which obliges me to take most of the inscription from *Cambden*’s copy.^d And this I have observed to happen frequently when the inscription is cut along the plane of the *stratum*; but when it is cut across, or thro’ the several *strata*, the letters are more lasting, and much better secured. And thus the *Romans* usually cut their inscriptions. There is at the end of the first line somewhat like a cross, which *Cambden* has omitted. But with what design this was done, I am unable to say. *Calpurnius Agricola* was *propraetor* or lieutenant here under *Marcus Aurelius*^e. The inscription confirms and illustrates the historian’s testimony, as this determines the time, or at least the reign, under which this altar was erected. What cohort this *Licinius Clemens* commanded is not so clear to me from the inscription. I know some read it *cohors prima Hamiorum* at large, and have so represented it; but this I doubt has been mere conjecture^f. ’Tis plain that the letters in the last line are not placed at a due distance; and that the letters on each side should be farther removed from the *A*; and the same room which is sufficient for *Hamiorum*, will do as well or better for *Gallorum*. And I can’t but suspect this to be the true reading. The former inscription favours this conjecture; and so I read it at first sight of the copy, without considering where it was found. If this conjecture should be admitted, this inscription does farther confirm the station at *Little chesters* to be *Vindolana*.

LIV. THIS is the other inscription mentioned by *Cambden*. ’Tis an altar erected by some person whose name is not expressed, for the safety of *Desidienus Aelianus* the prefect, and for his own. The letters are but meanly cut, and of the later and ruder form. There is a small break in the right side of the altar, whereby a letter or two is defaced; but the rest still continues legible. I think *voto* in the fifth line must be for *ex voto* as usual, and then there is no difficulty as to the meaning.^g The writing part of the word *libens* upon the plane of the altar, and part upon the base, is observable, but the *s* for *sacrum* in the end of the fourth line is not uncommon. The express date of this inscription adds to its value; namely when *Tuscius* and *Bassus* were consuls,

^a Pag. 1070, &c.

^b N. LIV.

^c Chronol. p. 224.

^d Adversus Britannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est. Capitol. in vit. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 169.

^e See *Cambden*, p. 1072.

as for de pag. xi. line
in first folio line, and
fifth.

scribble reads vot
IT, p. xix. and
reason I know

consuls, that is, according to *Cambden*, in the year 259, but in the *Fasti consulares* 258, where the former name is *Fuscus* instead of *Tuscus*. And *Trebellius Pollio* in the life of *Ingenuus* one of the thirty tyrants, has *Fusco et Basso* *coff.* where *Salmasius* in his notes upon that place, says, we are not to read *Fuscus*, but *Tuscus*. His words are: *Lege Tusco et Basso: Fasti Siculi Τύσσοι et Βάσσοι*. This remark of *Salmasius* is farther confirmed by our inscription.

LV. To this place also belongs, as I suppose, that noble altar erected to the *Fortune* of the *Roman* people by *Caius Julius Ralticus*. I find no centurial mark in the inscription, unless the c at the beginning of the last line, which Mr. *Gordon* (who I think first published it) had overlooked^a, be supposed to stand for *centurio*; or else the mark before L E G through mistake turned the wrong way. But I rather take this to be only a stop, and the c to be the *praenomen* of the person. There is nothing very peculiar in the manner of this inscription, except it be the humour of making the size of the letters in the different lines so very unequal. I have expressed them in their just proportion. This altar belonged to Mr. *Warburton's* collection at *Hexham*, and was removed with several others from thence to *Durham*, where it is at present.

LVI. THIS is the impression of the *legio sexta victrix* in the usual manner upon two *Roman* bricks, which were found here, and are now in my possession. The bricks are both broken about the edges, and much after the same manner; for which reason I have given but one draught.

LVII. THIS is an imperfect inscription upon a fragment of a very beautiful and curious stone. The nature and grit of which is finer than usual, and the remaining letters very fair and well cut. I can only guess that the inscription may have been to the honour of one of the *Antonines*, and that the word in the second line may have been *PIO*, and perhaps *PRA* in the last for *praefectus*.

LVIII. I SAW here also a particular sort of stone, in the form of a pineapple, which has been set up somewhere for an ornament. It is of no great importance, yet I have given a draught of it.

LVIII^a. WE have here the draught of a remarkable sculpture representing *Mercury* with his *caduceus* in his left hand, and purse in his right. Above his right arm is somewhat like a *petasus* or perhaps a cap of liberty. The head of the figure and upper part of the stone is broken and confused, so that we cannot be certain whether or no *Mercury* has had his *petasus* on. If we could be sure that he was here represented as wearing his *petasus* on his head, I should then have thought it more probable that this other figure was the cap of liberty. *Mercury's* loose and flying *chlamys* is visible. And beside him, an altar with this inscription upon it: DEO MERCVRIO. A *Camillus* lays the incense on the altar. *Mercury* is usually represented with a juvenile briskness, according to the poet's description of him:

*Omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque,
Et crines flavos, et membra decora juventae*^b.

It is well known what sort of people were peculiarly devoted to *Mercury*^c. Whether the antient inhabitants of this part had the same disposition with their posterity who dwelt hereabouts in *Cambden's* time, and to whom we owe the good laws for preventing of theft upon the northern borders, I shall not determine. This stone was found by Mr. *Warburton*, and presented to the *Royal Society*

^a It. Sept. plate 32. p. 94.

^b Virg. Aen. iv. 558.

^c Callidum, quicquid placuit jocosum

Condere furto. Hor. carm. lib. i. od. x.

Society (in whose *museum* it now is) together with some *Roman* shoes or sandals which were found at the same place under ground.

At this place also I saw a broad stone, one of those used for stepping stones through a dirty place that led to the cottage, upon which these numerals were very visible, XIII, but nothing besides, tho' there was sufficient room for more letters. I take it to be of the same sort of stones, if not one of the number, which were found in the floor of the vaulted room at *Little chesters* described by Dr. *Hunter* in the *Transaction* I quoted above^a. For this is marked after the same manner, in which he says they were marked, as if they had been numbered by the person who laid them.

LIX. NEAR *Little chesters* there are some of the milliary stones, which are said to have been erected at the end of each mile upon the military ways, from whence the phrase *ad tertium*, or *ad quartum lapidem*. One of these is thrown down, and lies under an hedge near the rivulet, a little east of this station. And about two miles west from the station upon the common there is another. But the most curious one is standing at about a mile's distance or less from this place to the west. The military way that passes directly from *Walwick chesters* to *Carrvoran* is here very visible, and close by the side of it stands a piece of a large rude pillar, with a remarkable inscription upon it in large letters, but very coarse, BONO REIPUBLICAE NATO. No doubt this was a compliment to the emperor then reigning, nor is it an uncommon one. I don't find this has ever been taken notice of before.

LX. THIS is a small but fine stone, and a curious sculpture. It came from *Little chesters*, but is now in the jamb of a door at *Ramshawfield*, a single house, about a mile or more south-west from this station. It has not been observed or published before, though it very well deserves a place in such a collection. The sculpture manifestly represents a *Roman vexillum* with a *pegasus* on one side and a sea-goat on the other; and in the *vexillum* an inscription in very small letters, as I have given it. The first line, excepting the cross stroke of the H, was very visible. *Vegetius* tells us, it was the ancient custom of the *Romans* to put the number of the cohort or century upon the *vexillum*^b; which was a square piece of cloth fastened upon a transverse piece of wood. This after *Constantine*, had the name of *labarum*^c.

Great chesters.

LXI. The seven following inscriptions belong to *Great chesters*, or those parts of the wall that are nearer to it, than to any other station upon it. This first was found at the station, and carried from thence to *Hexham* by Mr. *Warburton*, and so to *Durham*, where it now is. It has had the misfortune to be so broken, as not only to have the beauty of the stone, but likewise the inscription damaged. The figures at the top are so much defaced, that I know not what to make of them. The first looks almost like a toad, which we find upon another altar or two in this collection^d; the other perhaps is a dog, or a wolf, but very obscure. The inscription itself is thought to be sepulchral; and I have annex'd a reading to it suitable to this opinion. But I must own, that the seemingly plain appearance of an O at the first rather than a D, and the manifest deficiency in the stone and inscription at the beginning of the lines, have raised a strong jealousy in me, that it has been I O M D for *Jovi optimo maximo dicatum*. Tho' if this be the truth; I know not why the following name *Sabini* or *Sabinae* should be in the genitive. The last word is uncertain, and very probably the greater part of the inscription is broken off, for otherwise the plane of the altar does not seem to bear any
just

^a N. 278.

^b Antiqui cohortes in centurias diviserunt, et singulis centuriis singula vexilla constituerunt; ita

ut ex qua cohorte, vel quota esset centuria, in illo vexillo literis esset ascriptum. L. II. c. 13.

^c See Montfaucon tom. IV. part. 1. liv. III. c. 8.

^d See Durham, N. xx.

just proportion to the capital. Mr. *Warburton* imagining this inscription to have some reference to the *ala Sabiniana*^a, because of the word *Sabinie*, as I suppose, concludes this place to be *Hunnum*. But as I have in its proper place proved from another undoubted inscription and the series of the *Notitia* that *Hunnum* was elsewhere^b; so it is very certain that this inscription has nothing to do with the *ala Sabiniana*.

LXII. THIS is an imperfect inscription upon the fragment of a stone which I saw at the house at *Great chesters*. Whether the word in the second line can have been part of *Gordiana* (and refer to either legion or cohort) and the following a part of the name of some centurion or other officer I will not pretend to determine. The letters which remain are very fair and well cut. I thought proper to publish it, though it be but a fragment, and has either not been seen, or else neglected by others.

LXIII. NOT far west from *Great chesters*, near a wicket or hatch at *Cockmount-hill* lies a curious sculpture expos'd to all the injuries of the weather, by which and barbarous hands it has suffered too much already. Mr. *Gordon* was the first, I believe, who discover'd or took any notice of it^c. But his draught has several defects in it^d, the most considerable of which is the omission of the two eagles, on whose wings the victories stand, that support the *vexillum*. Each eagle rests upon the branch of a tree; and the boar on the right plainly appears to take hold of the stock of the tree on that side, as if he endeavour'd to tear it up. The other boar attacks the *vexillum*, and lays hold of the tree, on which the other eagle is perched with both his feet. I think there can be no doubt but the boars and trees were designed to represent this wild and woody country, as it then was; and the *Roman* ensigns often signify a *Roman* settlement^e. The sculpture therefore plainly denotes the *Roman* conquest of this country, their victories over the inhabitants, and their making a settlement here, in opposition to all the attempts of their enemies. The heads of the eagles are both broken off; but the rest of them is very distinct.

LXIV. UNDER this number are expressed two centurial stones now placed in the fore-wall of a cow-house, adjoining to a house called *Allaley*, almost half way between *Great chesters* and *Carrvoran*. I discovered them as I was riding by. One has the centurial mark, and the number of the cohort tolerably plain. The name of the century is obscure, but it must, I think, have been *Maximiana*. Nothing more is certain about the other, but that it has been erected by some cohort or century.

LXIV^a. THE three next were found at a small rivulet called *Haltwhistle-burn* near *Great chesters*. This is of the common centurial kind, and has nothing remarkable in it.

LXIV^b. THE two following were found at *Walton* mill, which stands on *Haltwhistle-burn*, and are, I believe, still lying there. " This is a funeral monument erected for *Aelius Mercurialis* by his sister *Vacia*. A *cornicularius* was an inferior officer under the tribune. Mention is made of the *cornicularius* of *M. Laetorius Mergus* the tribune by *Valerius Maximus*^c. And *Suetonius*, speaking of *Orbilius* the grammarian, says: *in Macedonia corniculo mox equo meruit*^d." The name of this officer is upon several monuments in *Gruter*, and occurs frequently in the *Notitia*. He was a kind of clerk or secretary; and

^a See his map of Northumberland.

^b N. XVIII. at *Halton chesters* on the wall, see Book 1. ch. VII. pag. 105.

^c It. Sept. p. 79.

^d Plate xxxviii. N. 4. at p. 77.

^e See *Science de medailles*, p. 221.

^f Lib. vi. c. 1. exemp. 2.

^g De illustr. grammat.

and in the lower times of the empire, he was rather of higher rank or quality than before ^a.

LXIV⁷. THIS is also a funeral monument, being erected for one *Pervica* by her daughter who is not named. The sculptures of both these can scarce be represented more rough and awkward than the originals are.

AN urn was also found at this mill; and near it are four remarkable *tumuli* called the *four lawes*, which I have taken notice of in my account of the wall ^b.

Carrvoran. LXV. THE next set of inscriptions, which are seventeen in number, belong to *Carrvoran*; having been found either in the station itself, or not very far from it. This and the following are at *Walton*, which is near the *Low Town*, and less than half a mile east from *Carrvoran*. This is only a curious stone (which I take to be *Roman*) that I saw lying together with a piece of a *Roman* altar by a famous well just behind the town. I have given the draught of it, tho' I cannot say it is very material; for if there ever has been any inscription upon it, it is now entirely destroyed.

LXVI. THIS I found lying in the court before the house. It is an altar, and has a *praefericulum* on one side, and a *patera* with a crooked handle on the other. But I could discern no letters at all on the face of the altar, tho' the four on the base were visible.

LXVII. ABUNDANCE of antiquities of various sorts have been dug up in this *Roman* station and town. When I was last there, I purchased a *Roman* ring with a *Victory* on a cornelian, but coarse; as also a small altar lately found, with a very plain inscription upon it, dedicated by one *Menius Dada* to the god *Vitires*^c, which I have here delineated.

LXVIII. THESE stones are used for two steps in the stairs of a house. The letters are very visible, but part of them, especially on one of the stones, is covered by the next step above, which rests upon this. I soon perceived that both of them must have originally belonged to one and the same stone. And I believe whoever considers this draught of them will be of the same mind. The whole stone appears plainly to have been a funeral monument erected by *Aurelius Pubeo Naso* for his daughter *Aurelia Pubeo Voma*. The last letter in the former part of the stone has, I suppose, included FIL in it, but it being just in the edge of the stone, this could not be so well discerned. Neither this, nor any of the three preceding stones have been published before, unless a small altar in Mr. *Warburton's* map of *Northumberland*, with the same letters SLLM on the base was designed for number LXVI; tho' there is little resemblance between the two draughts.

LXIX. THIS is a small altar found here by Mr. *Gordon*, and presented by him to Baron *Clerk*, in whose collection it now is. Mr. *Gordon* supposes it to be the same with that which was discovered here by *Cambden*, dedicated to the tutelar god *Vitorinus*^d. But according to his own representation it must be *Dirus Vitiricus Deccius*^e; tho' what this gentleman took for an E is a B in the original; so that the name is *Vitiribus*, and so it was read to me by the learned Baron himself. Besides it is quite different from that in *Cambden*, which is thus represented in his *Britannia*^f.

DEO

^a See Pancirollus in Notit. dig. orient. c. xi.

^b Book I. ch. ix. p. 150.

^c For an account of the god Vitires see Durham, N. vi.

^d Itin. Sept. p. 79.

^e Plate xl. n. 8.

^f Pag. 1069.

DEO
VITI
RINE...
...LIMEO
ROV
P. L. M.

Deo
Viti
ri...

.....

posuit libens merito.

It seems plain from other inscriptions, that *Vitires* and not *Vitirinus*, was the name of the tutelar god; for we meet with *Vitiri* in the dative^a. *Dirus Vitiribus Deccius* is evidently the name of the person who erected this altar. It sounds more like the name of a foreigner than a *Roman*, and therefore this person was probably among the auxiliaries, by whom these stations upon the wall were garrisoned. The learned Baron has observed with relation to the dolphin, "That this was a figure much in use about the time that the *Roman* walls were made in *Britain*, and even before: the antients denoted by it dispatch in business; and *Vespasian*, who was very fond of the proverb used by *Augustus Caesar*, *Σπεῦδε βεγδέως festina lente*, ordered on some of his coins a dolphin to be represented twisting about an anchor, importing both *tarditas* and *festinatio*. The dolphin was likewise accounted φιλάνθρωπος by *Plutarch* and others; 'tis probable some such thing was understood by the crecter of this altar." There is a boar on the other side of the altar, which is frequently to be met with on antient sculptures in *Britain*.

LXX. SOUTH from this station at less than a mile distance, stands *Blenkinsop* castle, near the side of the river *Tippal*; at which place was formerly this inscription. The late Dr. *Cay* sent a copy of it to the late Mr. *Thoresby* of *Leeds*, who published it in the *Transactions*^b. It is also in *Cambden's Britannia*^c. No doubt it had been found somewhere hereabouts, and probably near the river. It is now at *Dryburn-haugh* near the *Spittal*, fixed in the ground at the stable door. Mr. *Thoresby's* explication of it is very much out of the way. And the copy that is published, is by no means correct, which may have occasion'd his mistake in reading the last line of it *nuncupavit hoc Lucius Annius*. The name *Vetrei* is in *Gruter*^d. Who these nymphs were, may be difficult to determine, because they were of various sorts, and supposed to reside almost in all places both by land and water. There is a fine address to the water-nymphs in *Virgil*:

*Nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
Tuque, o Tybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
Accipite Aenean, et tandem arcete periclis*^e.

MR. *WARBURTON* has published in his map of *Northumberland* two small altars. On the face of one is *VETERES*, and on the base of the other *DM*; and nothing more on either, as he has represented them. I make no doubt but the first should be *VITIRES*, the name of the same local deity which we have mentioned already^f. And it is somewhat peculiar to have the *DM* for *Dis Manibus* on the base of an altar. These Mr. *Warburton* says were at *Thirlwel* castle or near it, which is about two or three furlongs west from *Carrvoran*; but I could not find the originals. I believe Mr. *Warburton* must have removed them with some other stones, among which, being but small, they were lost.

LXXI. THIS was also found here, and carried from hence by Mr. *Warburton*, but has come since into my possession. Mr. *Warburton* takes some notice of it in his map of *Northumberland*, the only place I know of wherein it has ever been published before. The stone is broken thro' the middle, as if it had been designedly done for the convenience of the carriage on horseback.

The

^a See N. LXVII. and Durham, N. VI.
^b N. 231.
^c Pag. 1076.

^d CDLXXXVI. 2.
^e Aen. VIII. 71.
^f Pag. 218, 230.

The inscription is curious, and needs no explication. It has been erected to the honour of *Constantine the great*. The letters in the name *Constantino* are crowded for want of room on the stone. The repetition of the word *Caesari* at the beginning and end renders it very curious and perhaps singular in its kind. "*Spanheim* takes notice of the like on two coins, one of *Carinus*, " and the other of *Numerianus*, but represents them as peculiar, and contrary " to the usual custom^a." In the letters I M R at the beginning, the R which is very plain on the stone, is either a mistake for P, or else a designed contraction of IMPER for *imperator*. So we have NBL for *nobilis*, and CS for *Caesar*, as likewise CT for *caput* or *civitas*, as *Manutius* reads them^b; with several others of the like nature, which, if attended to, may in some cases remove the suspicion of an error in the workmen. This monument must have been erected to *Constantine* after the death of his father *Constantius*, who died in *Britain*, for the title of *imperator* was not given him till then^c. As to the title *nobilis* or *nobilissimus Caesar*, it was sometimes assumed by the emperors themselves, and usually given to their sons^d.

LXXII. AT *Wall-end* just beside *Thirlwel* castle I discovered this inscription. It is upon a fragment of a stone, and so imperfect that it is very difficult to make any thing of it. The stone is coarse, but the letters that remain fair and well enough cut. By the shape and ornament of the stone I incline to think it has been sepulchral, and that D M has been broken off at the top, and what remains is part of the names of the person deceased, and of the party who erected the monument. DVI put me in mind of the god *Dui* in a *Yorkshire* inscription^e. If this should be so here, I know not but the last word may have been *Bretonum*, that is, *cohors quarta Bretonum*; and then the word in the second line, *Stireus*, may be the name of a soldier or commander of this cohort. But this is only conjecture.

LXXIII. THIS is now a trough in a stable at *Thirlwel*. It seems plainly to have been the body of an altar (the capital and base being struck off) erected to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, but by whom cannot now be discovered.

LXXIV. AT *Glenswelt*, which is about a quarter of a mile south-west from *Carrvoran*, I saw a centurial inscription, which reads *centurio Munax solvit votum*. The V that is joined to the M was turned somewhat round at the bottom. The stone is very long and tapering, almost pyramidal, and only square in that face which bears the inscription. An old man here remembered it was brought from the face of the wall near *Thirlwel* castle, which very well agrees with the figure of it.

LXXV. THIS next is now in the fore wall of a barn at *Greenfoot*, which is just on the other side of the water, over-against *Glenswelt*. It is centurial too, and needs no explication. The connection of O H and N I V is remarkable. This with the preceding have had the same fate with most other centurial inscriptions, to be overlooked or disregarded.

LXXV^a. UNDER this number are comprehended two of the common centurial inscriptions, the former of which was found near *Walton*, east from *Carrvoran*, and the latter near *Foultown*, about a mile west from it.

LXXV^b. THIS probably may have been curious, and so may make us regret the imperfection of it. By the remaining letters I conclude that the altar must have been erected to the *deae matres*,^c but by whom and on what occasion must remain in obscurity. This stone is now in the possession of *John*

^a De praestant. et usu numm. tom. II. p. 355.
^b Orthogr. rat. in Not.
^c See Mediobarb. p. 452.

^d See Spanh. ubi supra.
^e N. XVIII.

in the figure on
 it has it dot one of
 .atres, or they were
 always represented
 three in number.
 of great. on which
 is country.

John Carrick who lives at *Carrvoran*, where it was lately dug up. It must be the same which *Mr. Salmon* mentions in his *New Survey* ^a.

LXXVI. THE three following were likewise of *Mr. Warburton's* collection, and are now in the library at *Durham*. From whence they came, or where they were found, I don't certainly know. But as I am much inclined to think they were brought from these parts, I have chose to place them here. I can't find that this stone has ever been published before, tho' it certainly has been curious when perfect. It has been plainly the face of an altar, and not only the capital and base, but part of the plane itself is also demolished; for a line or more has been broken off at the top, and two or three letters at least from every line on the left side. For the reading of it I am obliged to *Mr. Ward*, who observes, " that an *actarius* was an officer who used to provide corn for the forces. So in *Gruter* we meet with ACTARIUS LEG VII^b. " The word is more commonly written *actuarius* by the best *Roman* authors. " There is an inscription in *Gruter*, wherein mention is made of COH V PR ANTONINIANE^c, dated in the fourth consulate of *Caracalla*; and he gives us " several legions who assumed that title, all of them doubtless in honour of " some of the *Antonines*." *Dr. Gale*^d supposes a *legio decima* to have been at *Caer-Ryn*, and believes it to be that called *Antoniniana*. But I doubt the grounds the learned doctor goes on, are not sufficient. I have considered the matter in another place^e.

Woodford pag. 11
as the following c
scription, as from
Bington, but does
it was found.

T O M
T A R A M I
B E L A T V C B
M O Q V N I
M O V N C
D E A B V S M A
D R A E S V
F O R T V I
C E T E R I S Q B R I
D I S D E A B V
C V E R I V S
T R I B C O H I A E
V S

And in pag. 14.
this imperfect insc.
is not mentioned
only the two follow.

FORTYNAE
CONSERVATRI

LXXVII. THIS also, I believe, has been curious when perfect. It was published before by *Mr. Gordon*, who justly says the reading of it is very difficult^f. However, I can't but think that G in the first line (tho' plain in the original) is put for C. Instances of this sort are sometimes to be met with upon coins, as well as inscriptions^g. I take the inscription therefore to have been erected to the emperor *Hadrian* by the *legio secunda Augusta*, and that *Apiatorium* was the name of a place at that time. The simplicity of the inscription, and its near affinity with the others to the same emperor, favour this opinion. No transverse appeared in the A, excepting that in the second line, and the latter numeral 1 in the third was gone, tho' the length of the cross stroke above shews it must have been there at first.

LXXVIII. THIS inscription has likewise been published by *Mr. Gordon*, but not so correctly as might have been wished; for not only the imperfect letters at the top, and the stop in the second line, but what is more material, the inverted o in the third line is omitted^h. It appears to have been the plane of an altar, erected by one *Audacius Romanus*, who had served in the rank of a centurion in all the three legions, that is, the sixth, twentieth, and second called *Augusta*; which was not unusual. Thus we have, in one of *Gruter's* inscriptionsⁱ, a person described as having born the office of a centurion in several different legions: *centurio legionis quartae Scythicae, septimae Claudianae, decimae quartae geminae, septimae geminae, &c.* The imperfect letters at the top are certainly the remains of the word *Fortunae*, the third imperfect letter being plainly the bottom of an R of the same cut with that in the following line. *Fortune* must have been a goddess much esteemed and worshipped here, as appears from the great number of altars inscribed to her^k.

LXXIX. THIS

^a Pag. 613.
^b P. CCLX. n. 1.
^c P. XI. n. 2.
^d Anton. Itin. p. 122.
^e See above Book 1. ch. vi. p. 86.
^f It. Sept. p. 95.
^g See Musgr. Jul. Vital. p. 129. and the *Durham* inscriptions, n. XI.
^h It Sept. plate 41. p. 95.
ⁱ Pag. CDXCII.

^k — — — — — Sed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam coeloque locamus.
Juv. sat. x. 365. et xiv. 315.
Horace, in his fine ode to Fortune, acquaints us
how universally she was courted and feared.
Te pauper ambit sollicita prece
Ruris colonus: te dominam aequoris
Quicumque Bithyna lacescit
Carpethium pelagus carina.

LXXIX. THIS is another imperfect inscription, which I suppose may have come from the same place with the preceding, but is now in my possession. The words in the last line are plainly *Secunda solvit*. That above seems to have been *Januaria*. And we have *Januaria Matrina*, two names of another woman in an inscription found at *London*^a, and *Januaria* alone in that at *Gretabridge* in *Yorkshire*^b. There seems to be an s at the head corner of the stone, and no doubt there has been letters in the line below, tho' now they are quite effaced. The stone by what remains of it, does not appear to have been an altar; and if it be sepulchral, the s at the top may have been the last letter in *Manibus*. The single s at the end for *solvit* (as I take it) has some parallel instances, particularly in the inscriptions at *Glasgow*^c.

LXXIX^a. THIS altar was found near the wall in the most westerly part of *Northumberland*, and was several years at *Haltwhistle*. It is now in Dr. *Stukely's* garden at *Grantham*, who was so kind as to transmit this draught of it to me. No more of the inscription is legible than the word *DEO*, and that is somewhat faint; so that we cannot know by whom, or to what particular god, the altar has been erected; tho' it is as likely to have been *DEO MARTI* as any.

HAVING thus finished the inscriptions on the wall in this county, I shall next give some account of those which have been found on the north of it. And these I shall refer to the respective forts upon *Watling-street*.

Risingham.

LXXX. THE fifteen following numbers belong to the famous station at *Risingham*, which is the first that appears this way. And it was from this first inscription, that the name of the station was known to be *Habitancum*. The altar on which it is cut was first discovered, and the inscription copied and published by the famous *Cambden*,^d or by Sir *Robert Cotton*, with whom he travelled, and by whom I suppose the altar was removed to *Conington*, where it still continues. I was pleased to see the whole inscription still so legible, and particularly the word *Habitanci* plain and distinct; tho' it is now above a hundred and twenty years since this and another altar mentioned by *Cambden* were taken out of the river *Reed*, which runs near this station^e. This altar *Cambden* justly supposes to have been erected to the topical god *Mogon*, worshipped by the *Cadeni* or *Gadeni*, a neighbouring people to the *Ottadini*, and to the deity of the emperor, by one *Secundinus* a beneficiary of the consul. The *beneficiarii* were soldiers who attended the chief officers of the army, and were exempt from duty, as we learn from *Festus*. They seem to have been somewhat like those we now call *cadets*. I am obliged to Mr. *Ward* for the correction of *Cambden*, in reading the two last words of the fifth line *PRIMA STA* for *prima statione*, which makes the sense natural and easy; whereas the reading in *Cambden*, *primas tam pro se et suis*, is very harsh, and scarce seems to be *Latin*. *Risingham* is an advanced station beyond the wall; and for ought that appears to the contrary, might at the time when this altar was erected, be the most northerly station of any. There are some few mistakes in *Cambden's* copy, particularly he puts the word *DEO* at the top of the inscription. It might probably be added at first by way of explanation, and through a mistake of the transcriber or printer inserted into the body of the inscription. There is no room for it on the plane of the altar, and not the least vestige of a letter appears on the capital; nor could I well discern the A in *CAD*, which *Cambden* has inserted, nor see any room in the original, except for a very small one, of which indeed I thought there was a faint

Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae,
Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni. Lib. i. od. 35.

^a See the *Middlesex inscription*.

^b N. IV.

^c Scotland, N. III.

^d See *Cambden's Britan.* p. 1075, 1076.

faint and doubtful appearance. But the *i* in *Secundinus* no doubt has been included in the *N*, tho' the usual mark of this was scarcely visible to me. The name *Secundinus* frequently occurs in *Gruter*. As to the words *numini domini nostri Augusti*, the reader may please to turn to what I have before observed^a.

THE other altar, which was taken out of the river with this, I suppose is lost, for I can hear nothing of it. *Cambden* has preserved the inscription to us.

DEO
MOVNO CAD
INVENTVS DO
V. S.

Deo
Mouno Cadenorum
.....
votum solvit.

The altar according to this copy has been erected to another topical and tutelar god of the *Cadeni*. I know not whether *Mounus* may possibly have been the same with *Matunus*, to whom an altar was erected at *Elsdon*, a few miles from this place^b; or perhaps the same deity is here designed as in the former. The third line in the inscription has no doubt contained the name of the person who erected this votive altar. We find the name *Inventus* in *Gruter*^c. The latter is uncertain, because several *Roman* names begin with those letters.

CAMBDEN has given us the name of another topical goddess in an inscription, the original of which is now lost; namely, *Tertiana*, which a learned friend (since deceased) conjectured to be the *tertian ague*^d. And 'tis well known that the goddess *Febris* was worshipped among the *Romans*. The inscription on the altar dedicated to her is this according to *Cambden*.

DEAE TER
TIANAE SA
CRVM AEL
TIMOTHEA P
V. S. LL. M.

Deae Ter-
tianae sa-
crum Aelia
Timothea posuit
votum solvens libentissime merito.

In *Cambden's* copy the *P* in the fourth line is set at such a distance from the *A*, as if some more letters had intervened; but as that would both disturb the sense, and make the line too long, I am of opinion that there have been no more letters, and that the reading I have given is right and compleat. If any other letter should be supplied, I would set an *s* before the *P* in the fourth line, for *sacrum posuit*, as in *N. LIV.* above.

LXXXI. THE *cohors prima Vangionum*, a people of *Gallia Belgica* on the *Rhine*, seem to have been in garrison here the latest and longest, tho' neither this station nor cohort are mentioned in the *Notitia*. A tribune of this cohort is mentioned in a funeral inscription at *Walwick chesters*^e. And the two next inscriptions, that were both found at this place expressly mention this cohort. This is a very stately altar, erected to the invincible *Hercules*. It remains yet at *Conington* very intire, and is, I think, one of the largest altars I have seen, that are so beautiful. On one side is an ox in *basso relievo*; on the other an ornament not unlike a curtain, for I could not say it was a *feston*, and it is rather too large for a priest's veil.^f I imagined it to represent the *aulaeum* that separated the *adytum*, or some such thing; but of this I cannot be positive. There is somewhat of this nature upon an altar at *Scaleby* in *Cumberland*, and also on the back of the altar at *Chester*^g. I have given the whole draught of one of the sides, and the draught of the plane of the other, as well as of the front of this altar, because they are curious.

a Julius says the
ing it be a juro
and a puerum
Admotas Ros
crificum app
pro liberos pro
Tac. Ann. 11. c. 1

LXXXII. THE

^a N. VII. p. 209.

^b N. XCIX.

^c P. CMLXI. 13.

^d See Dr. Harle's Essay on the state of physic in
the Old and New Testament, p. 61.

^e N. XXVI.

^f Cheshire; N. II.

no a letter is cut
than the rest in
old, it generally
that the syllable
to which it belongs,
U. III. CV. VII. XXXI. XXXI.
i county; but how is
caption in the word
its.

1075. But it is not in
a Dutton of 1667, the
ind. has its

LXXXII. THE original of this other inscription, which mentions the same cohort, is also at Conington. *Paullus* is here with a double L, and the F in *fecit* looks like the lower empire.^a

LXXXIII. BESIDES the inscriptions above-mentioned, there are some others that follow, in which the name of this cohort is not expressed, and yet I believe have been erected by the tribunes who commanded it. The remaining visible letters on this altar are just the same with those we have in *Cambden*; and therefore I have filled up the inscription from his copy; in which we find the same name and probably the same tribune, *Julius Paullus*, who erected the last. This altar is now standing instead of a gate-post, in the side of what was once the south gate of the station, but is now used as a gate for the field. Mr. *Forster*'s son of *Chesterhope* informed me of this altar, and said that a great many more letters were visible upon it when he was a boy. But now I could not discern many, yet what I saw left no room to doubt its being the same with that in *Cambden*. It has been a fine altar, but is now turned upside down, so that the capital was hid in the ground. It is not improbable that the inscriptions and altars dedicated to *Hercules*, have been designed as a compliment to the emperor *Commodus*, who, as 'tis well known, was called *Hercules Romanus* *. Besides this *Julius Paullus*, I find the names of three other tribunes, namely *Julius Publius Pius*, *Marcus Peregrinus Superstes*, and *Messorius Diligens*, in the following inscriptions; all which probably commanded this first cohort of the *Vangiones*.

LXXXIV. BOTH this and the next are yet remaining in the station at *Risingham*. This is lying among the ruins of an old house, which has no doubt been built with *Roman* stones. There is *Mars* and *Victory* on the capital, and an ox's head on the base of the altar. *Mars* has his usual dress and symbols, a shield in his left hand, and a spear in his right. The *Victory* in her usual drapery holds a globe in her right hand, and a palm-branch in her left. The figures and inscription *Marti Victori* explain and illustrate each other. This was published by Mr. *Warburton* in his map of *Northumberland*, but I took it more correctly from the original.

LXXXV. THIS was published some years ago by Dr. *Hunter* in the *Philosophical Transactions* ^b, and it is also in the late edition of *Cambden* ^c, and sufficiently correct in both; only it is placed out of order in *Cambden*, and not among the other inscriptions which belong to this place. The original itself is now in the door-way of an out-house turned upside down. I am of opinion it has been the body or plane of an altar, having met with several parallel instances, where the capitals and bases have been struck off from altars, in order to fit them for walls or such other uses. The appearance of the stone favours this conjecture, and upon this supposition I believe the altar has been inscribed to *Jupiter optimus maximus Dolichenus*, and that the letters *DOM* have either been at the top of the plane, and struck off with the capital, or else upon the capital itself. The word *DOLOCHENO* is very plain upon this inscription; but in all other inscriptions, and writers who mention this deity, the name is spelt with an *I* or *X* in the second syllable ^d; excepting one, which tho' it be so likewise in *Gruter* ^e, yet in *Petrus Apianus*, who had published it before, it is writ, as *Montfaucon* observes ^f, with an *O* in the second syllable like this. "Possibly the letters *PVBL* in the second line may not be another name of the person, but stand for *Pubilia*, the name of the tribe to which this *Caius Julius* belonged. This tribe is often mentioned in *Gruter*."

LXXXVI. THE

* See *Cambden*, p. 919. and the sculptures at Netherby in Cumberland, N. XLVIII, L. and *Montfaucon*, tome 1. pl. CXXIX. f. 4.
^a N. 278.

^b Pag. 1086.

^c N. VII.

^d P. XXVII.

^e L'Ant. expl. tom. 1. p. 1. pag. 49.

LXXXVI. THE following inscription mentions *Peregrinus Superstes* the next tribune abovementioned. The original I found placed for a seat at the back-door of Mr. *Forster's* house at *Chesterhope*; who also shewed me another small imperfect altar, but no inscription upon it. *Cambden* published this inscription, but no draught of the altar. And I was pleased, when I returned from *Risingham*, to find that the copy I had taken of the inscription agreed exactly in every letter and point with that of *Cambden*. Only I thought I discovered the letters in the first line, which I have given in the draught. I have found by other instances, that Mr. *Cambden* has been very cautious of publishing any thing that was doubtful or obscure, and in some instances to an extreme. The first word may have been *militum*, and the other letter a c in cvi. And as the *cohors prima Tungrorum* has *militum* annexed, I once suspected that this altar rather belonged to the *Tungrians*, than the *Vangiones*, from the inscriptions at the *House-steeds*, in one of which we also meet with the name *Superstis*^a. This altar is of a hard reddish stone, but finer than usual.

LXXXVII. THIS inscription mentions the tribune *Messorius Diligens*. The original I suppose was removed by Sir *Robert Cotton*, for it still continues at *Conington*. The upper part has been broken off, and the first line now remaining is partly covered by being built up in the wall of the summer-house. The rest is yet very plain. There is no doubt but *pro salute imperatoris M.* has gone before, and perhaps the altar has been to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, or to *Jupiter* and the *numina Augusti*, as at *Benwel*^b. It is not easy to determine to which of the *Antonines* this inscription belongs. If this station was in ruins, as some think, in the reign of *Caracalla*, the supposed author of the *Itinerary*, then the inscription could not be to him. Besides the titles *Felix*, &c. are usually added to him, and in our *British* inscriptions he is often joined with *Severus*, after whose death he immediately left the island. *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, called *Philosophus*, had wars here, and his legate *Calpurnius Agricola* is named in an inscription or two in these parts^c. And I am apt to think that both this inscription, and some others in the north, belong to that emperor.

LXXXVIII. THE original of this is also at *Conington*, and placed above the summer-house door. The sculpture has suffered by the weather, but the inscription is still very legible. The emperors in honour of whom it has been erected, I take to be *Severus* and *Caracalla*, who were much hereabout, and I believe were possessed of this very station. 'Tis certain this compliment is given them in the inscription *Dui Brigantum*^d. This cohort seems to have been like a flying squadron, for by inscriptions we find them in several places. As to the *cohortes equitum* in general, enough has been said of them already in the former book^e. The inscription is included in a kind of *corona*, or rather an octogon, circumscribed by a square moulding. There are ornaments of eagles heads on each side, above which is the appearance of two faces, probably designed for those of the emperors referred to by the inscription. *Mars* and *Victory* in their usual dress and appearance are set in a nich, one at each end of the stone. The other ornaments seem only to be such as pleased the fancy of the sculptor. The *Victory* treads on a globe, and no doubt the general meaning is, that the emperors had warred successfully, and gained the victory over the whole world.

LXXXIX]

^a N. xxxvi.

^b Northumberland, N. vii.

^c N. LIII. and xcvi.

^d Yorkshire, N. xviii.

^e Chap. vi. pag. 94.

like the letters -
in this inscription
have for castellum.

LXXXIX. THERE is an imperfect inscription in *Cambden*, the original of which I could not discover, tho' I sought and wished for it much ; so that I am obliged to take the draught of the stone and copy of the inscription both from him^a. 'Tis very evident it was erected on the repairing or rebuilding some public edifice, that thro' age had gone to ruin. For so much does the usual expression *vetustate conlabsum* plainly imply. *Aurelius Castus*^a seems to have been the name of the prefect ; but what cohort he commanded, that was employed in this work, is not to be known by the inscription. I can imagine no resemblance between the first letters in the inscription and those in *Gallorum* or *Vangionum*, and yet there is no evidence from any inscription of any other cohort being there. As to the expression *vetustate conlabsum*, Mr. *Gale* observes, " that it signifies a falling to decay, and not a destruction by " fire, war, or other enemy than age and neglect^b. The N in the word *conlabsum*, as the same learned gentleman remarks upon a like inscription in the county of *Durham*, is silent ; as it often is in the middle of a word, before another consonant : and so is frequently omitted by the workmen, who usually wrote as they were accustomed to pronounce^c.

XC. THE sepulchral inscription or two which follow, and belong to this place, have in their manner so much the appearance of the lower empire, as to confirm that the *Romans* were late possessed of this station. This was published by Mr. *Cambden*, but not without some mistakes^d. Besides, he has omitted the sculpture and the peculiar cut and position of the letters, as well as the stops, which are the greatest curiosities in the inscription, the original whereof is now at *Conington*. The rudeness of the letters, the scattered position of them, and the stops on each side the I in the last line but one, are very remarkable. Tho' DM be at the top, yet it is not an altar, of which there are other instances^e.

XCI. THIS inscription is upon a broken stone lying for a seat at the fore door of the dwelling house, that is within the station. Of which little more can be known than purely that it has been sepulchral. The DM at the top for *Dis Manibus* are very plain, and the words below have been *vixit annis* : tho' the first I and the T in the word *vixit* don't appear ; probably they have been connected with the other letters. What follows is, I think, scarce possible to be known with certainty from these imperfect remains.

XCI^a. THIS is an imperfect inscription on a fragment of a stone, the rest of which I could not recover. It is lying at a cottage called the *Broad gate*, about a quarter of a mile from the station. The letters are fair and well cut, but the sense to me at least is inexplicable. I incline however to think that the stone has been sepulchral ; and that the letters ATER in the third line are part of the word *frater*, and the V in the last is numeral. The S in the first line is most likely to have stood for *sacrum*, and the letters in the second to have been a part of some proper name ; but all this is but uncertain conjecture.

XCII. THERE is nothing more worth our notice within the station, but the following sculpture. The three human figures are on one side, and the man holding the horse on the other side of the same stone, which is of a cubical form. These figures are much effaced. The man who holds the horse in his left hand, appears to be in somewhat like an *Armenian* dress, with a *hasta* in his other hand. Two of the other figures are leaning upon pillars, one of which has a staff in his right hand, with two serpents twisted about it, the symbol of *Aesculapius*, whose image I take it to be. And the short figure

^a Pag. 1078.

^b See *Philos. Transact.* n. 357.

^c Ibid. See *Durham*, N. XII.

^d Pag. 1075.

^e See N. XXIII, XXIV, &c.

figure which stands next, exactly agrees to *Telesphorus* the god of recovery, who is always represented in this manner with a cloak, covering both his arms; and is often placed between *Aesculapius* and his daughter *Hygieia*, and sometimes standing by *Aesculapius* alone. In both cases he appears like a boy. He stands with *Aesculapius* alone in a medal of *Caracalla*, and between him and *Hygieia* in the medals of *Lucius Verus* and *Philip* the younger, as also in a sculpture in *Montfaucon*^a. The god and goddess of physic and health, and the god of recovery are proper companions one of another. The third figure here may be *Hygieia*, with the *calathus* upon her head^b; the drapery is very doubtful, and the serpent, her usual symbol, does not appear, in which this sculpture agrees with that of *Montfaucon*. A man holding a horse may be an emblem of victory, peace or security. In a medal of *Commodus* with *Fortunae manenti* on the reverse, *Fortune* sits holding a horse by the bridle. There is so great a resemblance between this fourth figure and that of *Castor* upon some coins, that it has created an opinion in me, that it may have been intended for *Castor*, or *Geta* under that figure, holding his *Cyllarus* in his hand. If the habit be set aside (which is very obscure) how exactly does this answer to *Oiselius*'s account of a coin of *Geta*'s, where he is represented in the figure of *Castor*, in a military dress, holding a spear in his left hand, and leading a horse by the bridle with his right^c? The figure here indeed holds the spear in his right hand, and the horse in his left; but that is no material difference. *Castor* is usually distinguished from his brother by a horse, according to *Horace*:

*Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
Pugnis*^d.

But *Montfaucon* has given us a sculpture of *Castor* and *Pollux* together, each holding a horse and a spear^e.

XCIII. AT the *Park-head* about half a mile south-east from this station lies the upper part of an imperfect altar. 'Tis plain the intention has been to dedicate it to *Jupiter optimus maximus*. But for what end the same thing is twice repeated, I will not pretend to guess. The letters are rude and unevenly cut, and possibly the inscription never was finished, if one may conjecture from the vacant space below the second line.

XCIV. THE three preceding numbers have not been published before; and I believe I may in effect say so of the following figure, tho' Mr. *Warburton* in the last edition of his map of *Northumberland* has given some sort of a representation of it. It is a remarkable figure, which usually goes by the name of *Robin of Risingham* or *Robin of Redsdale*, and is cut out upon the face of a huge piece of a rock, that has fallen off from the main one. It is on the side of a hill or rock near the *Park-head*, and about half a mile from the station at *Risingham*. The image is in *basso relievo*, and both the sculpture and stone very coarse. I take it by the drapery and symbols to be certainly *Roman*, tho' some from the rudeness of the sculpture have thought it *British*. And probably it is the emperor *Commodus* represented under the figure of *Hercules*. The square stone beside him must, I suppose, be an altar, and what he carries in his left arm a club. On his left shoulder are distinctly seen a quiver and arrows, and in his right hand a bow, which agree with the character given him by *Herodian*, who celebrates him as a most exquisite archer^f. What he wears on his head looks like an helmet. Every body knows that *Commodus* affected to be called the *Roman Hercules*, and to be worshipped as such. We have his coins with *Herculi Romano Augusto*, *Herculi Romano conditori*,

^a Montfaucon, Tom. I. pl. CLXXXVI. f. 7.

^b Ibid. Tom. I. part. II. liv. II. ch. I.

^c Geta juvenis Severi imperatoris filius, sub forma Castoris, militari habitu, sinistra hastam tenentis, et dextra equum fraeno apprehensum manu ducentis. Thef. sel. num. See also above

Book I. ch. VIII. pag. 127. where Severus and his two sons are mentioned on a seal under the figures of Jupiter, Castor and Pollux.

^d Serm. Lib. II. 1. 26.

^e Tom. I. pl. CXCIV. f. 1.

^f Lib. I. c. 15.

conditori, &c.^a And there are in *Cambden* some remarkable passages to this purpose. This figure then might represent the *Roman Hercules* triumphant and victorious, after things had been settled in *Britain* by *Pertinax*, and *Commodus* assumed the name of *Britannicus*. The face of the whole piece of rock on which the image is cut out, is an irregular figure of five sides. That side which rests on the ground is six feet and a half; the perpendicular from the *vertex* to this side eight feet; the two sides to the right of this perpendicular each of them five feet; the uppermost side to the left seven; and the lower four; and the stone is just about six feet thick. The figure stands upright. These measures were too large to be brought within the compass of our draught.

BEFORE I leave *Risingham*, I must take some notice of two inscriptions more, which we have in Mr. *Warburton's* map of *Northumberland*, whose originals I could not find, and believe they are broken and lost. The first is thus represented in the map.

his inscription with two
a, communicated to Dr.
Hunter. By Dr. Hunter, are
published in the *Phil. Trans.*
1774, pag. 160.

FORTVNA	<i>Fortunae</i>
A V G	<i>Augusti</i>
A E L	<i>Aelii</i>
PROCVLIN	<i>Proculinus</i>
V. S.	<i>votum solvit.</i>

I suppose this has been an altar. The E at the end of the first line I fancy has been overlooked.

THE copy of the other is more confused and unintelligible, as to the name of the person who erected the altar, tho' it has been evidently dedicated to *Mars Victor*; which is all that can be certainly known about it. It is thus represented by Mr. *Warburton*:

MARTI	<i>Marti</i>
VICTOR	<i>Victori</i>
..RRON...	
AV...EINV...	
TRIB. AG...	

I scarce think the last AG is for *Augusti*. By their situation these letters should rather have been vs. However in the preceding inscription AVG is distinct, which shews that there was at this time but one emperor, who was probably *Commodus*, for he had wars and was victorious here.

ABOUT half a mile north from *Risingham*, close by *Watling street* and the high way (which is near to or upon it) lies an altar much of the same size and shape with that at *Risingham*, which stands in the gate of the station, of which I have given the draught^b. It has a *praefericulum* and *patera* on one side, and a garland on the other. There has no doubt been an inscription upon it, tho' now not the least sign of a letter appears. I think this cannot well be the same altar, which with the inscription upon it Dr. *Hunter* has described in the *Philosophical Transactions*^c: for the doctor says he found that near *Riechester*. However, if this be not the same, I could neither see nor hear any thing of it. The inscription the Doctor has given us, runs thus:

D M	<i>Dis Manibus</i>
C IVL FL	<i>Caius Julius Florus</i> [or <i>Flavia tribu</i>]
INGEN	<i>Ingenuus</i>
.....
MI LEG	<i>miles legionis</i>
VIV F	<i>sextae victricis</i> [piae] <i>fidelis.</i>

According to some, there is another instance of four names for the same person; and

^a Goltzii Thesaur. p. 7. ^b N. LXXXIII. ^c Numb. 278.

and where *Caius Julius* make two of them^a. Though Mr. *Ward* there also chuses to refer one of the names rather to the tribe.

THERE is also an inscription in Mr. *Warburton's* map of *Northumberland*, which was at *Trough-end*; but the original is lost, and his copy is altogether unintelligible.

XCIV^a. THIS stone was lately dug up at *Riechester*, the next fort on *Riechester*. *Watling street*. The stone itself and the letters of the inscription are rude and rough. It is a sepulchral monument erected by the tribune *Honoratus* for one *Hermagoras*, that had been brought up by him. As *alumno* is in the dative case, so *Hermagora* must be so too. There is no appearance of an *e* at the end of the name, tho' there is room enough for it; and therefore this is probably the dative, after the *Greek* manner. *Fabius Honoratus* tribune of the first cohort of the *Vangiones* is mentioned in an inscription found at *Chesters* near *Walwick* on the wall^b. And the same cohort was also at *Risingham*, as appears from another inscription^c. The face of this stone where the inscription is, appears of a red colour, different from the rest of the stone. It is so like the effect of fire, that I know not what else to ascribe it to. The back and sides of the stone are so uneven and rugged, and in all respects of such a form, as to make it evident, that it has been so fixed, as that the face of the stone only was designed to be visible; and consequently a fire could not have the same effect upon the other sides, which were hid in the wall.

XCIV^b. THE learned Mr. *Gale* conjectures that *Herculenti* is the same as *Herculi*, the termination *enti* being a *metaplasmus* in declining the name *Hercules* after the *Greek* manner. Something like this may be seen in other inscriptions, as *Chryseti* for *Chrysae* in *Reinesius*^d. This ingenious conjecture is also confirmed by the instance of *Hermagoras* in the preceding inscription, and naturally reminds us of the altar erected to *Hercules* with the *Greek* inscription upon it now at *Corbridge*^e. Mr. *Ward* chuses to read this inscription thus: *Deo Herculi Lucius Entius*. The name *Entius* is found in *Gruter*^f. The club of *Hercules* is on one side of the altar. We have a very large altar erected to the same deity at *Risingham*^g. *Corbridge*, *Risingham*, and *Riechester* are all stations upon the military way called *Watling street*.

XCIV^c. THIS is a small altar lately found at the same place. It has had, in all probability, an inscription, tho' now not legible. There are several strokes on the face of the stone, that appear like letters; but I rather believe most of them to be accidental cuts of the plough. I have represented them as they appear, but shall not attempt any explication.

XCIV^d. THE stone with this fair and curious inscription upon it was lately dug up at *Riechester*, and is now in my own possession. The back part of it is rude and undressed; which manifestly shews it to have been built up in some wall, perhaps of a temple. On the face of the stone, where the inscription is cut, there appear in two or three places the plain marks of fire; the same appearance which I observed on another of the stones found at this place^h. The letters of the inscription are very well cut; and all of them that remain, are still very fair, and distinct: only a piece of the stone is broken off at one corner, which cannot yet be retrieved; and with it a small part of the inscription is lost. The addition of *socio* to *invicto Soli* deserves a remark. *Soli comiti* is frequent on medals, and I imagine *Soli socio* to have much the same meaningⁱ. The *Antonine*, for whose safety this was vowed, must have been either *Commodus* or *Caracalla*. *Commodus* was the first

α) Αιτησάμενος Δ
τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνέ
στατον ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ
πύλιν. Χρονολογ. Σύνοψ.

who

^a Northumberland, N. LXXXV. See the observations.

^b N. XXVI.

^c N. LXXXII.

^d Pag. 909.

^e N. CVI.

^f P. MCXLVII. n. 9.

^g N. LXXXI.

^h N. XCIV. a.

ⁱ Arma deosque parant comites.

Virg. Aen. II. 181.

who assumed the conjoined titles of *pius* and *felix*, but then in inscriptions to him there is usually some other distinguishing title; whereas the form of the names here is such, as is usually ascribed to *Caracalla*. This suits well enough with the conjecture of his being the author of the *Itinerary*; and with the assign'd *Roman* limits at the peace of *Severus* and *Caracalla*; since it appears from hence that *Riechester*, the undoubted *Bremenium*, was possessed by the *Romans* in the reign of *Caracalla*, and by the erecting this new temple that they had no apprehensions of being soon dislodg'd from this station; tho' probably it was then the boundary. The inscription was erected by *Lucius Caecilius Optatus*, tribune of the first cohort of the *Varduli*. The great distance between the G and the L in the fifth line, that is, between the last letter of the emperor's name, and the first of the tribune's, is very remarkable. The *Varduli* were a people of *Hispania citerior* situated not far from the west end of the *Pyrenaeen* mountains. There are another people in *Hispania citerior* usually named *Grovii*, and sometimes *Gronii*^a. At the first sight of this inscription I concluded that CRANEIS must be the name of the same people, for c and g are oft interchanged; and *Granei* or *Granii* look'd like the name *Grovii* or *Gronii*, and as I apprehended bid fair to be truer than either. I therefore read *cum commilitonibus* [or *contubernaliibus*] *Craneis*; but I now with pleasure resign this conjecture for a better of the learned and sagacious Mr. Gale, which he kindly imparted to me in a letter. "In the *Riechester* inscription (says he) which is indeed very beautiful, the letters so c in the first line are certainly for *socio*. Gruter p. xxii. 12. gives us an inscription D. I. M. ET SOLI SOCIO, which is read *Deo invicto Mithrae et Soli socio*. In the *Riechester* inscription the compliment is paid to the emperor by giving him the sun for his companion, as this in Gruter associates him with the god *Mithras*, and as he appears upon the medals of *Constantine* and others with the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI. There is no farther difficulty till we come to the sixth line, where the *cohors prima Vardulorum* shews itself beyond exception. The CVM COR I read (with the beginning of the seventh line) *cum consecraneis*. The word *consecranei* is not very common, but we have it in *Julius Capitolinus*, Gord. c. 14. *Sacرات commilitones, imo etiam consecranei, i. e. ejusdem sacramenti militaris participes*, than which nothing can be more apposite." Since the receipt of this letter from Mr. Gale, I have re-examined the original; and am convinced that it has been an N at the end of the sixth line. For the breadth of the letter, which may be certainly determined from the visible tops of both the vertical strokes, is exactly the same with the breadth of the other N's in this inscription, but sensibly less than the breadth of any other M in the whole. The imperfect letter at the end of the seventh line seems to have been an o, tho' the repetition of the word *Deo* appears harsh and uncommon. If we could suppose it to have been a c, Mr. Gale would read DECR. PVB. for *decreto publico*. As it is probable that the last line has concluded with the usual S. L. M. so unless we suppose TEMPL. for *templum* (with which *votum* agrees^b) to have stood at the end of the seventh line, there will be no room for it at all. Temples were frequently vowed as well as altars^c, and we have one remarkable instance more in this collection of a temple *pro salute domus divinae*^d. This inscription also gives us a certain discovery of a new auxiliary cohort in *Britain*; and either this, or an equestrian cohort of the same people, seems to be mentioned in a *Durham* inscription^e.

XCIV^a. THIS is a small and monstrously rude figure of *Silvanus*, lately found at the same place. The breasts are two rude circular lines, and the eyes two such holes. The nose and the mouth are expressed on the stone by three cross cuts, just as here repre-

^a I find it has been Gronii originally in Pomponius Mela, tho' this word be now thrown out and Grovii introduced by the editor. See Pomp. Mela. p. 304. in not. 13. Edit. 2. Francker. Ann. 1700. p. 305.

^b Aedes Apollini vota. Liv. iv. 25.

^c —Reddere victimas
Aedemque votivam memento
Nos humilem feriemus agnam.
Hor. Lib. II. Od. 17.

^d See Suffex inscription.

^e N. xxvi.

represented. He seems to have a *patera* in his left hand, though figures in a sacrificing posture generally hold it in the right ^a.

XCV. AT this place was also found that remarkable altar, with a curious inscription upon it, published by Mr. *Cambden* ^b. The original was removed to *Conington*, where it has been preserved, and the letters are still fair and distinct. And as *Cambden* says, the plain and distinct mention of *Bremenium* upon this large altar does strongly argue *Riechester* to be the place. The implication and proper cut of the letters, which is neglected in *Cambden*, I have endeavoured to supply from the original: the reading I have given of the body of the inscription is the same with his, which I take to be right; but no body (that I know of) has given a satisfactory explication of the D R S. at the top: I think it plain, that they are to be read *deae Romae sacrum*. That they made a goddess of *Rome*, and erected altars and temples to her, needs no proof to those who have any acquaintance with medals, and other *Roman* antiquities. There is a curious altar at *Elenborough*, erected GENIO LOCI FORTVNAE REDVCI ROMAE AETERNAE, &c ^c. I once thought of *dijis Romanis sacrum*, but this suits not with *numini ejus* in the body of the inscription; for which reason the learned Dr. *Gale*'s reading, *deabus Rumabus sacrum*, cannot be admitted. The altar then is sacred to the goddess *Rome*, erected by the *duplares* of a detachment of *exploratores* or scouts at *Bremenium*, under the command of *Caius Caepio Charitinus* the tribune. *Caepio* is a consular name, and we read in the *Notitia*, of a *praefectus numeri exploratorum Lavatris*. Whether they were the same with these, I will not undertake to determine. The *duplares* were soldiers, who had a double allowance of corn, of which a part of the *Roman* soldiers pay consisted. The *exploratores* were, like our scouts, sent out to discover the enemy, or their country. When they were in garrison, it is probable they were generally placed in the more advanced stations, or such as were most conveniently situated for prospect, and discovering the first approach of the enemy; as also for guarding the passes against their inroads. ^d

*α I should read
the end of this is
voto soluto li
merito: or votum
ab omni merito.*

XCVI. THIS, and the following inscription, together with several coins, have been lately dug up at *Riechester*. This altar was found near the north-west corner of the fort, with the face downward. The first words in it are plainly *Silvano Pantheo*. It is common now to give the name of *Pantheus* to the figure of any god, who has the symbols of other gods joined with his own. And in some inscriptions *Pantheus* is spoken of as a particular god. Thus we have in *Gruter*, SIGNVM PANTHEI TESTAMENTO FIERI IVSSIT, and SIGNVM PANTHEVM SVA PECVNIA D. D. as also PANTHEO AVG. likewise HERCVLI MERCVRIO ET SILVANO SACRVN ET DIVO PANTHEO ^e. And *Dion* informs us, that *Drusilla* was called *Panthea*, from the variety of divine honours that her brother *Caligula* ordered to be paid to her after her death ^f. A late ingenious friend conjectured, that the expression SILVANO PANTHEO might denote the whole groupe of *silvan* deities;

Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani ^g.
Et quoscunque deos umbrosaque silva feroxque
Rus habet ^h.

The altar has been erected for the safety of *Rufinus* the tribune, and of his wife *Lucilla*, by *Eutychus* a freedman of the consul. This *Rufinus*, no doubt, had at that time the command of the garrison here, and is different both from the tribune mentioned in the foregoing inscription, and in that which follows.

XCVII.

^a Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido.
Virg. Aen. iv. 60.
See Durham N. xxiii. and Cumberland N. xl. ix.

^b Pag. 1073.

^c See Cumberland N. lxxviii. and Montfaucon tom. ii. part i. liv. ii. chap. 14.

^d P. 1.

^e Lib. lxx. p. 648.

^f Ov. Met. Lib. i. 193.

^g Id. ib. 693.

XCVII. THIS inscription resembles the centurial kind, and contains nothing material in it but the name of the tribune *Erasinus*, except that the letters ER are connected in a peculiar manner. It was found near the western rampart of the station, not far from the spot where the foregoing altar was dug up. I doubt not but it has been built in the face of the rampart.

SEVERAL of the coins found lately at this station were of *Marcus Aurelius*, one of which I had my self. This confirms to us, that the *Romans* were about that time possessed of this and the neighbouring stations; and makes it more probable, that the *Antonine* mentioned above in an inscription at *Risingham* ^a might be *Marcus Aurelius*; and that *Calpurnius Agricola*, his legate, was the person whose names have been erased out of the next inscription. It is the observation of the great Mr. *Addison*, that “one finds “as many figures of the excellent emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, as of all the “rest together ^b.”

Elsdon.

XCVIII. THE two next inscriptions were found at *Elsdon*, near two miles east from *Watling-street*, in the place called the *Mote*. They are both altars, and were dug up about seventeen years ago. Dr. *Harle* of *Alnwick* took a copy of the inscriptions soon after they were found, which I have by me. They were afterwards carried off by Mr. *Warburton*. This was removed from *Hexham* to *Durham*, where it now is. The other I retrieved with some difficulty, and have it at present in my possession. They have both been published by Mr. *Gordon* ^c, who mistakes in saying the latter is at *Durham*, where it never was. This is very curious; and the remark is just, which the ingenious Dr. *Harle* made, when the altar was first dug up, that the lines which are wanting had been evidently struck out with a tool; which is usually observed to have been practised on revolutions in the empire, or upon the person's falling into disgrace, who is mentioned in the inscription. This particularly is thought to have been done with relation to *Geta*, by the order of his brother *Caracalla*, in some other inscriptions in *Britain* ^d; though I cannot think that the name of *Geta* has been upon this altar: for this neither agrees with the letter c, yet very plain and visible, nor with the sequel of the inscription, which is very clear and distinct. For the first words in the fifth line are undoubtedly *Augustali propaetore*, which makes it certain, that *legato*, and the name of the lieutenant, have gone before, according to the usual form. If we suppose *Calpurnius Agricola* to be the name that has been designedly erased, I believe that as the letters will exactly fill up the empty space, so that supply will suit very well, both with what goes before, and what follows. The inscription then I believe has been thus:

BONO GENERIS
HUMAN · IMPE
RANTE · CALPVR
NIO · AGRICOLA ·
AVG · PR · PR · POSVIT
AC · DEDICAVIT ·
C · A · ACILIVS ·

This will make all easy and plain; and there is nothing in the cut of the letters, which is pretty good both in this and the next, or any other circumstances of the inscription, but what suits well enough with the time of this legate. And *imperante Calpurnio Agricola*, I take to be the same with *sub Calpurnio Agricola*, or perhaps *jussu Calpurnii Agricolae*, which so frequently occurs in such sort of inscriptions. Mr. *Gordon* reads it *bono Genio humano imperanti*, but this is contrary to the plain letters upon the stone. There is some difficulty in forming a notion of the meaning of an altar erected *bono generis*

^a N. LXXVII.

^b *Travels through Italy*, in his works, p. 118.

^c It. Sept. plate XXXII, XL1. p. 94, 95.

^d See N. CIX.

generis humani; but this may seem as intelligible as an altar erected *bono fato, bono eventui*, &c. and perhaps has much the same meaning^a. There are coins with *Salus generis humani* upon them^b. If the conjecture concerning *Calpurnius Agricola* be admitted, it will then follow, that this inscription belongs to the time of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, whose legate this *Agricola* was; and consequently that the *Romans* were in his time possessed of this station.

HAVING given my own sentiments of this inscription, I must acknowledge, that a different conjecture has occurred, which several of my friends incline to prefer; and that is, that the following fragment and this may have been originally but one stone, and that the whole inscription has run thus:

DEO MATVNO	<i>Deo Matuno</i>
PRO SALVT ET	<i>pro salute et</i>
BONO GENERIS	<i>bono generis</i>
HVMAN. IMPE	<i>humani impe-</i>
RANTE. GETA. AVG.	<i>rante Geta Augusto,</i>
SVB LEG.	<i>sub legato</i>
AVG. PR. PR. POSVIT	<i>Augustali propaetore posuit</i>
AC. DEDICAVIT	<i>ac dedicavit</i>
C. A. ACIL	<i>Caius Aulus Acilius</i>

But I do not think it probable, upon reviewing them, that both the fragments have been parts of the same stone.

XCIX. ON this inscription we have the local deity *Matunus*, concerning whom I can learn nothing more than his name, which, so far as I remember, is only mentioned in this inscription. I know not how Mr. *Gordon* happened to add *FE* at the end of the lower line, since there are no such letters nor appearance of them in the original, nor is there room for them upon the stone^c.

NEXT to the inscriptions on the north side of the wall in *Northumberland*, I shall take notice of those which belong to places south from it, beginning with *Corbridge*.

C. THERE are seven inscriptions at *Corbridge*, of which this is in the fore wall of an house on the right hand, as you enter the village from the east. It has no doubt been a curious inscription, and is twice taken notice of in the *Philosophical Transactions*, by Dr. *Hunter* and Dr. *Todd*^d. I don't well understand Dr. *Todd's* account, who says, "There I saw altars inscribed; " one IMP. M. AVRELIO another, LEG. II. AVG. COH. II II." But this and the following stone, which he refers to, are honorary monuments, not altars; and neither of the inscriptions are exactly represented, as appears from the copies here given, which were taken from the originals. This stone is broken both on the left side, and at the bottom, so that although the inscription belongs to one of the *Antonines*, yet whether to *Marcus Aurelius*, *Commodus*, or *Caracalla*, may be a question. It seems to have been a large stone, and the inscription: *Imperatori Caesari Marco Aurelio Antonino tribunitiae potestatis*, &c.^e

Corbridge.

CI. THIS is in the church wall, and no doubt must be the same with that which Dr. *Todd* mentions. It is of the same sort with those which have frequently been erected by the legions and legionary cohorts, when they were employed in building any work, and I believe usually set in the face of it. The o and h are imperfect, part of the upper *stratum* of the stone being gone off.

CL. THIS

^a Cumberland, N. LXVIII.

^b See an instance in one of Galba's in Camden's *Britann.* p. 749.

^c It. Sept. plate xxxii. p. 94.

^d N. 278, 330.

^e See Goltzius *Thesaur.* p. 92.

CII. THIS inscription is more imperfect than either of the former. It is broken at the top, and at one end, and is now fixed in the corner of a house in the town. The letters which remain are very fair, but one can't tell how much is wanting. I was told that this stone was found not many years ago, and that there were more letters upon it when first discovered, which were afterward broken off by the workmen, when they put it into the wall. If we suppose the word in the lower line to have been *vallum* or *valli*, and *bis* in the preceding line to have expressed the number of paces, we have still more reason to regret the loss of the rest of it. I could not be sure that the last imperfect stroke was the top of an *i*, tho' the situation of it so high makes it probable. The leaf before the word *VAL* does not

not? See what is
for points, p. 191.

favours the antiquity of it.^a

MR. *WARBURTON* in his map of *Northumberland* represents an altar with the letters *SLLM* on the base, as found near this place; but I am persuaded it is no other than that which I saw at *Walton* near *Carrveran*, a draught of which I have given before in this collection^a.

CIII. THE sculpture here represented is in the front of an old house. The *Victory* is curious and entire, being winged, with the usual drapery and attitude. What she takes hold of seems to have been the ornamental part of a stone, on which there has been an inscription. Parallel instances may be seen in this collection^b. The only peculiarity in this is, that she seems to set each foot on a ball or globe.

CIV. THE lesser of these stones is in the jamb of a door, and the larger lies at the door of another house in the town. The people call this latter a horse. I have placed them both under the same number, as believing them to be of the same kind. The lesser appears to be a lion with some other animal under him, the head of which is broken off. In the other the heads of both animals are gone. The lion does not seem to be devouring or destroying the other animal, but rather defending it, and I believe it is of the same nature with the sculpture at *Walwick grange*^c, to which I shall refer for the explication of these; tho' there the figure is human. The larger of these figures is very coarse and much defaced.

CV. THE market-cross stands on an altar, on which there has been an inscription, but now defaced. On the sides of the altar are these figures. They were half covered under the ground, or under the steps of the cross; but the earth and steps being removed, they appeared at full length, and are plainly two human figures. In one hand of each nothing can be discovered. What they have in the other is represented in the draught as near as I could express it. One of the figures seemed to be in a posture of motion, with a lyre or harp in his hand, which made me suspect it might be *Bacchus*; and the other holding a bow unstrung, like *Apollo*; unless both may be supposed to represent *Apollo*. There was a faint stroke went up from one end of the bow, which possibly may have been the string, or an arrow, which *Apollo* held together with the bow.

CVI. THE greatest curiosity at this place is the next inscription, cut upon an altar, that stands yet in the church-yard, and is the only *Greek* inscription (of any note) that has hitherto been discovered in *Britain*. It has already been twice published in the *Transactions*, by Dr. *Hunter* and Dr. *Todd*^d. The differences between their copies and this will appear upon comparing them one with another. This copy was taken after the original had been thrice visited and examined

^a N. LXVI.

^b See *Northumberland*, N. IX. and *Scotland*, N. IV.

^c See N. XXII. above, p. 215.

^d N. 278, 330.

examined with care, and every variation of the former copies diligently remarked. Dr. *Todd's* delineation is different both from Dr. *Hunter's* and this. He translates it, *Herculi Tyrio divina dona archisacerdotalia vel per summum sacerdotem offerenda*; but he offers no reason to confirm this translation. Dr. *Hunter's* copy has been taken with more exactness, but not without some little variations from the original; nor has he translated or explained the inscription. But the most material difference between the other copies and the original is in the second letter of the second line, which they represent as ψ λ δ ν , tho' it is plainly ι ω τ α . The next letter in the same line is very distinct, as to the greatest part of it; but towards the top is a flaw in the stone. If no stroke or part of the letter is lost in this flaw, the letter must be ψ ι ; if this break be supposed to contain a part of the letter, which is most probable, then it may either be ϕ ι , or rather a double ρ ω with one face backward, as the double ρ is frequently expressed upon *Latin* inscriptions. If this be admitted, the word will be *Tirrio*, probably for *Tyrio*, and the whole may then, as I apprehend, be translated as in the reading.

“ SEVERAL antient writers take notice of the peculiar regard and worship paid to *Hercules* by the *Tyrians*. *Arrian* says his temple in that city was the oldest upon record*. *Diodora* the archpriestess, mentioned in this inscription, might perhaps be devoted to his service. That this was an office of great dignity, and not below persons of the first rank, appears from another inscription produced by *Montfaucon*^b: ΚΑΡΑΚΥΛΑΙΑΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ &c. that is, *Caracylaea* archpriestess descended from kings. We have likewise an inscription in the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, where one *Aurelia Fausta* has this title given her. That inscription having been erected at *Smyrna*, the learned editor supposes the lady was archpriestess to *Diana*. And among other reasons he assigns this: Because priestesses ministered only to female deities^c. Now if this observation was universally true, it would destroy the supposition above mentioned relating to *Diodora*. But there is an inscription in *Gruter*^d: ΑΤΕΡΙΑ ΣΑΚΕΡ . . . ΔΙΤΙΣ ΠΑ . . . ; which I think can mean nothing else but *Ateria* priestess of *Pluto*. And *Pausanias* says expressly, that 'twas customary for a virgin to officiate as priestess in the temple of *Neptune* in *Calaurea*^e. It appears therefore by these instances, that women were not wholly excluded from the priesthood of male deities. *Caracylaea*, in the inscription of *Montfaucon*, is said presently after to have been wife to C. *Julius Severus*; the same, as *Montfaucon* thinks, who according to the *Fasti consulares* was consul in the year 155. And why may we not suppose that *Diodora* was married to some commander of the *Roman* forces, who brought her hither, where she erected this altar in honour of the deity, to whose service she had been particularly devoted? And the like may be said with respect to other *Grecian* deities, whose altars are found here in *Britain* (as *Jupiter Dolichenus* and *Dea Syria*) which might be set up by persons originally of those countries, where these deities were more particularly worshipped.”

THE letters of this inscription are about two inches high. On one side of the altar is a wreath or garland, on the other an ox's head, and a knife, and the sides of the altar are twelve inches and a half broad.

CVII. *HEXHAM* is within three short miles of *Corbridge*, to which place belong the four new inscriptions. This stone is built up in one of the out-houses at the *Hermitage* near *Hexham*. It has been erected by one *Lucius Julius*, on account of a victory gained by some emperor, but what emperor this was, can't be determined from the inscription. As it is a single emperor,

Hexham.

* Exped. Alex. l. II. c. 16.

^b Palaeogr. Graec. p. 160.

^c Quia solis deabus administrabant sacerdotes feminae, p. 49.

^d P. cccxix. 4.

^e Ετι δ' ἐν Πισιδίᾳ ἱερὸν ἑρμιῶνα ἔστιν, ἱερὰ.

Ἰακ. δ' αὐτῶ παγίθης. Kew. p. 76. ed. 1583.

it may perhaps have been *Commodus*. The stone is in the corner of a house near the water side, and is a little worn with the weather, tho' the letters are still very legible. Mr. *Coatsworth* of that place was of opinion, that the stone had been brought from the wall; because the quarry from whence they had the stones, with which the house was built, is near the wall.

CVIII. IN the year 1726 two very curious and remarkable inscriptions were discovered here. A copy of them was taken by Mr. *Gale* in company with Dr. *Stukely*, which is now published in a letter in Mr. *Gordon's* appendix. The reverend Mr. *Andrews* of *Hexham* obliged a friend of mine with a copy of the same inscriptions, which he had taken. This inscription is upon a *Roman* altar in a vault under *Hexham* church; the other, which is the next following, is upon a covering stone there. Both the vault and these stones were discovered upon repairing the church, and afterwards closed up again. But lately, through the great civility of Mr. *Andrews*, I had leave to open the vault, and view the inscriptions. I spent some time in examining every particular, and have here represented them as I found them with the greatest impartiality. Every word and letter that remains in this is so plain, as to leave no room for any doubt. The not taking notice that the altar and inscription are both of them imperfect at the top, is the only material defect in the former representation. I look upon it as certain, that the letters which have filled up the deficient part of the line, have been these in *Italic*, LEG. AVG. PR PR; for thus the number of letters in this line will answer to the number in the others. I think also that there have been two or three lines above, which are broken off. These have probably contained the name of the legate, and of the god to whom the altar has been inscribed. The conjectures in the letter in Mr. *Gordon's* appendix are very ingenious, and the arguments used in support of them very learned and curious. The author supposes, that here is the name of a new legate, as also of a new body of horse, called *equites Caesarienses* (or *Caesariani*) *Corionototae*. The name *equites Caesarienses* is there justified by a parallel instance in *Gruter**; and the name *Corionototae*, that gentleman supposes to be a corruption of the *Roman* name of a people in these parts, perhaps *Curia* or *Coria Otadenorum*, and that *Corbridge* was the place. The rest of the inscription he judiciously explains to be a flattering acknowledgment of this person, that he was promoted by the immediate hand of the emperor; it being no new thing to call the emperors gods, and erect altars to them. But in a matter so entirely conjectural it is very excusable to suspend one's assent; and the more explanations are offered, it is the more probable that the truth will be found out. If *Q. Calpurnius Concessinius* was the imperial legate, I scarce think that he would in the same inscription stile himself praefect of horse. I rather believe, as I hinted before, that the name of the legate has been above, and is broken off. Perhaps it has been *sub legato Augustali*, or *pro salute legati Augustalis*. As to the word *Corionototarum*, I rather suppose that *Ptolemy's* *Coria* or *Curia* was a town of the *Gadani*, than of the *Otadini*. *Ptolemy's* *Coritani* are a people of one of the *provinciae Caesarienses* in *Britain*, and possibly from hence these horse might have the name of *Caesarienses Coritani*. *Coriototar* in the anonymous *Ravennas* is not unlike this name. I suppose it may have been mistaken by some transcriber for *Coriototae*, or *Corionototae*; the shape of the *Gothic* c is not unfavourable to this. But it seems more probable to me, that it was from some more distant country than any part of *Britain*, that these troops had the name of *Caesarienses Corionototae*, or *Caesarienses Corionototarum*. The *Crotoniatae* (inhabitants of *Croton* a city of *Greece*) are celebrated by *Strabo*; according to whom, "the last of these was equal to the first of the other *Greeks*." Possibly this name may have been designed for *Crotoniatarum*. If this be admitted, we may more easily account for the *Greek* inscriptions at *Corbridge* and *Lanchester*, and for the other evidences of *Grecian* auxiliaries,

that

* Page ccccxlv.

* Geogr. lib. vi. 262.

that appear in the neighbourhood. The explication of the rest of the inscription by the same learned gentleman, whom I mentioned above, is certainly just; that *praesentissimum numen dei* signifies the emperor, and *manu* intimates that *Quintus Calpurnius* was advanced to his post by the immediate hand of this emperor, supposed to be *Commodus*, who least deserved such titles, and yet most insisted on them. I find *numini praesenti* in an inscription to *Caracalla*^a. The word *praesenti* seems to be used in a different sense in these cases from that of *Horace*:

*Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras*^b.

And again in his ode concerning *Regulus*:

*Praesens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio*^c.

To what particular emperor this inscription must be referred, is hard to determine with certainty; though the next inscription favours *Caracalla*, rather than *Commodus*.

CIX. THIS is the other inscription mentioned in the preceding number. There can be no great doubt, with relation to the former part of it, which is not unlike the inscription at *Brugh* in *Richmondshire*^d; a copy of which was long ago published by Mr. *Cambden*, and runs thus: *Imperatori Caesari Marco Aurelio Antonino pio felici Augusto, &c.* Then follows a space, where the name of *Geta* has been erased. Just so in this inscription at *Hexham*, after much the same names and titles given to *Severus* and *Caracalla*, there follows a small space, where it is manifest, the words have been designedly erased with a tool. I believe therefore, that the whole inscription, when compleat, has stood in this form:

IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIUS.
PERTINAX ET IMP. CAES. M.
AVR. ANTONINVS PI
VS FEL. AVG. ET. GETA.
CAES. COHORTIVM.
VEXILLATIONES
FECERVNT.

*Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius
Pertinax et imperator Caesar Marcus
Aurelius Antoninus pi-
us felix Augustus et Geta
Caesar cohortium
vexillationes
fecerunt.*

I suppose the *vexillatio legionis* was made up of the several vexillations of the particular cohorts. And perhaps they might retain the name of *vexillationes cohortium*, when the vexillations of all the cohorts of the legion, that is, the whole vexillation of the legion it self was not present.^e These then might be the vexillations of some cohorts of one of the legions which were employed in building the wall, that might be occasionally at *Hexham*, and erect this inscription. Some of the inscription facing the right-hand is covered in the wall, on which the inscribed stone rests. The lower part of the stone is also fixed in the end wall of one of the passages into the vault; but not so as to hinder the lowest line from being read, though not without difficulty. The letters *FE...RVNT* are distinct and certain; and as much room is between the *E* and *R* as will contain *CE*: so that beyond all question it has been *fecerunt*, which compleats the inscription. The stone has had a raised bordering, which was spoiled, and made level with the rest of the stone, when it was built up in this place.

*a I should thin
now natural to
that this word
it was was doo.
and it differ
and that seems
the vexillatio
cohort, and som
if another was
in it so that they
not all be spce
there fore the
expression the*

CX. BESIDES these inscriptions which had been published before, I discovered another over the door head, that leads from the passage into the vault, but it is so imperfect, that nothing, I believe can be made of it. The first letters

in

^a Spon. Misc. erud. ant. p. 271.

^b Ep. 1. Lib. 11. 15.

^c Lib. 111. Od. v. 2.

^d See *Cambden* p. 919. and the observations on the *Yorkshire inscriptions* before N. xix.

in the two upper lines look very like twice IMP. C. for *Imperator Caesar*; which inclines me to conjecture, that this also has been to *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and that the two or three last lines have contained the name and other characters of the person erecting the monument, and perhaps the occasion of it.

THESE stones and inscriptions argue *Hexham* to have been a *Roman* station; for the plenty of free-stone so near makes it improbable, that in their modern buildings (or those later than *Roman*) they would have fetched any stones either from the *Roman* wall, or from *Corbridge*. And this might be a town in the *Roman* times, and yet not be mentioned in the *Itinerary*, nor continue so late as till the writing of the *Notitia*. I know not what name to give to it, unless we suppose it to have been *Ptolemy's Epiacum*. The situation of this does by no means answer, but it is plain from *Vinovium* and *Galatum*, that *Ptolemy* is here in confusion; and the mutual distances between these three places are not so far wrong, as their situation. I have elsewhere proved, that it is not *Axelodunum*, though it has long been possessed of that name^a.

Whitley castle.

CXI. THIS, and the three following belong to the *Roman* station, which has been at *Whitley castle*, near *Kirk-haugh*, in the south-west corner of the county of *Northumberland*. It is only the old *Roman* station that goes by the name of the *castle*. This station is upon the military way, usually called the *Maiden-way*. And this inscription is in the custody of Mr. *Henry Wallace* of *Whitley*, the proprietor of the ground in which the station has been. The stone is manifestly of that sort, that are usually inserted in the face of the walls or other works, built or rebuilt by the soldiers. And nothing more can be inferred from the inscription, but that a vexillation of the twentieth legion had rebuilt this station, or somewhat about it. The cut of the G is the same with that in the inscriptions at *Crawdendale Waitb* in *Westmorland*^b; and both must be low in the empire, and perhaps were cut near about the same time. When they were on their march between *West-Chester* (their stated quarters) and this station, they might cut the inscriptions in *Westmorland*, if they were employed there on some such occasion as here.

CXII. THIS inscription is in a house, that stands just at the south entry of the station, and is called *Castle-nook*. 'Tis a great pity it should be so imperfect and broken, since probably it has been much of the same nature with that, of which *Cambden* has given us the original, and which I shall next describe. I have set the reading under this inscription, which I take to be right. I know not whether the character like a *Greek* φ, in the third line, be only an ornamental stop, or designed for ΠΙΟ, or that the Π has been effaced, and this put only for ΙΟ, according to the like contraction in the inscription now in the library at *Edinburgh*^c. Nor am I able to determine, whether the first letters in the fourth line can have been PR for *praconsul*, a title that *Caracalla* also assumed^d; or for *praefectus*, the name of the commander having been at the end of the preceding line.

CXIII. SIR ROBERT COTTON would doubtless have procured and removed this stone, if possible, whatever is now become of it, for it is not to be seen at *Conington*. There is yet remaining at *Appleby*, in *Westmorland*, what I at first hoped had been the original; but I am now suspicious it is no more than a copy, though taken a century ago, and done in imitation of the original. There is at this place another copy or two cut out as this on stone, the originals of which I know are at *Conington*; which increases my jealousy about this, as does likewise a memorandum at the bottom of the stone on which this inscription is cut, namely, *de Astonmore* (signifying the place from whence

^a Book I. chap. VII. p. 109.

^b N. IV. v.

^c See Scotland, N. xxv.

^d See Goltz. Thesaur. in Caracalla, p. 90.

whence it came) which is undoubtedly modern; though this might be added when the stone was removed to *Appleby*, and so the *Roman* inscription notwithstanding be genuine. However from this and *Cambden's* copy diligently compared, I have given such a reading to it, as appeared to me the most probable. *Cambden* himself tells us^a, "that the inscription was imperfect, and "compendiously written with the letters linked one in another;" yet he has given it only in plain *Roman* capitals. But by the help of the stone at *Appleby*, I have brought it nearer to the true form. The inscription is manifestly to *Caracalla*, and the titles given to his predecessors are agreeable to the *Roman* history. All that *Cambden* says in relation to it by way of explication, is, "that the third cohort of the *Nervii* built a temple here to *Antoninus* "the emperor, the son of *Severus*." But in order to make some sense of the latter part of the inscription, we must consider it more nicely. In the ninth line there have been most probably some numeral letters after *IMP*, and more after *TR POT*. And these may be determined by consulting history and the inscriptions of coins, in order to know how oft he had enjoyed the tribunitial power, and been saluted *imperator*, when he was the fourth time consul, which was the second year after his father's death, and his leaving *Britain*. I find one *Roman* coin which seems to determine the whole^b; in which we have *TR. P. XVI. IMP. II. COS. IIII*. So that the ninth line has probably been *TR. POT. XVI. IMP. II. COS. IIII*. 'Tis true he had often, during the same consulate, the tribunitial power, and was oftner saluted *imperator*; but the vacant spaces seem not to admit any larger numbers. The *PP* at the end of the line is *patri patriae*. In the next line I apprehend there is only an *x* wanting before *VOTO*, thus: *AED EX VOTO aedem ex voto*, &c. *PR PR* for *propraetor* seems also to be effaced in the last line but one. But I am apt to think there has been nothing more in the last line, and that no letters are wanting between the *M* and *G* (tho' so represented in *Cambden* as if there were) and that we are to read *Genio Romae posuit*. So that if this temple has been erected to *Caracalla*, it has been dedicated to him as the *Genius* of *Rome*, or of the *Roman* people^c, a flattering compliment paid by the *Roman* people too oft to their emperors. Perhaps the name of the *propraetor* has been designedly struck out; but who he was, cannot be known from any other inscriptions: and as for the *Roman* historians, they are intirely silent with respect to any affairs in *Britain* at this time, and for a great while after, as I have shewn before in its proper place^d. To remove the difficulty that may seem to arise from *Caracalla's* being called the grandson of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, to whom his father *Severus* was no way related, nor ever adopted by him; it may not be amiss to repeat, what I observed before from *Xiphiline*^e: "that after the death of *Albinus*, *Severus* called himself the son "of *Marcus*, and brother of *Commodus*^f." Hence his son *Caracalla* is here called the grandson of *Marcus Antoninus*. "But there is another difficulty "in the words of the inscription, and that is, how *Caracalla* could be ad- "nepos or atnepos both to *Trajan* and *Nerva*; for if he was so to the "former, as the regular series of the preceding emperors requires, he must "have been *trinepos* to *Nerva*: perhaps therefore the word *ET* in the "sixth line should be *FIL*; and we ought to read, *Divi Trajani Parthici*, "filii divi Nervae, adnepoti. This will make the genealogy consistent; and "the manner of expression is not improper, and in effect the same as, *Tra- "jani adnepoti, Nervae trinepoti*." The inscription was erected in the year 213, when *Caracalla* was the fourth time consul. I have described and explained it next to number *CXII*, because I think these two are somewhat of a like nature.

CXIV.

^a Pag. 1040.

^b See Goltzii Thesaur. p. 93.

^c See before, pag. 199. and afterwards the ob-
servations on Cumberland. N. LXVIII.

^d Book I. ch. v. p. 67.

^e See Book I. chap. IV. p. 56.

^f Τὸ πρὸς Μάρκου ἑστὶ καὶ τὸ Κομμοδὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
Hæro. Lib. I. p. 553.

¹⁾ Woodjorde says
it in the same indy
manner, as Cambden

CXIV. THIS altar is now in the church yard at *Kirk-haugh*. Mr. *Warburton* gave the figure and inscription in his map of *Northumberland*. 'Tis erected to *Minerva* and *Hercules victor*; but by whom, or upon what occasion, does not appear. "The Greek writers call those deities, who were worshipped together at the same altar, *σύνθετοι*". And these two, *Minerva* and *Hercules*, might perhaps be joined on this altar, to intimate that the Roman arms were conducted with equal skill and fortitude." ^a

*Plutarch observes that
it was a common altar
dedicated to Hercules and the
Jes. Lucet. Rom. 59.*

C U M B E R L A N D.

THERE is no station upon the wall, to which so great a number of inscriptions belong, as to this at *Burdoswald*; for to this place must be referred the twenty five that follow.

Burdoswald.

I. AT *Willoford*, on the east side of the river *Irthing*, and not half a mile from *Burdoswald*, are this and the two following, which no doubt have been brought from *Burdoswald*, or the neighbourhood of it; for there is not the least reason to imagine that there ever has been a station there. This was in an out-house built up in a chimney, and near the top, which covered part of the inscription. What we could see was all very legible, tho' we could not come near it. The M in this inscription is of a very remarkable figure, as is also the c in the third line, the whole favouring of the low empire. The name of the commander is covered in the chimney. The word *Dacorum* is at length in the third line, which shews the reading to be, not *cohors Aelia Dacica* but *Dacorum*. So it is also in the *Notitia*, according to which the *cohors Aelia Dacorum* kept garrison at *Amboglanna*. And the multitude of inscriptions which we meet with here, making mention of this cohort under several different commanders, and some of them plainly of the low empire, is a very strong argument to prove this station at *Burdoswald* to be *Amboglanna*. I cannot find that either this inscription, or that which follows, has been published before.

II. THIS was built up in the court wall, at the same place, but by removing the rubbish, that lay in the way, with some difficulty we saw under it; and the face of the altar being downward, so much of the inscription was seen, as I have given, the letters of which were very clear and apparent. But the left side of the altar was fast in the wall, and so part of the letters on that hand could not be discovered. However, enough was certainly seen to shew that this altar had been erected by the same *cohors Aelia Dacorum*, when *Maximus* (as I read the name) had the command of it.

III. THIS large altar is built up in the corner of the house, but there are no letters upon it now, that are legible. I take it for granted, that some one of those inscriptions, which *Cambden* took at this place, has been on this altar; though by being so fully exposed to the weather, the letters are now entirely defaced. And as it is a large altar and broad, though low, I fancy the following inscription^b, whose original I can find no where else, may have been it, because the length and number of the lines seem to suit it best.

I. O. M.
OH. T. AEL. DA
C . . . C . . . A. GETA
IRELSAVRNES.

*Jovi optimo maximo
cohors prima Aelia Dacorum
cui praeest Aurelius Geta.*

This altar has been also erected by the same cohort as the two former. I suppose

^a Τὸ πρῶτον συνέθετον διὰ τὴν ἱερὴν ἰσχυρίαν Ἀμάρην
ἢ Ἀναρδελίαν. Strab. L. xi. p. 512.

^b See *Cambden's Brit.* p. 1038.

suppose the second c in the third line has been for *cui*, and the p for *præest* is effaced. The last line is so confused, as not to be rectified.

BESIDES these there are some other stones, which, I believe, have had inscriptions upon them. In the jamb of the door of the dwelling house is a stone with the centurial mark, and some obscure letters on it, but only an I that is legible; and another of the same sort, with the same mark, and letter visible, in another door of the same house. On another large stone, built up in a corner of the same house, is a large E very visible, but nothing more. Perhaps it has been H. S. E. for *hic situs est*. There is also another large stone built up in the court-wall, upon which there may possibly be an inscription; but the side on which it must be, if at all, is intirely covered.

IV. AT *Underhaugh*, a house at the foot of the hill between *Burdoswald* and the river *Irthing*, was this altar, in the jamb of the door of a dwelling house. Only part of the inscription is now to be read, part of it being covered, and the rest effaced, though the letters, which remain, are very plain and well cut. The last three look like A...DA... and perhaps have been *Aeliae Dacorum*. For I think it probable, that NI in the first line may be part of the word *signifer*; then perhaps follow his two names TORASIVS TOVTO, both which are in *Gruter*^a; and so the inscription, as to the form of it, agrees with what remains of number VI, which is yet at *Burdoswald*.

V. WITHIN the station of *Burdoswald* this and the two following inscriptions are yet remaining, which all belong to the same cohort with the preceding. This is an imperfect piece of an altar, the under part of which is broken off and lost. It has been published before by Mr. *Gordon*^b, but the two last letters in the second and third lines are omitted by him. *Anio* must be the name, or part of the name of some person, who belonged to this cohort. The name *Anianius* is in *Gruter*^c, but I will not say that this has been the name here.

VI. MR. GORDON has published this likewise^d, who supposes the last letters to have been AED; though to me they seem evidently AEL for *Aelia*. This stone is now in the wall of a yard or garden near the south side of the station.

VII. THE substance of this inscription has been published by *Cambden*^e, but he neither describes the shape of the altar, nor expresses either the irregular order of the lines, or aukward shape of the letters. Part of the commander's name I could not well discern. *Cambden* makes it *Lutictius* or *Luticius*, but to me it rather appeared to be *P. Olulictius*^f. The altar is built up in the forewall of a house, that stands within the fort. It has been erected by the same cohort, but under a different commander. I know not well, whether to read the third line *Tetriciana Romana*, or *Tetricianorum*. I suppose it to have taken this name from one of the *Tetrici*, who are among the thirty tyrants, and had a considerable power in *Britain*, and whose coins are also found here. This same cohort is called *Gordiana* in the very next number. Such sort of appellations are not unusual, and are designed as compliments to those persons from whose names they are derived. There is no doubt therefore, but the cohort, by assuming this title, intended to express their adherence to *Tetricus*. So *Pompeianus*, *Caesarianus*, *Galbianus*, &c. is used to signify one who had espoused the interest and party of *Pompey*, *Caesar*, *Galba*^g, &c. This brings us down to the reign of the emperor *Gallienus* (after the middle of

*at Burdoswald, which is
the same altar, as
described in the
next number.*

^a P. CLXXIX. 3. p. DCCCVII. II.

^b It. Sept. p. 80. plate XLVII. fig. 3. inserted at p. 81.

^c Pag. CCXX. 4.

^d It. Sept. pl. XLVII. fig. 4.

^e Pag. 1039.

^f Tacitus Hist. Lib. I. c. 51.

of the third century) and so may help us to fix the time and date of this so odd an inscription, and which I suspect has been cut by two or three different hands. Mr. *Ward* chuses to read the third and fourth lines, "*Tetricianorum*" "*cui praeest Publius Romanus*, and supposes the remaining letters of the word *Romanus*, or part of them, to have been on the fifth line, though now effaced. *Romanus* is a name that very frequently occurs in *Gruter*, and we have it before in this collection^a. But the greatest difficulty seems to lie in the following word *DESIGNATVS*, if taken in the usual sense. For a person was said to be *designatus* to any office between the time of his being elected, and his entrance upon the execution of it; which don't so well agree with the words *cui praeest*, that go before, and seem to intimate, that he had actually the command of the cohort at that time. *Designatus* therefore may probably be a third name of this officer. And it appears from *Gruter*, who has this inscription^b, that Sir *Robert Cotton* was apprehensive of this difficulty; for referring to the word *DESIGNATVS*, he substitutes *DESIDERATVS* (a name which we find in another of his inscriptions^c) as if the workman might possibly have made a mistake; and he cites for it "*Cottoni schedae*." However we have here very plainly another tribune, and it is remarkable how each inscription appears to have been erected at a different time, and by a different commander.

VIII. THIS with several others mentioning the same cohort are now in the garden at *Naworth*, and were all brought from *Burdoswald*, most of them being the same with those which *Cambden* copied, and afterwards published^d. The name of the prefect is effaced in this, but by the title *Gordiana* it appears to have been done in or after the time of the emperor *Gordian*. In *Gruter*^e it is *GORDIANAE* by mistake for *GORDIANA*. The capital and base of this altar are struck off, so that only the plane, with the inscription upon it, is now remaining.

IX. THIS was likewise published by *Cambden*; but as all the rest, without any draught of the stone, or particular notice of the letters^f. There is nothing very remarkable in this, only a new name of a prefect, and the date of the inscription. For if *PETVO* be a part of *Perpetuo*, then this brings us to the year 237, according to the *Fasti Consulares*, though the cut of the letters seems rather too good for that age.

X. THIS is another of the same kind, having nothing new but *Staius Longinus*, the name of the tribune. The inscription is finely cut, and the letters are yet fair and distinct. Both these names *Staius*^g and *Longinus* occur in other *British* inscriptions^h.

XI. THIS is also of the same nature with the preceding. There are only the two letters *IG* remaining visible in the name of the prefect, but these are sufficient to shew it is different from all the others. This inscription is upon a very beautiful altar, that was standing in the walk with a sun-dial upon it. The letters having been so long exposed to the weather are now become very obscure, though yet discernible.

THESE are the inscriptions that were long ago published by *Cambden*. The few mistakes that are in his copies will easily appear by comparing them with what I have here published from the originals. The principal defect was in their being expressed only in *Roman* capitals, and no description of the stones. But those few which were published in the additions to *Cambden*, and are continued in the edition 1722 (two of which at least are the same with what

Cambden

^a Northumberl. N. LXXVIII.

^b P. MLXIII. n. 10.

^c P. DCCVII. n. 5.

^d Pag. 1038, 1039.

^e Pag. MLXIII. 11.

^f Pag. 1039.

^g See Cheshire, N. II. Northumberland, N. XX.

seen and Woodford
TATV. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

I. O. M.
H. I. ABL. PA
C. A. GETA
REL SAVRNES

is also in Woodford,
only this inscription
is in the garden at
Naworth.

Camden had published before) are very much misrepresented. Several of the curious inscriptions that are in this garden, have been very fortunately preserved in a great measure from the injuries of the weather by a laurel hedge, which grows against a wall, where they are placed. But many of them have been long exposed to the weather, and suffered greatly by that means. This has rendered them obscure and difficult to read, which has been the true reason, I believe, why several of them have not been published before. And among these which have not yet been made publick, I reckon the six following.

XII. THIS seems to belong to the same cohort (*Aelia Dacorum*) and to have been brought with the rest from *Burdoswald*. But the first and third lines are so obscure, that I can't offer at the reading. *Spon* has given us two inscriptions, in which V. S. for *votum solvit* stand in the second line; though indeed L. M. for *libens merui*, immediately follow them in the same line, and are not thrown to the end, as in the inscription before us. The two inscriptions in *Spon* are these following^a.

MATRIBVS	MATRABVS
V. S. L. M.	V. S. L. M.
Q. ABVDIVS	EVNEOS SEX.
FRONTONIS L.	FRANI L.
THEODOTVS	

This inscription MATRABVS confirms me much in a conjecture, that MATRABVS in *Montfaucon*^b has really been MATRABVS, and this for MATRIBVS.

XIII. THE letters of this inscription are rude and ill cut, and now become very obscure. But the ill spelling, or corrupt way of writing, adds most to the difficulty in reading it. I believe it has been an altar erected to *Mars* by an *emeritus* of the same cohort *Aelia Dacorum*; and by the remaining dark vestiges of the tribune's name, who commanded it, he seems to have been a different person from all that are mentioned in the other inscriptions. The *emeriti* were old experienced soldiers, who having served out their legal time, were on any particular occasion invited into the army, and treated with marks of esteem. On which account they were also exempted from labour and the common duties of soldiers, such as the watch, guard, &c. They are supposed to be much the same with those, who are stiled *evocati* and *beneficarii*.

XIV. HERE is no more left than the name of the tribune *Ammianus Victorinus*, which is a different name from all the preceding; yet I can't but think he was a commander of the same cohort *Aelia Dacorum*.

XV. HERE are but few letters visible, and even those which seem to appear, are not very plain and certain. There seem to be three *praefericula* upon the top of the capital, which is very singular. As for the inscription, it is hard to form a probable conjecture from such imperfect remains. However I shall propose the following, till a better offer it self. I imagine then, that the altar may have been erected SOLI INVICTO, or DEO SOLI INVICTO, by the same cohort *prima Aelia Dacorum*, under the command of some tribune, whose name is effaced. I take the vs in the third visible line, to be part of the name of the tribune, and the last line to consist of the last stroke of an N and vs, making the last syllable in *tribunus*. There appears some affinity between this and the inscription on an altar at *Scaleby*, where we meet with *Soli invicto Sextus Severus Salvator*^c. Most of the altars erected by this cohort are to *Jupiter optimus maximus*; but besides this exception, we had another just before DEO MARTI, and there is one altar inscribed to the local god *Cocis*, which is yet remaining at *Scaleby*^d.

T H E R E

^a Miscellan. erudit. antiq. p. 105.

^b Tom. II. pl. cxcii. fig. 3.

^c N. xxviii.

^d N. xvii.

THERE was besides all these an half altar set up for a gate post; it was cut through the middle from top to bottom, but not a letter to be seen upon it, though the face was entire.

XVI. THERE is yet another inscription among those which *Cambden* himself copied at *Willoford*, or else at *Burdoswald*, and is thus, as he has described it^a:

PRO SALVTE
FN MAXIMIANO
FOR CAE^α
VA

.
. OAED.

Before I had discovered the original, I found it not easy to understand the meaning of this inscription. But the altar at *Corby castle*, which I hear has been there time immemorial, is doubtless that on which this inscription was cut; for all, and more than *Cambden* has given us, may yet be discerned upon it. It has been published lately by Mr. *Gordon*, but as a new one^b. He thinks the reading may be, *Pro salute domini nostri Maximi Augusti imperatoris Caesaris*. But neither the letters of the original, nor of his own copy will admit of this reading: Mr. *Cambden*'s copy I have given before, Mr. *Gordon*'s is thus:

PRO SALVTE
DN MXMAC
OR CAES.

I took the copy very carefully, and afterwards re-examined it with the strictest attention, and by comparing all these together *Cambden*'s inscription will evidently appear to be the same with the other; only he has taken the c at the end of the second line for an o, and observing some contractions in the foregoing letters, has read them at length *Maximiano*. But the two last letters are plainly A C, and will admit of no other reading; and in this Mr. *Gordon* concurs. The i has been included in the second M, though now not very discernible; which is not uncommon in other inscriptions: so that the word has been MAXIM for *maximi*, and *Cambden*'s reading very much favours this. And thus the sense runs very easily and naturally for three or four of the first lines: *pro salute domini nostri maximi ac fortissimi imperatoris Caesaris Marci Aurelii Maximiani*, &c. The titles and epithets in this inscription are such, as are usually ascribed to *Maximian*; and the combinations of the letters very well suit that age. *Cambden*'s v in the fourth line is plainly the middle part of the M, with which it begins; and the other four letters OAED, which he gives us at the end of the inscription, do also agree with our copy; only he seems to have represented them as the last, which they are not; for IF follow, and are very visible, and being close both to the edge of the stone and bottom of the plane, must have been the last letters in the inscription. This looks like *aedificavit*, as the last words in the preceding line do like *exustum*; so that possibly it may have been, *templum exustum a solo aedificavit*. Mr. *Ward* thinks "HOC may have preceded, and supposes what appears like " the first v in the sixth line to be the middle part of an M, like *Cambden*'s v " in the line above. There is room enough for PL. EX after it in the same " line. And perhaps the person's name, who built the temple, might be inscribed on the base." I have annexed under the same number a view of the head of the altar, the *focus* of which has a very peculiar figure, yet is not in full proportion, because there was not room in the plate.

XVII. THERE is one inscription more, though now at *Scaleby-castle*, upon which the *cohors Aelia Dacorum* is plainly mentioned. It has been published

^a Pag. 1038.

^b It. Sept. pl. XLIII. at p. 96.

*Ward writes the last
of this third line R for E.*

published in *Cambden*^a, but as we are there told, it is uncertain where it was found, though I am of opinion it belonged to this station. It is an altar erected to the local deity *Cocis*; but as I know nothing more of this deity, I have only to add, with respect to the inscription, that the letters are well cut, that the A in the last line has been probably a part of *PRAEF* for *prae-fectus*, and that the last v s may have been the usual *votum solvit*.

It is curious to observe the vast number of inscriptions which have been found at this station, mentioning the *cohors prima Aelia Dacorum*, and the different commanders with the different dates and forms, which upon the whole render the evidence of this being the station *Amboglanna* exceeding clear and convincing. For there are no less than thirteen inscriptions, which make express mention of this cohort, and nine different commanders, besides four others in which the same cohort has most probably been mentioned, though now the name be doubtful or effaced. To which I shall only add this observation further, that the date *Perpetuo consule*, which was in the year 236, and the name *Gordiana*, which must have been assumed by this cohort about that time, or not long after it, shew that they were at this place near the middle of the third century; and the name *Tetricianorum*, with the mention of *Maximianus*, shew that they continued here till the beginning of the fourth.

XVIII. THE other inscriptions, which belong to the set at *Burdoswald*, are mostly of the centurial sort, having been erected either by the legions or cohorts, or else by the centuries or their centurions. This and the next have not been taken notice of before. This is on the side of the door of the principal dwelling-house in a small village, called *Murray*, which is about a quarter of a mile east from *Burdoswald*. It has been erected by one *Cassius Priscus*, a centurion of the sixth cohort, or by the century under his command; and no doubt has been brought from the face of the wall somewhere near this place. I find other centurions of the name *Priscus*, but with a different *praenomen*, as in one of those in *Naworth* garden, and another at *Cousins's house*^b.

XIX. HERE is nothing visible but the letters *DADA*, which have, I suppose, been a centurion's name. The name *Menius Dada* is upon a portable altar found at *Carrvoran*, which I have in my possession, and has been already described^c. The letters are but ill cut. It is at present in the fore wall of a house within the fort at *Burdoswald*.

XX. THIS stone is without the garden at *Naworth*, in a wall near the back door of it. It is remarkable for being erected by the same century of *Julius Tertullianus*, who set up that now at *Oldwall*^a. And as this century is there said to belong to the *legio secunda Augusta*, so this shews, that the cohort here mentioned must have been of that legion.

XXI. THIS with the three following, are in the garden at *Naworth*, or near it, and have, I suppose, been brought from the face of the wall, and most probably from some part of it near *Burdoswald*, or between that and *Cambeck*. Those which mention the legion have, 'tis most likely, come from the station it self. This is over the back door in the garden, and has been erected by the *centuria Volusiana* of the second legion, called *Augusta*. The letters are distinct, and it much resembles some other of these inscriptions. I believe one of the inscriptions in the additions to *Cambden* is intended for this, though the reading is very different; for it is thus represented in *Cambden*^a.

IVL. AVG. DVO. MSILV .. VM, instead of L II AVG DVOLVSIANA.

XXII.

^a P. 1033.

^b N. xxii, and Northumberland N. iv.

^c Northumberland N. lxxvii.

^d N. xxxvi.

^e Pag. 1037.

XXII. THIS has been erected by the century of *Claudius Priscus*. I cannot find that either this, or the following, has been published before.

XXIII. PERHAPS the inscription with only LEG. II. AVG. in *Cambden*^a is the same with this, the lower line being omitted.

XXIV. THIS is a very fine and beautiful inscription, the letters being yet as distinct as they were at first. I find *Cambden* has published it among the inscriptions at *Willoford* or *Burdoswald*^b; which makes it the more probable, that the others of this kind, which are now in this garden, have either come from this station, or the wall hereabouts. The simplicity of the inscription, and beauty of the character inclined me to think this, and some others like it, as ancient as *Hadrian's* time; but of this there can be no certainty. I must now leave this inviting garden, and advance along the wall; though I shall be obliged once more in a little time to pay it a short visit.

XXV. I was told there were some stones with letters on them at a place called *Lanerton*, about a mile west from *Burdoswald*, and close by the river *Irthing*. I went thither in quest of them, but found them to be only centurial. There were two, one of which is in a wall under a pair of stairs, near the door of the house, with an imperfect inscription. It has been erected by a centurion, or century, of the first cohort; but the name is effaced. The other was in the south side of the same house, but nothing visible upon it, except the centurial mark, and that faint and obscure. It was of the same shape and size with the other, so that I have given no draught of it. I was told that these stones had been lately brought from the face of the wall near this place.

THE next station upon the wall is *Castle-steads* or *Cambeck* fort, and the set of inscriptions which belong to this, are the ten following.

Cambeck.

XXVI. THIS is of that sort which is usually found on the face of the wall, and has been erected by the ninth cohort of one of the legions. The letters are well cut, and the stroke which is drawn through the middle, may possibly have been designed for a numeral mark, though it be continued from one side to the other. It was found in the wall near a cottage, called *Randylands*, more than half way from *Burdoswald* towards *Cambeck*, and not long before I came there. It has not been published before.

XXVII. THIS is in the fore wall of a house at *Howgill*, a place about half a mile farther west than *Randylands*; and is of the same sort with those that are found upon the face of the wall. It was first published by Dr. *Jurin* in the *Philosophical Transactions*^c, and since by Mr. *Gordon*^d, who says it may be read *civitate Otadenorum*; but this does not appear to me, even from his own copy, though it be pretty much different from the original. The learned Dr. *Jurin's* copy comes much nearer, though it is not altogether exact; for it is in the original distinctly and plainly CIVITATE CATVVELLAVNORVM, only the A in the first line stands awkwardly below the other letters, perhaps by having been omitted at first. The remark is certainly just in the *Transactions*, "That we cannot doubt this to have been the true name of that people, which *Dion Cassius lib. LX.* calls *Καττιλλανοί*; and *Ptolemy* in his *geography, lib. II. cap. 3.* more falsely *Καττιουχλανοί*; the first λ by producing the transverse stroke having been mistaken for χ. This nation appears by *Dion* to have been more potent than their neighbours the *Dobuni* (whom he calls the *Boduni*) and had, according to *Ptolemy*, *Verolanium* for their capital,

^a Pag. 1037.

^b Pag. 1037.

^c N. 356.

^d It. Sept. plate XLVII. p. 81.

“ capital ; which, 'tis most probable, was the *Cassivellauni oppidum* of *Caesar*.
 “ So that it should seem *Cassivellaunus*, king of these *Catuvellauni*, when
 “ *Caesar* invaded *Britain*, either gave his name to his people, or took theirs.”
 The distant situation of these people is no difficulty at all in this case, any more than to find a cohort of distant people at a station in *Britain*, or a *Graecian* arch-priests erecting an altar here. For no doubt the person who erected this monument was in the army, and perhaps a centurion. Nor does his being a *Briton* create any difficulty, for no doubt several of the natives of this island were in the *Roman* army. *Galgacus* the famous *Caledonian* king, is introduced by *Tacitus*, as affirming that in his time many of the *Britons* were in the *Roman* army, and “ lent their blood to the service of a foreign
 “ power.” There is a small piece broken off the corner of the stone, which probably contained the letter *e*. It seems by its shape and size, and by being found upon the face of the wall, to have been of the centurial kind ; and I take it to contain nothing in it but the name of the person who erected the monument, and of the state or people to which he belonged ; his name seems to have been *Titus Oisedio*, or something very near it. It is plainly a *c* in the first line after the *e*, though a break in the surface of the stone might lead *Mr. Gordon* into the opinion of its being an *o*. But there is scarce any obscure or doubtful letter in the whole inscription, excepting the first in the last line. This *Titus Oisedio*, though originally of the *Catuvellauni*, might however be a *Roman* citizen^b, as the legionary soldiers and officers were, and as *Titus*, his *praenomen*, seems to intimate.

XXVIII. THE four next are at present at *Scaleby castle*, but are generally said to have come from this fort. That before us was first published in the edition of *Cambden's Britannia* 1695^c, and is continued in the last edition^d ; since which it has also been published by *Mr. Gordon*^e, who omits the *A E F* in the sixth line, which are very visible, and have plainly been a part of the word *praefectus*. One would think also that the usual *vs* must have preceded the *LM* at least. “ The inscription *SOLI INVICTO* is found upon the medals of many of the
 “ *Roman* emperors. And *Julian* informs us, that very magnificent sports
 “ were celebrated at the conclusion of the year *ἡλίῳ ἀνιχέτω*, to the invincible
 “ *Sun*”. So that no judgment can be formed of the age of this inscription,
 “ or under what emperor it was erected, from these words, though *Bandurius*
 “ seems to intimate, as if it appears first upon the coins of *Gallienus*.”

XXIX. THIS is another inscription of the same nature with the preceding, *DEO SOLI MITRAE*. I cannot find that this has been published before, which I much wonder at, because the title is curious, and I believe we have not another instance of it in *Britain*, though they are not uncommon elsewhere, as appears from *Gruter* and *Reinesius*. 'Tis well known in how great veneration the sun and fire were held by the ancient *Persians*. 'Tis also certain that the *Persians* gave the name *Mithras* both to the sun and fire. From hence was the name introduced among the *Romans* ; and the *Roman* inscriptions we meet with, and this in particular, plainly prove *Mithras* and the sun to be the same, *DEO SOLI MITRAE*, that is, to the deity of the sun, whom the *Persians* called *Mitras*. The *Trojans* and *Graecians* are thought to have received the worship of fire from the eastern people, especially the *Persians*^f. It is generally supposed that *Herodotus* is mistaken, when he affirms the *Persian Mitras* to be the same with *Urania* or *Venus caelestis*

^a Et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque dominationi alienae sanguinem commodantes. Vit. Agric. c. 32.

^b See the observations on the famous inscription of *Julius Vitalis*, *Somersetshire* N. 1.

^c P. 844.

I

^d Pag. 1033.

^e It. Sept. plate XLVII. at p. 81.

^f Orat. iv.

^g Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem. Virg. Aen. lib. ii. v. 297.

caelestis^a. It has also been observed, that the worship of *Mithras* was not a little in vogue in the *Roman* empire, especially in the second or third century, which favours the conjecture about the time of erecting these altars. I shall only farther observe concerning this inscription, that *VIS* occurs in number *XL* of this county, as if it was a name, or part of a name, and so we find it in *Gruter*; and *CON* may possibly have been *GOR* for *Gordiana*, as the *cohors prima Aelia Dacorum* was called.

XXX. MR. GORDON says he found this at some place in *Cumberland*, not far from the wall^b. It is at *Scaleby castle*, and has been there a long time, having a sun-dial upon it; and, as Mr. *Gilpin* told me, was found at *Cambeck* fort. The altar has been erected to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, though the *O* and *M* are at present effaced. There is an *I* in *Hospes*, which seems to be redundant. The *T* and *I* in *Volcatius* don't now appear; but I think this must be the name, because it is not only *Roman*, but among the consular ones^c. The *A* and *E* are also lost in *praefectus*, and perhaps one *Q* for *equitum*. But it is more material to observe that by the title of the commander, *praefectus equitum*, this seems to have been the same cohort of horse that before was at *Risingham*^d; for this appears plainly by the cut of the letters to be the later inscription, the *L* and *F* both inclining to the *Gothic* form. When the *Romans* abandoned all beyond the wall, this cohort might possibly retire hither; and from their continuance at this station at *Cambeck* fort acquire the name of *Petriana*, and be the *ala Petriana*, or a part of it, which according to the *Notitia* kept garrison here. And then the *cohors quarta Gallorum*, that were in garrison at *Vindolana* or *Little chesters* may be of foot; which seems confirmed by the expressions in the *Notitia*, namely, *tribunus* (not *praefectus*) *cohortis*, &c. the former being usually the title of a commander of foot, the latter of horse.

XXXI. THIS is the last of the four, which, as I observed before, are at *Scaleby castle*, and is said in *Cambden* to have been found in the river *Irthing*, not far from this castle. Mr. *Gilpin* refers it to *Cambeck* fort, as well as the other; which is favoured by the river *Irthing* running so nigh to this fort. The letters in this inscription are rude and meanly cut, and two or three of them entirely effaced. But it is plain enough, that it has been erected by one *Aulus Domitius* or *Domitianus Paullinus* to the local god *Belatucader*. It is generally known, that בעל *Baal* in the *Hebrew* or *Phoenician* language signifies a lord, and expresses a deity. But I cannot recollect a *Hebrew* word that has any affinity with the latter part of the name, and that is of a suitable signification, unless it be כירור, which sometimes signifies *acies*; and that this was a god of war seems very evident, from his being joined to *Mars* in the inscription found at *Netherby*, DEO MARTI BELATVCADRO^e. The learned Dr. *Gale*, who once thought that the name might be derived from the *British* word *belaw*, which signifies a fountain, seems rather to think afterwards, that the latter part of it comes from some one of the *British* words *cad praelium*, *cader castrum*, or *cadr fortis*. And this derivation appears to me the most probable; though for this reason too, I think, the nominative has been *Belatucader*, and not *Belatucadrus*, as the doctor has made it^f. I shall add the following conjecture of Mr. *Ward*. " *Selden*^g and

^a * *Casaubon attempts a defence of him*. Quod soli sacrificent, et Herodotus ait, et alii multi; quod solem vocent Mithram, dissentit ille; qui sic Venerem a Persis vocari scribit, nisi Mithram et Mithram differre puter. Ad Strab. l. xv. p. 255. And Gronovius upon that passage of Herodotus says, Sic statuo agendum, ut Herodotea Mithra nihil habuerit commune cum virili appellatione, quam creduntur soli attribuisse sub nomine et titulo Mithrae. See

^b likewise *Selden de Diis Syris Synt. II. c. 2.*

^c Herodotus's words are: Καλέουσι τὴν Ἀρροδίτιν

^d Πέρουι Μίτρου. Lib. I. c. 131.

^e It. Sept. p. 97. See plate XLV. at p. 99.

^f See Fasti consulares.

^g See Northumberland N. LXXXVIII.

^h See the observations before N. XLVII.

ⁱ See Gale Antonini Itiner. p. 34. Cambden

p. 709. and *Selden de Diis Syris*.

^k De Diis Syr. Synt. II. c. 1.

“ and *Vossius*^a agree in supposing *Belatucadrus* to be the same as *Belenus*,
 “ or *Βέλις*, as he is called by *Herodian*^b. And this deity both *Herodian* and
 “ *Capitolinus*^c say was *Apollo*; and that he was worshipped by the *Druids*,
 “ we learn from *Ausonius*^d. Whether *s* in the first line of this inscription was
 “ designed for *Soli* or *sancto* may be doubtful, because it is used for either of
 “ those words. If we read it *Soli*, it will agree with N:xxix, *Mithras* being
 “ the name by which he was worshipped in the east; and this, as I would
 “ suppose, in these western parts. But if we read it *sancto*, it will equally
 “ agree to *Apollo*, this being an epithet given to him not only in inscriptions,
 “ but likewise by the poets. So *Pindar*:

Ζῆνα, καὶ ἄγνον Ἀπόλλωνα.

“ And there is another inscription of this county, which begins with DEO
 “ SANCTO BELATVCADRO^e. I can’t therefore but incline to think this deity
 “ was the same as *Apollo*, rather than *Mars*, both from the affinity of this name,
 “ with other names of *Apollo*, and because I don’t find the epithet *sanctus* ever
 “ given to *Mars*. Indeed there is one inscription of this county, which if
 “ perfect would decide this difficulty in favour of the other opinion; for it
 “ begins DEO MARTI BELATVCADRO^f. But the original of this is lost, and
 “ ’tis plain it must have been obscure, or very ill taken, when it was first
 “ copied; for there is nothing else intelligible in it but these three words. And
 “ therefore I can’t but think it was originally DEO MARTI ET BELATVCADRO;
 “ since ’tis no more inconsistent to make these two deities σύμβωμοι, than
 “ *Minerva* and *Hercules*^g.

XXXII. THIS and the two next numbers have been but lately discovered, and so never published before. The late *Joseph Dacres Appleby* Esq; in whose ground this fort stands, had for some time employ’d people in digging there, for which commendable generosity he must merit the thanks of all curious antiquaries. The two stones under this number were the first discovery, in which every thing is very plain, and nothing mean or rude. The figures are in *relievo*. On the one stone is a sea-goat above, and a *Pegasus* below; on the other a *Victory* winged, and in the usual drapery, treading upon a globe with a palm branch in her left hand, a mural crown in her right, and under it the inscription VIC. AVG. for *Victoria Augusti*. The inscription is very clear and distinct, and the letters well cut, though the A has no transverse. If *Caracalla* had done much, or been victorious here, during his single reign, I should think that the cut of the letters and other circumstances of the inscription, together with the single G in AVG. implying that a single emperor reigned at this time, might have agreed to his reign, after the death of *Severus*. But I rather imagine it has been *Commodus*, for there are instances of the A wanting a transverse as early as this. *Severus* and *Caracalla* were successful in their expedition against the *Caledonians*, but yet I meet with no inscriptions that seem to refer to their victories; and *Caracalla*, as I have shewn elsewhere, left the island immediately after the death of his father. This inclines me to the opinion that several other inscriptions of the same nature belong to the emperor *Commodus*. Yet there is an inscription or two to *Caracalla* after he had left this island, though I think of a different nature. But this I leave to the judgment of others. These two stones, though exactly of the same shape and size, yet seem to have been always distinct; for they are no way like two broken pieces of the same stone. However I believe they have been set close together in the same wall, and both refer to the same thing. The leg of *Victory* standing upon the globe is naked, somewhat higher than usual. The *pegasus* and sea-goat I find in other sculptures, especially the sea-goat^h. The one I suppose may denote the swiftness of the *Victory*,

^a De Idolol. L. II. c. 1.

^b Lib. VIII. c. 3.

^c In Maximin.

^d Profess. Burd. carm. 4.

^e See N. LX.

^f See N. XLVI.

^g See Northumb. cxiv.

^h See Scotland N. II. Northumberland N. L. Montfaucon Tom. III. part II. chap. 10. calls this figure Capricorn.

Victory, and the other the maritime situation of *Britain*. These two stones I saw at the *Cliff* near *Kirklington*, the seat of the late Mr. *Appleby*.

XXXIII. THIS is also at the *Cliff*, having been removed thither. It was found in the east part of the station near the gate. The letters are rather more rude than ordinary. I am of opinion that these legionary inscriptions, which we meet with in the stations, were most of them erected, when *Severus's* wall was building, at the stations where the body of the legion quartered; and that the inscriptions of the particular cohorts, that were working upon the several parts of the wall, were inserted in the face of the wall at these several places. But this inscription is so rude, as to give me a suspicion it might be erected much later, when the fort or somewhat about it has been repaired.

XXXIV. WE have here a very curious inscription lately found at this fort, and since removed to the *Cliff*. It was dug up near the east entry of the station, and seemed to be in the south jamb of the gate with the face downward, where several pieces of broken pots or urns, with other reliques of antiquity were also found. The stop that follows the name *Julius Pitanius* is very remarkable. It has been taken for D or DE, but I beg leave to differ from this opinion, and can't but think that both the shape and magnitude of it was purely designed to fill up the space, as we find the other stops, or flourishes, suited to the several places where they stand. The following PP is, in the opinion of some excellent antiquaries, to be read either *propria pecunia*, or *publica pecunia*; but I humbly conceive these letters rather contain some farther description of *Julius Pitanius* from the office he bore. If they do not, we have no more than barely his name, which is not usual in such an inscription, especially if the work was done at his own cost. PP is manifestly put for *propraetor* in another inscription in this county, which I shall soon have occasion to mention*. And yet as this inscription seems to have been late in the empire, the office of *propraetor* might then possibly have ceased in this island, if it did not continue after *Constantine's* time; and then we must not read it *propraetor*, but *praefectus provinciae*, or *provinciae praefes*^b, or *praefectus praetorio*^c. The inscription is curious and valuable, both as it furnishes us with an argument to prove that the *Romans* were late possessed of this station; and also as, I think, it affords us the name of a new governor not mentioned in any other inscription, nor in any *Roman* historian; who I suppose must have been under some of the later emperors. *Julius Pitanius* might be the *praefectus praetorio* under *Carausius*, if so at all^d. And perhaps his rebuilding or repairing some forts, or other publick edifices upon the wall, may have given rise to an opinion, that he built the wall itself, though it is certain he did not. When there was an emperor here in person (and such it is plain *Carausius* was owned to be) there was no occasion for a *propraetor*, nor was it proper that the *praefectus praetorio* in *Gaul* should intermeddle in the *British* affairs, though they afterwards fell under his conduct. It is more probable that an emperor here in person would have a *praefectus praetorio* with him. Afterwards this was a very grand officer, and four of them ruled all countries under the emperor^e, of which the *praefectus praetorio Galliae* had the command of *Britain*. If the inscription be supposed to have been erected when this was the case, we must then read for PP *provinciae praefes* or *praepositus*. We have the *cohors quarta praetoria* at *Drawdikes*^f. How far this may favour the opinion that a *praefectus praetorio* might upon some occasion be here in *Britain*, I leave others to judge. I know not whether it will be looked upon as a material objection against reading *provinciae praefes*, that

* See the observations after N. xxxv.

^b See the passage quoted before from *Ulpian*, page 96. ff. Lib. xxvii. tit. 6. leg. 2. §. 4.

^c *Sextorius Ursinus*.

^d See *Dodwell's notes on the inscription Julius Vitalis*. §. 5. p. 13.

^e See before, Book I. chap. v. p. 71.

^f N. xxxviii.

that the wall, and this fort upon it, where the stone was found, is (according to the received opinion) in one of the two consular provinces, and not in any of the three, which according to the *Notitia* had each of them a *praeses*. The space and imperfect remains of the letters appear to favour the reading *MATRIBVS* in the first line, as well as the consideration of its being a temple that was now rebuilt; and though we should no where else meet with *MATRIBVS OMNIVM GENTIVM*, yet I cannot think that a conclusive argument against this reading. But Mr. *Ward* thinks it has rather been *VICTORIBVS OMNIVM GENTIVM*, and observes, that “ *Bandurius* produces three coins of *Constantinus*, *Constantius* and *Maxentius*, with this inscription: *VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM*. This temple therefore he supposes might be erected after the many and great victories gained by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, upon which they entered *Rome* in so pompous a triumph. “ If so, *PP* most probably may stand for *propraetor*. The title *INVICTISSIMI* “ seems to be given to these emperors in a *Cheshire* inscription, N. II”.

XXXV. WE are obliged to Mr. *Gordon* for this altar, who first discovered and published it ^a, and has since presented it to the right honourable the Earl of *Hertford*, in whose possession it now is. When I was at *London* in 1729, I could not get a convenient opportunity of copying this inscription my self. But Mr. *Gale* was pleased to charge himself with the care of it. I should not therefore need to say that I since have seen it my self, but that I think I am obliged to acknowledge this instance of my Lord *Hertford's* great and so well known humanity. The second word in the inscription differs from Mr. *Gordon* a little, but I found Mr. *Gale* to be in the right. Indeed the letters *SANG* joined to *Marti* would very naturally lead one to think of *sanguineo*, a proper epithet for *Mars*, and an epithet that is ascribed to him by the poets.

*Qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
Sanguineus Mavors clypeo increpat* ^b.

But *sanguineus* is an epithet of *Mars*, which no where occurs in inscriptions, whereas *sanctus* is thought to be sometimes attributed to him, as well as to *Belatucader* ^c. Some of our best antiquaries therefore think, that as *c* and *g* are oft interchanged, so it happens to be here; and that we are therefore to read *Deo sancto Marti*. But Mr. *Ward* chuses to adhere to *sanguineus*, rather than to think the artist chargeable with a mistake in putting *g* for *c*. “ The “ usual epithets of *Mars* are taken from such things as accompany war, and “ express terror or destruction; and this particularly of *sanguineus* is given “ him by *Ovid*:

*Vel tu sanguinei juvenilia munera Martis
Suscipe: deliciae jam tibi terga dabunt* ^a.

“ And likewise by *Virgil* in the passage quoted above; where *Servius* explains *sanguineus* by *αιμοχαρης*, as an epithet or title of *Mars* among the “ *Greeks*. The title of *ultor* seems to have a near affinity with this, which “ is not uncommon both upon altars and coins; but that of *sanctus* neither “ appears to suit his character, nor do any other certain instances occur, where “ 'tis given him.”

THERE have been lately several large and curious stones dug up at this fort, cut with cross lines in the form of lattices, like that at *Harlow hill* in *Northumberland*.^e

THERE are yet two inscriptions, the originals of which I have earnestly wished to see, but in vain. The account *Cambden* gives of them is in these words. “ At *Castle-Steeds* (which is another name for *Cambeck* fort) as also “ at *Trederman* hard by, were found these inscriptions, which the right ho- “ nourable *William Lord Howard of Naworth*, third son of his grace *Thomas* “ Duke

^a It. Sept. p. 81.

^b Virg. Aen. XII. v. 330.

^c N. XXXI.

^d De remed. am. v. 153.

^e N. XVI.

" Duke of *Norfolk*, copied out for me with his own hand *." This account seems a little confused, for *Trederman* is much nearer *Burdoswald* than *Cambeck* fort, and there is nothing of *Roman* antiquity in that castle or about it. I was in great hopes however of finding these among the collection at *Naworth*, but could meet with nothing of them there. There is half an altar standing in a gate at *Naworth*, but I cannot think it has any relation to *Cambden's* inscriptions. There is also a large altar built up in the jamb of a chimney at *Whitefield*, about a mile west from this fort, which the old people say was brought from hence, or a part of the wall very near it. But both the altar and inscription have been defaced by the masons, so that at present there is not any visible letter upon it. I must therefore give the inscriptions, just as they are described in *Cambden's Britannia*^b, though they are very obscure and imperfect. The first is thus :

I. O. M.
... OHI TVNG.
ILEC CLCV
AEES AVRE
OPTA VSP
FVII STAN
MES OPSE
PI INC

Jovi optimo maximo
cohors prima Tungrorum
Ilec . . . cl. . . . cui
praeest Aurelius
Optimus praefectus
.
.
.

The other is thus :

IV
N
CVPAL
LEG AVG : PP : COH : I :
TVNG : POSVIT.

Im
An
C. Upal.
legato Augustali propraetore cohors prima
Tungrorum posuit.

THE three last lines in the first inscription might probably contain some farther description of the prefect, or the names of the consuls; but they are (to me at least) unintelligible. The third line looks like the name of a place, but what this should be I cannot imagine. I find a place called *Ilkirk* in *Cumberland*, and *Olerica* in *Ravennas*^c. The cut of the L is remarkable in *Cambden*. It is the same with the fifth in the table of letters^d, and it is pity for that reason we cannot fix the date of this inscription. However it appears from hence, that this shape was introduced before the *cohors prima Tungrorum* settled at *Borcovicus* or *House-steeds*.

I BELIEVE the IV in the beginning of the latter inscription has rather been IM, and that *imperatoris Caesari* has been the first line, though this is uncertain. I have nothing more to observe with relation to these inscriptions, excepting that the *cohors prima Tungrorum*, so clearly mentioned in both, seems after this to have removed from hence, and settled at *House-steeds* in *Northumberland*, the antient *Borcovicus*, where the *Notitia* found them.

THE next inscriptions belong to the station, which I suppose to have been at *Watchcros*, or somewhere near *Scaleby* castle.

Watchcros.

XXXVI. AT *Old wall*, which is about two miles west from *Cambeck* fort, are two inscriptions of the centurial fort. This is built up in the end of a house. As it is the more distinct of the two, so it is the more curious, because it expressly mentions the legion.

XXXVII. THE other is in an old wall belonging to Mr. *Thomas Graham*, and only contains the name of the centurion, and that a little obscure. I think this may be read, *Sil. Aulinii*. There is *L. Aulinus* in *Gruter*^e, and the first

* Pag. 1034, 1035.

^b Pag. 1035.

^c Pag. 146. ed. Gale Ant. Itin.

^d See before Chap. I. pag. 189.

^e Pag. cxxv. 1.

first letter in the second name is pretty much different from the N. which follows. In the field called the *House-steeds* near *Watchcross* one of these altars, which are at *Scaleby castle*, was thrown up by the plough, but it had no inscription upon it. Another of the altars at *Scaleby castle*, Mr. *Gilpin* told me, had been neglected in the neighbourhood. time immemorial, till it was ordered into his gardens, and taken care of there. This has probably belonged to the same station.

THE next set of inscriptions must be reduced to the general head of those belonging to the station at *Stanwicks*.

XXXVIII. A T *Drawdikes*, about a quarter of a mile east from *Stanwicks*, is one of those inscriptions, that are usually found on the face of the wall; but it has this peculiar curiosity in it, that the century seems to have belonged to the guards, or to a *praetorian* cohort; and the name of *Julius Vitalis* naturally brings to mind the famous inscription at *Bath*, which has employed the pens of some of our most learned antiquaries. Most probably this has been brought from the wall hereabouts. I don't find that it has been taken notice of before. It is now set above a garden door, not far from the inscription, which next follows. The letters are not very well cut; the A has no transverse, and the shape of the L agrees with one of those I last produced from *Cambden*. This perhaps and some other *praetorian* cohorts might come over with *Severus* to attend his person, and so bear a part in building the wall. I think this more probable, than that it should belong to *Carausius*, *Constantine* the great, or any of the later emperors, who were here in person.

Stanwicks.

XXXIX. THIS is a sepulchral inscription, now built up in the back wall of the house at *Drawdikes*, though I was assured it was originally brought from *Stanwicks*. *Gruter*^a and *Cambden*^b speak of it as then at *Carlisle*, in the house of *Thomas Aglionby* Esq; near the citadel; from whence no doubt it has been removed to *Drawdikes*, which still belongs to the *Aglionby* family. *Cambden* says there was joined to this inscription an armed horseman with a lance; but the sculpture of this stone is quite different, so that what he mentions must have been upon another stone, which is now lost. This sculpture and inscription have also been published by Mr. *Gordon*^c, whose copy differs both from *Cambden* and this. But I can venture to say this was taken with the greatest care and exactness. There is an I, or a stroke, too much in *Augustinii*, if the name is to be so read; but Mr. *Ward* rather chuses to read the middle part of this inscription thus: *Augustiani hunc tumulum faciendum curavit Aelia Ammilla Lusinia* or *Lusima*. "The name *Augustianus* is several times " in *Gruter*, who likewise has *Lusenius*. Nor was it unusual for women " to have three names. Nothing is more common upon funeral inscriptions " than *hoc monumentum*, and *hunc titulum*, in the same manner as *hunc* " *tumulum* (if it be not a contraction of *titulum*) upon this." The shape of the letters has the cast of the lower empire, but K for C appears in other inscriptions of an older date than any in *Britain*^d. The head at the top of the stone above the inscription is, I suppose, designed for the head of the person deceased; and probably the heads, which the lions seem to be guarding, are also the same.

BEFORE I leave *Drawdikes*, I must take notice of a passage in the additions to *Cambden*, which is continued in the last edition^e. "At *Drawdikes*, " a seat of the *Aglionbys*, is a *Roman* altar with this inscription.

I. O. M. ALA AVG O. . B. VRI APPIA
IVL. PVB PS. T. TB. CETBERI. . . "

This

^a Pag. DCCCV. 10.

^b Pag. 1025.

^c It. Sept. plate XLIV. at p. 98.

^d See Manut. Orthograph.

^e Pag. 1026, 1027.

This is also taken notice of, and the reading corrected by Dr. Gale^a, who reads the last words in the first line *ob virtutem appellata*. But I could hear of no such altar, and can't but suspect it to have been mistaken for one of those that remain yet at *Drumbrugh*^b.

XL. THIS altar is erected to the *Matres domesticæ* by a *signifer*; the letters of whose former name *VIS* occur in another inscription above^c, and the latter may probably be an abbreviation of *Messorius*, which we find in an inscription at *Risingham*^d. Enough has been said of the *Matres* in some former inscriptions^e. This altar is now at *Scaleby castle*; I believe it belongs to *Stanwicks*, for Mr. Goodman of *Carlisle* told me he presented an altar not many years ago to Mr. Gilpin, which had been dug up at *Stanwicks*; but he could not recollect the inscription. I take this to be the altar, because it never has been published till lately by Mr. Gordon^f; whereas all the rest that were legible at *Scaleby castle* were made publick long ago; and this is yet legible, though Mr. Gordon has only given us the two first lines, and omitted the two last. There is on one side of this altar a *præfericulum*, and a *patera* on the other; the handle of which seems bended into a curve.

XLI. THIS and the next are yet remaining at *Carlisle* in the late Brigadier *Stanwix's* garden. I have given the draught of this chiefly for the sake of the *patera*, which has a peculiar handle. On the other side is the common *præfericulum*. But there are no letters on any part of it.

XLII. CAMB DEN says this was in the garden of *Thomas Middleton*, but it is now in the same garden with the altar number XLI; and he justly observes, that it is in a large and beautiful character. Mr. Gordon makes the last line G. P. P. F^g, but *Cambden* reads G. P. R. F^h, adding, that he leaves the interpretation to others. And as upon a strict examination I find these really are the letters, I think they may be read *Genio populi Romani fecit*. The emperor himself may be the person intended, who often had the compliment paid him of being the genius of his peopleⁱ; and this is frequent upon the imperial coins after *Gallienus*^k.

Brugh.

XLIII. BRUGH has been the next station upon the wall, and should be our next general head of inscriptions; but here we have but one, and that altogether imperfect. It would scarce have been worth while to take notice of this stone, had it not been that it is a confirmation that there has been a station here; for it is undoubtedly *Roman*. From its shape it seems to have been erected by some of the legions. It was lying under the spout of a pump, where by the frequent fall of the water, it was worn very much in the middle.

BESIDES this stone there were two altars lying at a door in the town, but quite defaced. There was also a large stone chest standing in the church yard, and other marks of antiquity, and of a *Roman* station here, which I have taken notice of elsewhere^l.

FROM hence to the end of the wall we meet with no more originals, that belong to it, or any of the stations upon it; for though there are two legible inscriptions at *Drumbrugh castle*, yet they belong not to the wall, as I shall shew afterwards^m. And it is most likely that the other two altars which are at this same castle, one in the hay-loft, and the other in the south wall of the garden

^a Antonini Itiner. p. 38.

^b See N. LVI, LVII.

^c N. XXIX.

^d Northumberland N. LXXXVII.

^e Scotland N. XXI. Northumb. XLVIII. L.

^f It. Sept. p. 95.

^g It. Sept. plate XLIII. at p. 96.

^h Pag. 1025.

ⁱ See Northumberland N. cxiii.

^k See Bandurius.

^l Book I. chap. VII. pag. 109, and chap. IX. pag. 156.

^m N. LVI, LVII.

garden (but no visible letter upon them) have both belonged to some other station, most probably *Old Carlisle*, from whence it is certain the others were taken. The latter, which is the finer, I took a draught of^a; but not of the former, which was of a very coarse red stone, but had nothing that was remarkable about it.

As for *Boulnefs* the last station upon the wall, I could not see or hear of any inscriptions remaining there. That now at *Appleby* seems to have come from *Boulnefs*, but is no original. However it is an argument that some *Roman* inscriptions, as well as other antiquities, have formerly been found here; for Mr. *Bainbrigg* had an humour of cutting out or copying upon stones any *Roman* inscriptions, which came in his way; of which sort this manifestly appears to be, because according to his usual manner he has annexed what he took to be the *Roman* name of *Boulnefs*, namely *Blatum Bulgium*. The whole is as follows:

Boulnefs.

IMP. M. AVRE
TRIUMPHAI
PERSAR
MARC. AVREL.
PHILO
BLATI BVLGII.

*Imperator Marco Aurelio
triumphatori
Persarum*

The three first lines have been evidently a copy of some *Roman* inscription found at *Boulnefs*; the last three are Mr. *Bainbrigg*'s own comment upon it, I suppose, with a design to shew that this monument was found at *Boulnefs* (which he believed to be *Blatum Bulgium*) and that the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, called the philosopher, was intended in the inscription.

XLIV. NEXT to the inscriptions which are directly upon the wall, I think it proper to subjoin that which follows. Mr. *Cambden* published it long ago, but not with his usual exactness^b. It has been lately printed again in the appendix to Mr. *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*, in a letter that plainly bespeaks its ingenious author. That copy differed in nothing material from mine, which I took from the original, except in the name of one of the consuls; which error in the copy has, I think, led this learned gentleman into another mistake, with respect to the date of the inscription, which I shall endeavour to set right with all the regard that is justly due to his character. The inscription itself is upon the face of a rock about half way up a steep hill, that hangs over the river *Gelt*. The rock is on the side of the river next to *Brampton*, and about half a mile above the *Gelt* bridge. The first words of the inscription are manifestly intended for *vexillatio legionis secundae Augustae*, though in *LIEG* for *legionis* the *I* is superfluous, of which we have other like instances^c. The *I* is omitted in both the other copies, no doubt because the gentlemen who took the copies thought it a manifest error; but I have rather chosen to represent every thing as I found it. For *APP*, which follow at the end of the same line, both *Cambden* and the other gentleman have *APR*, and so at the first view I took it myself; but the second time I read it as in the copy; and presently thought of *ob virtutem appellata*, and remembered the confusion of the same words in another inscription, if that other be genuine^d. But there indeed it was the *ala* and not the *legio*, which was so careful to inform us that they were called *Augusta* upon account of their valour. Yet I can't but suspect that *OB. VIRT. APP.* for *ob virtutem appellata* was here intended, however *VIRT.* or perhaps the *v* only came to be omitted. Though 'tis as easy to suppose an unskilful hand might here omit one letter, as insert another just before, that is superfluous. The next words *sub Agricola* are very visible and distinct; but what *Agricola* this was, may be a difficult question. The ingenious author of the letter above mentioned

Gelt.

rakes

^a N. LX.
^b Pag. 1037.

^c See N. LVIII.
^d See it in the observations under N. XXXIX.

takes it for *Calpurnius Agricola*, who was lieutenant under *Marcus Aurelius*; but I cannot come into this sentiment. The omission of the titles *leg. Aug. propraet.* makes me very doubtful that *Calpurnius Agricola* cannot be the person intended; because the omission of these titles, that are almost constantly added, would have been a greater neglect of the legate, than the inserting his bare name in such an inscription could have been a compliment to him. Besides, if I am not mistaken, the cut of the letter L in this inscription was not so antient as the time of this legate; for though there is a good deal of variety in the letters upon the inscriptions even of *Antoninus Pius's* reign, yet I think this shape of an L does no where appear so high as in those of his successor *Marcus Aurelius*; but that it was in use in the later times, is plain from other inscriptions. I am therefore much inclined to think that *Agricola* was the name of the *optio* who had the command of these soldiers, who were ordered to work the stones at this quarry. An *optio* was a sort of deputy to a centurion, or other officer, who acted for him in his absence. *Reinesius* reckons up several sorts, and different degrees of them*. *Cambden* in his copy has RE at the end of this word, which made me take it for granted it had been *optione* upon the stone; but I could not discern any vestige of these letters, when I first viewed the original; though upon a second inspection I observed a flaw or impression in the stone, where, I suppose, these letters may have been. This account very well agrees with the observation of my fellow-traveller, who took notice of the resemblance there seemed to be, both as to nature and colour, between the stone of this quarry, and that with which the *Roman* wall in a great part of *Cumberland* appears to have been built; from whence he concluded the stones must have been fetched from this place. Which remark I have since taken notice of in *Cambden*, though at that time I did not remember it. And this looks the more probable from the scarcity of stones and quarries thereabout, so that the people often expressed their wonder, from whence the *Romans* got the stones, with which they built the wall in that part. To this may be further added, that the inhabitants near the place continue to call this the *old Quarry*. And it is hard to conceive what else should have brought a vexillation of a *Roman* legion hither, or occasioned the cutting an inscription upon a rock in such a place.

THE numerals IX and X, which are cut out upon the rock higher up, as in the figure, and which are very distinct and visible, though they have not been taken notice of before, are so like those inscribed upon several stones in the face of the wall, that I cannot but think they express here, as well as in the other places, the ninth and tenth cohorts of the *legio secunda Augusta*, who were employed in this quarry and about the wall in these parts. And these two cohorts might perhaps be employed by themselves before, or after, the whole vexillation was engaged in the work.

As to the remaining part of the inscription, I make no doubt but we are to read *Apro et Maximo consulibus*, which brings us to the reign of *Severus* and the year 207. 'Tis probable that the uppermost horizontal stroke in the E was at first drawn back beyond the perpendicular stroke for a contraction of EX, as we find it in some other inscriptions^b, there being a small break in the stone at the top of the letter. This agrees very well with a passage in *Cassiodorus*: "Under this consulate [of *Aper* and *Maximus Severus*] made war with the *Britons*, where for securing the *Roman* provinces from the roads of the barbarians, he drew a wall for an hundred and thirty two miles from sea to sea." I suppose therefore this legion must have been at *Caerleon* towards the latter end of *Severus's* reign, and that they erected the inscription

* Syntagm. Inscr. Class. 1. 3.

^b See the plate of ligatures. Book II. chap. 1. pag. 191.

^c His [Apro et Maximo] consulibus Severus in

Britannos bellum movit, ubi ut receptas provincias ab incurfione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per cxxxii passuum millia a mari ad mare duxit. In Sever. See before, Book I. chap. IV. p. 62, 63.

inscription there after their return from the war and this work; for between this and *Severus's* death there was no time for them to march back again from *Caerleon*, and to finish so vast a work. Though the wall was begun in the year 207, yet probably it was not compleated till the year 208. Then *Pompeianus* and *Lollianus Auitus* being consuls in the year 209, this legion might be stationed at *Caerleon*, and their commander erect an altar for the safety of the emperors *Severus* and *Caracalla*. The next year 210, when *Rufinianus*, *Rufinus*^a, or *Rufus* and *Faustinus* were consuls, *Severus* was settled peaceably at *York*, and died not long after. This appears from that famous rescript which is still preserved^b. How long *Severus* might have been there, and the war over before, I know not; but these things seem to make it very probable that the wall was built before the erecting the altar at *Caerleon*, as I have elsewhere shewn^c. And it may be farther observed in favour of this opinion, that the cut of the letters, and particularly the L, plead for a later date, than that of *Marcus Aurelius*. This shape of the letter L occurs in some of the inscriptions upon the face of the wall; but I believe the reign of *Severus* is as high as we can carry it, and this inscription, if placed in his reign, must be reckoned among the rudest sort in it.

As for the word *officina*, which follows, Dr. *Musgrave* has so largely treated upon these *officinae* or *fabricae* of the *Romans*, that I shall take leave to refer the reader to his *Comment* upon the inscription of *Julius Vitalis*. I take *Mercatius*, or *Numercatius*, as others read it (though I could not discern the two first letters, nor do I believe they ever have been there) to be the name of the *praefectus fabricae*; and *Ferminus* to be either his father's name, or another name of his own.

CAMBDEN takes notice of some other words upon the same rock in a more modern character, namely *OFICIVM ROMANORVM*. I thought I saw some vestiges of letters, or confused strokes, which probably have been these words; but I could make nothing of them, they were so much defaced. They were near the other inscription, and to the right of it. But whatever occasioned their being put there, they must doubtless, as *Cambden* himself supposes, have been the work of a later hand.

I ENQUIRED about the inscriptions said to have been upon *Leuge Cragge* near *Naworth*, but was told that they were now entirely defaced.

I SHALL add here another inscription, which is in Dr. *Holland's* additions to *Cambden*, printed 1695^d, though I cannot find it in the edition 1722. I know not where it was found, or where it now is, nor will I vouch for its being genuine. The doctor says, that the connection of the letters was intricate; and by the place he has given it in the book, one would think it should be referred to some part near *Cambeck* or *Brampton*.^e I shall give it as the doctor has published it before me.

DEAE NYMPHÆ BRIG.
QVOD^fVOVERAT PRO
SALVTE PLAVTILIAE CO. INVICTÆ
DOM. NOSTRI INVICTI
IMP. M. AVRELII^g SEVERI
ANTONINI PII FEL CAES
AVG. TOTIVSQVE DO
MVS DIVINAE EIVS
M. COCCEIVS NIGRINVS
Q. AVG. N. DEVOTVS
LIBENS SVSCEPTVM S
LÆTOII^h. . . .

Deae Nymphae Brigantum
quod voverat pro
salute Plautillae conjugis invictae
domini nostri invicti
imperatoris Marci Aurelii Severi
Antonini pii felicitis Caesaris
Augusti totiusque do-
mus divinae ejus
Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus
quaestor Augusti numini devotus
libens susceptum solvit
laeto

a) I do not find it in any other edition of 1697, but in Woodford's pag. xi. again, but imperfectly, b) I do not find it in Woodford's

c) I do not find it in Woodford's ha
d) I do not find it in Woodford's, AN

e) I do not find it in Woodford's ha

The

^a Fasti Consular.

^g Cod. Lib. III. tit. XXXII. leg. 1.

^c Book 1. chap. VIII. pag. 127, 128.

^e Pag. 896.

The title of *dominus noster*, I believe, was not used on inscriptions so soon as *Caracalla*^a. If this be genuine, it must have been erected after the death of *Severus* and *Caracalla*'s leaving this island.

HAVING done with the inscriptions along the wall, I shall now proceed to those which relate to stations that lie north from it.

Beaucaastle.

XLV. THIS and the next belong to *Beaucaastle*, where there has been a large station, of which there are yet some considerable remains. Many *Roman* coins have also been found here, one of which I now have in my possession, which I take to be *Philip*, though the head is obscure. *Cambden* tells us that he saw a stone in the church, made use of for a grave-stone, with this inscription^b.

LEG. II AVG

FECIT.

And just such a sort of stone with the very same inscription upon it did I find in *Naworth* garden, not unlike half a grave stone; which I conclude to be the same, and suppose it to have been removed from *Beaucaastle* to *Naworth* by the gentleman who made the collection. *Cambden* intimates that it had been brought from some other place to *Beaucaastle*; but for what reason he should suppose this I cannot imagine, since it is certain this has been a station, and that it is not the only inscription which has been found here.

XLVI. THIS is yet on the spot, and has been a very curious inscription, though it is now imperfect. The stone is at present in the church yard at the head of a grave, set upright on the edge, as I suppose the former had also been, which is mentioned in *Cambden*. It was found at first in the bottom of a grave, and has not been published before. The last letters PRPR are plainly for *propraetore*, and consequently there can be no doubt but what went before has been LEG. AVG. for *legato Augustali*, though the v only is now visible, the preceding letters being broken off from the stone, and the c quite effaced. The line above must therefore have contained the name of the lieutenant. I take it to have been an honorary monument erected to *Hadrian* by the *legio secunda Augusta*, and the *legio vicesima*. I cannot find any name of a *propraetor*, that fully suits the letters in the inscription; but we have *Priscus Licinius* mentioned in an inscription in *Hadrian*'s time^c, which seems to approach the nearest. The two names *Licinius* and *Priscus* might be inverted in an inscription as we find names are sometimes in authors^d. Perhaps the whole inscription was originally in this form:

IMP. CAES. TRAIAN.

HADRIANO. AVG.

LEG. II. AVG. ET. XX. V. V.

SVB. LICINIO. PRISCO.

LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

Mr. Ward thinks the two last lines may have been thus:

OB. VIC. NO. PR. LIC

IN. L. AVG. PR. PR.

that is, *ob victoriam nobilem, Prisco Licinio legato Augustali propraetore*.
Curtius applies the epithet *nobilis* in the same manner, speaking of *Alexander* "the great".

I

^a See Goltz. Thesaur. p. 94.

^b Pag. 1028.

^c Cambd. Intro. pag. LXXI.^a The same inscription is in Speed. Hist. pag. 219. ed. 1611. The inscription is thus: M.F. CL. PRISCO. ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIAE PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIAE LEO. AVG. LEG. IIII. GALLICIAE. PRAEF. COH. IIII. LINGONVM. VEXILLO. MIL. ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO.

IN EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC. Q. CASSIVS. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS. In a later edition of Speed it is said to have been found on the Picts wall.

^d So Livy transposes the names Quintius Capitolinus. Lib. iv. 18. Contra Velentem Capitolinus Quintius intulit signa. And the names Servilius Ahala. cap. 57. See also Severi Lucii, for Lucii Severi, before, pag. 185.

^e Nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse iactavit. Lib. viii. cap. 1.

I WAS told of another stone found at this place, with *TEMPLVM* distinctly upon it; but it was then broken and destroyed.

As the *legio secunda Augusta* was at this place in the reign of *Hadrian*, so it is most likely that they were quartered here at the time when his *vallum* was built, to cover the workmen, and to bear a share in the work. I am inclined to believe that the antient name of this place was *Apiatorium* mentioned on a former inscription^a. If that stone was not brought directly from *Beaucaastle* by Mr. *Warburton*, which indeed he says he does not remember; it might however come originally from thence.

I NOW proceed to the sculptures and inscriptions at the famous station of *Netherby*. And I must first take notice of a curious inscription mentioned in *Cambden*, and said by him to be then in the walls of the house^b.

IMP. CÆS. TRA

HADRIANO

AVG

LEG. II. AVG. F. α)

This stone is not now to be found; Mr. *Gordon* enquired for it, and I likewise sought after it, but in vain; and as part of this house is pulled down, and altered, I doubt this stone has been destroyed, or lost in the ruins. However this makes it evident that the *Romans* were possessed of this station in the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*; and by the medals both of the high and low empire, that have been found here, it seems probable they were long in possession of it^c.

α) Woodhouse writes with a horizontal line pag. xiii.

IN the additions to *Cambden* we are also told of two other stones with inscriptions upon them, together with a gold coin of *Nero* that was found at this place^d; but both these stones are also lost, and I doubt the copies of the inscriptions are not very accurate. One of them, as it stands in *Cambden*, is: IMP. COMM. COS. that is *imperatorii Commodi consuli*, which is supposed by this author to have been in the year 184, when *Commodus* was saluted *imperator Britannicus*. But if the inscription be rightly copied, I take it to have been when he was *consul* the first time, that is, in the year 177, and so may serve to shew that the *Romans* were then also possessed of this fort. The other inscription is thus represented:

DEO MARTI

BELATVCADRO

RO. VR. RP. CAII

ORVSII. M^e

It is justly remarked that this inscription argues *Mars* and *Belatucadrus* (or rather *Belatucader*) to be the same deity; but the two following lines have certainly been ill copied: for the last letters, I think, must have been the usual *VSLLM*, *votum solvit libentissime merito*; and some of the preceding letters may have contained the name of the person who erected the altar. The four last letters in the third line, and the two first in the last line, look very like *GALLOR* for *Gallorum*.

XLVII. THERE is at present only one inscription remaining here, which is not in *Cambden*, but has been published by Mr. *Gordon*^e; and I have given the copy of it with the face of the altar. It is built up in the wall, in a corner of the garden, at the end of the house. The only difficulty is in the letters *VITIRE*s, which make the name of a local deity much worshipped in this country^f. Mr. *Ward* most probably conjectures, that they should be read *vitae*

^a See Northumberland N. LXXVII.

^b Pag. 1027.

^c See Gordon's It. Sept. p. 98.

^d Pag. 1027.

^e See N. xxxi. above.

^f It. Sept. plate XLIV. at p. 98.

^g See Northumberland N. LXVII. &c.

vitae restitutori. "The fourth letter might at first be an E^a, though the "cross strokes are now effaced, as it is in the L of the same line. Nothing "is more common in these inscriptions than a single E for the diphthong AE, "and to erect altars upon a recovery from sickness was a very usual custom "with the Romans. There is an inscription to *Caracalla*, in which this "title of RESTITVTORI VITAE is conjoined with that of NVMINI^b." The name of the person erecting the altar I take to be *Flavius Aelius Secundus* or *Secundinus*.

XLVIII. NEAR the inscription last mentioned are this and the following sculptures. Mr. *Gordon*, who has published them both^c, takes this for *Commodus*, the *Roman Hercules*^d. But if any conjecture may be made from the youthful air of the face in the original, I should rather take it for *Caracalla* under the appearance of *Alexander*, whose face it seems more to resemble. For *Xiphiline* informs us that "Caracalla had so profound a veneration for "the name and memory of *Alexander*, that for the most part he made use "of such arms and cups, as that king had formerly used, filling the camp "and *Rome* itself with his statues. He took upon himself the name of *Alexander*, and pretended that the soul of *Alexander* was entered into his body "to animate it longer than it formerly had done his own.^e"

XLIX. THIS is justly commended by Mr. *Gordon*, who supposes it to be the emperor *Hadrian*, from a medal in the same attitude^f. The figure has a *corona muralis* on his head, a *cornucopiae* on his left arm, and a *patera* in his right hand, which he holds as usual over an altar. No doubt it is a *Genius*, and most probably the *Genius* of the *Roman* people, or the emperor represented as such. This is confirmed by the inscription at *Carlisle*^g, which (or *Stamwicks*) is the next station to *Netherby*. The same kind of figure, and in much the same attitude, appears upon a great number of coins, where the legends shew it to be a *Genius*.

L. THIS sculpture is in a stair-case without the house, but just at the entrance. It is *Hercules* in an *Armenian* habit, with a *cornucopiae* in his left hand, and a *patera* in his right over an altar. Beside him on the left are represented his club, with a boar under it, which I suppose was designed to represent the *Erymanthian* boar; or perhaps *Caledonia*, if the *Hercules* was intended for *Commodus*^h. The top of the stone, and with that the head of the figure, is broken off.

THESE are all the inscriptions on the north side of the wall in this county. I shall now come to the south side of it, and give an account of the inscriptions belonging to the several stations there; and in order to proceed with some regularity, I shall begin eastward and so go on towards the west.

Old Penreth.

'TIS pity that so many original inscriptions belonging to *Old Penreth* should be lost; for I could not recover any of the old ones, though I met with some that are newly discovered. It is very likely this which follows was removed by Mr. *Cambden*, or Sir *Robert Cotton*; for they seem to have been bent upon securing those, which contained any inscription, that might determine the situation of the antient places: so that if the story be true, that a boat or two laden with stones were sunk at sea, a great many of these curious originals must be entirely lost. However it is certain, that there have been more at *Conington*, than are there now; for I observed some empty niches,

^a See I for E Monmouthshire N. III.

^b Spon. Miscell. erud. ant. p. 271.

^c It. Sept. plate xxxvii. at p. 77.

^d Ibid. p. 97.

^e Lib. Lxxvii. p. 873. Alexandrum magnum

usque gesta in ore semper habuit. Spartian. in Caracall. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 405.

^f It. Sept. p. 97.

^g See N. XLII.

^h Northumberland N. LXIII.

niches, but could not get any certain account of the stones, which had been set in them. What may have been the fate of this inscription, I know not, but I shall give it, as I find it in *Cambden*.*

GADVNO
VLP TRAI
EM. AL. PET
MARTIVS
F P. C.

Gaduno
Ulpus Trajanus
emeritus^b alae Petrianae.
Martius
faciendum procuravit.

Burton (I suppose from the authority of this inscription) reckons *Gadunus* among our northern tutelar deities; but by the conclusion of the inscription, *faciendum procuravit*, I rather take *Gadunus* to have been the name of a person deceased, for whom *Ulpus Trajanus Martius* an *emeritus* of the *ala Petriana* took care to have this funeral monument erected. Mr. *Ward* thinks " 'tis more likely the *emeritus* was the deceased person, and therefore reads " this inscription: *Gaduno Ulpio Trajano emerito alae Petrianae Martius* " *frater ponendum curavit*. The following inscription likewise runs in the " dative, and ends with *ponendum curavit*. The emperor *Trajan* had also " the name *Ulpus*." The *ala Petriana* according to the *Notitia* was in garrison at *Petriana* upon the wall. There is *ala Petrina* in *Tacitus*, but that seems to be different.

THOUGH the originals are lost, it adds somewhat to the value of these copies, that *Cambden* expressly says he took them himself^c. It is more probable that the preceding inscription has been sepulchral, because the other three, which *Cambden* has given us, are all of this nature; and the following runs, as that does, in the dative:

D M.
FL MARTIO SEN
IN C CARVETIOR
QVESTORIO
VIXIT AN XXXV
MARTIOLA FILIA ET
HERES PONEN
. . . CVRAVIT.

Dis manibus
Flavio Martio senatori
in cohorte Carvetiorum
quaestorio
vixit annos quadraginta quinque
Martiola filia et
heres ponendum curavit.

The reading of the third line is according to the conjecture in *Cambden*, though I cannot say it is satisfactory; nor can I well tell how to mend it. Mr. *Ward* thinks it may be read in the following manner: " I don't doubt but " the three first lines after DM should be read, *Fl. Martio senatori in civitate* " [or *colonia*^d] *Carvetiorum quaestorio*. This *Martius* might possibly be the " same, who is mentioned in the preceding inscription. *Vir quaestorius* is one " who has been *quaestor*, or treasurer; in the same manner as *praetorius* and " *censorius* denote such persons, who have discharged those offices. So that " this *Martius* had been a senator and treasurer, or chamberlain, among " these *Carvetii*, whoever they were." I know not but the o in the fourth line may only have been a stop, and *quaestori* express the office he bore, and all the two former lines contain his name or his country.

THE next inscription in *Cambden* is this:

DM CROTILO GERMANVS VIX ANIS XXVI. GRECA VIX ANIS IIII VINDICIANVS FRA. ET FIL. TIT. PO.
Dis Manibus Crotilo Germanus vixit annis viginti sex, Graeca vixit annis quatuor, Vindicianus patri et filiae titulum posuit.
We find *titulus* in this sense, for a sepulchral inscription, several times in *Gruter*. The word *Greca* here is writ with a single e, as *quaestorio* in the preceding inscription.

W.E

* Pag. 1021.

^b For *emeritus* see N. XIII. p. 255.

* Pag. 1020.

^c So it is read in *Gruter*, p. cccxi. 4.

We have one more in *Cambden*, which is this:

D M.

AICETVOS MATER

VIXIT A XXXXV

ET LATTIO FIL. VIX

A XII. LIMISIVS

CONIV. ET FILIÆ

PIENTISSIMIS

POSVIT

Dis Manibus

Aicetuos mater

vixit annos quadraginta quinque

et Lattio filia vixit

annos duodecim Limisius

conjugi et filiae

pietissimis

posuit.

*redondo, p. xxv. has another
version, not much unlike
which I have not found
where, viz.*

IMISIVS

PIENTISSIMAE CONIVGI ET PIEN

SS FILIÆ - - - - POSVIT

KOR VIXIT ANNOS XXXX

ILIA XX. Might not

have been a former

, and another daughter?

Gruter has this inscription^a, but not so correctly, for he reads *filia* instead of *filiae* in the fifth line, and *L. Atilio* for *Lattio* in the third line, the name of the daughter.^α

LI. I Now leave *Cambden*, and proceed to give an account of such originals belonging to this place, which are yet extant. This was found not long ago at *Lough*, a part of *Plunton wall*, close by the station at *Old Penreth*, and is now at *Great Salkeld* in the garden of the reverend Dr. *Fleming* dean of *Carlisle*. It has not, that I know of, been published before. The stone is broken into three pieces, and part of it is lost, and with it some of the inscription. The letters are very discernible, so that notwithstanding their implication, and the break of the stone, what remains of the inscription is intelligible enough, and very curious. *Julia Mammea*, the mother of the emperor, is here called *mater castrorum*; which title we find given to the empresses in several inscriptions in *Gruter*. It occurs likewise in the later writers; for *Trebellius Pollio* informs us, that *Victorina* the mother of *Victorinus* was so called^b. And *Capitolinus* says the same of *Faustina*^c. And perhaps *Julia Mammea* might acquire this title from the care she took to have *Alexander* well instructed in the art of war, and the great share she afterwards had in all his counsels and designs; as we are told by *Lampridius* in his life of this emperor: “*Alexander*, the son of *Mammea*, was from his childhood “well trained up in good arts, both civil and military, and did every thing “according to his mother’s advice^d.” The words *numini ejus* don’t seem at first sight to suit so well with what the same writer says of him elsewhere, “that, he would not be called lord^e”; nor his being joined to the *deae matres* with his favouring *Christianity* so much, as he plainly insinuates. I believe this is the only inscription in *Britain* where this emperor’s name occurs. And the profound silence of ancient history with respect to the transactions here during his reign, makes it impossible to assign the particular occasion of the inscription. But the greatest curiosity of it lies in its being consecrated to the *deae matres tramarinae* or *transmarinae*. We have the *matres domesticae* upon an altar now at *Scaleby castle*^f which seem to be distinguished from these *matres transmarinae*, and the two characters may serve to explain each other. And by this we may be helped to correct the reading of another inscription from which the learned Dr. *Gale* endeavours to draw an argument with respect to *Bremenium*^g:

DEABVS MATRIBVS

TRAMAI. VEX. CERMA &c.

The doctor would have the first word in the second line to be *BRAMAE* for *Bramenium*; but it is evident from this other inscription, that it ought to be read *TRAMAR* for *tramarinis*. The *deae matres*, as the doctor observes, were very much worshipped in *Germany*; and these *matres transmarinae* seem to be

^a Pag. DCCCLXX.

^b Script. hist. Aug. p. 750, &c.

^c Divam etiam *Faustinam* a senatu appellatam gratulatus est: quam secum et in aëstivis habuerat, ut matrem castrorum appellaret. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 211.

^d *Alexander*, cui *Mammaea* mater fuit, a prima

pueritia artibus bonis imbutus, tam civilibus quam militaribus. Script. hist. Aug. p. 509. Egit omnia ex consilio matris. Ibid. p. 588.

^e Dominum se appellari noluit. Ibid. p. 536.

^f See N. XL.

^g Anton. Itin. p. 7.

be either the same with them, or the *matres Gallicae* mentioned in an inscription found in *Spain*^a. So that such inscriptions as these may probably have been erected by some of the *Gallic* or *German* auxiliaries. That implication in the second line, wherein the *I* of *Julia* is joined to the *ET*, that goes before, is not common, though we have some others as remarkable^b. There is a single *E* at the end of the word *divinae*. For the *AE* at the end of the line I take to be the first letters in *aeternae* or *aeternaeque*, another grand compliment to the imperial family^c. It is not certain by whom this inscription was erected, though the remains of the imperfect letters look like *vexillatio militum Romanorum*, which appeared more evident to me upon a second inspection. And perhaps *vexillatio militum Romanorum* may be opposed to a vexillatoin of the auxiliaries, such as *vexillatio Germanorum*, or *Vardulorum*. Was it not for a part of the under oblique stroke of the last letter, I should have taken it for a *P*, and read without much scruple, *vexillatio militum posuit*. And perhaps the word *fecit* or *posuit* followed in a line below. The *stratum* below *TO TI* was gone, and the under line had begun further in, but how much is uncertain. The stone is not in the form of an altar, but an honorary monument, though it be inscribed to the *deae matres*, as well as to the emperor; of which there are parallel instances. Thus in *Montfaucon*^d there is an inscription to the *deae matres* as well as to the honour of the divine house, and yet the stone upon which it is cut is not an altar. Perhaps it has been on the wall of a temple erected to the *deae matres*, and in this respect like that at *Chichester*^e. The people told me, they knew by the nature of the stone it had come from *Lazenby* quarry.

LII. THIS is an altar erected to *Jupiter*. I first imagined it must have been by the fourth cohort, because that was in these parts; of which there is no other evidence concerning the second. But *cohors secunda* is so plain and distinct in the original, as to leave no room to doubt this reading. The inscription is very rude, especially the two last lines, which are smaller letters than the rest; but the whole is very distinct. I am much of opinion that this cohort afterwards might be the *cuneus armaturarum*, who according to the *Notitia* kept garrison at *Bremetenracum*. *D* is frequently put for *de*, as it is here. *Heron* was the name of a *Graecian* orator, and so perhaps it may have been of this prefect. We meet with it in *Gruter*, but with a point after it, as if the termination was wanting^f, so that every one may read it here as he pleases. The first *I* in *Domitius* does not appear, but that may be included in the next letter on either side, which is not uncommon. *Nicomedia* was a famous city of *Bithynia* in *Asia minor*.

LIII. THIS small altar I take to have been erected to the local god *Mogon*, who was worshipped by the *Gadeni*. It seems *Mogti* very plain in the original, and yet I can't but think the god *Mogon* was the deity intended, however the name came to be so contracted.

I SAW such another small altar lying in the pavement of the court before a publick house; but not a visible letter on it.

LIV. I WAS told of a stone with an hour-glass on it; but what was taken for an hour-glass I found to be only the raised part of the stone, designed perhaps purely for ornament. There was also another stone built up in the wall of one of the houses, which had on it a vine branch with leaves and clusters of grapes. I have represented both these under one number.

THE

^a Montfaucon. Tom. II. par. II. liv. 5. ch. 5.

^b See the observations on the *Suffex* inscription, and *Northumberland* N. XVII.

^c This expression applied to the emperor's family is at least as old as *Phaedrus*, L. V. Fab. 7. v. 36.

Princeps———

Superbiens honore divinae domus,
Ab universis capite est protrusus foras.

^d Tom. II. par. II. liv. 5. ch. 5.

^e See *Suffex* inscription. ^f Pag. DCLXV, 5.

Old Carlisle.

THE six following belong to the famous station of *Old Carlisle*, which is about eight miles south-west from the present city of that name, and one mile south from *Wigton*. The originals, which yet remain, and appear to me to have belonged to this place, are strangely dispersed; and it was with some difficulty that I got them ranged in their proper place.

2 alteration of y
two case into the
line in the words,
is some distance, and
askable here. But
Palmas. Cris. ad Script.
Hist. p. 67. 6.

den writes his name
IE TRILE TRANQVILE.
and finds his for the
name TVRIE

and and Thindford
TVIDRO.

LV. THE first of these is among the inscriptions at *Conington*, though now very much effaced, so that little more could be had from the original than the shape and size of the letters; which obliged me to follow *Cambden's* copy^a, compared with that in *Gruter's Corpus*^b. It is represented in *Cambden* as a grand inscription, though when expressed in its due proportion it is confined as here to a narrow compass; and this instance alone is sufficient to shew the expediency of keeping to the same scale or proportion through the whole of a work of this nature. The letters are rude and uneven, and the A without a transverse. The altar is inscribed to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, and erected by the *ala* that was called *Augusta Gordiana* on account of their valour. The then legate and *propraetor* is named in it, *Nonnius Philippus*, and the consuls *Atticus* and *Praetextatus*, which fixes the time to the year 242. Both this date and the inscription itself, determine it to the reign of the emperor *Gordian* the third, whose wife's name was *Tranquillina*. *Capitolinus* and *Eutropius* agree in affirming that *Gordian* the son and grandson of *Gordian* married when very young, and before he engaged in war. The former says his wife was the daughter of *Misitheus*, the latter calls her *Tranquillina*^c. Mr. *Gale* in his remarks on the inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*, supposes the *ala Augusta* to be a part of the *legio sexta victrix*^d: But *Old Carlisle* is a long way from *York* where that legion was stately quartered; and *ala* upon inscriptions, as well as in *Tacitus*, signifies rather some auxiliary horse than the legionary. This *ala* was at this time commanded by *Aemilius Crispinus* an *African*, a native of *Tysdrus*^e, the place where the eldest *Gordian* was made emperor. *Capitolinus* who informs us of this calls it *Tysdrus*^f, and others write it otherwise; so also do they write variously the name of the province in which it was situated, *Byzacium*, *Byzacina*, or *Byzacena*. I believe the imperfect inscription which *Gruter* gives us^g, as from *Cambden*, I. O. M. OB HONOREM VXORIS GORDIANI, to have been the same with this, in which she is mentioned.

THERE have been however other altars found here, erected by the same *ala*, two of which described in *Cambden*, and referred by him to this place, are now at *Drumbrugh castle*, which will be considered under the following numbers. And it is a mistake in Mr. *Gordon* to say the inscriptions at *Drumbrugh castle* were brought from *Allonby*^h. For the four next are the only legible inscriptions that I could meet with at *Drumbrugh*; and it is certain from *Cambden's* testimony, that these belong to *Old Carlisle*.

LVI. THIS altar is in the west wall of the garden, part of it has been broken off, but so luckily as to do no great damage to the inscription, which is yet legible. This copy (which I took as carefully as I could from the original) differs a little both from that in *Cambden*ⁱ, and in the *Philosophical Transactions*^j. The difference lies chiefly in the fifth line. *Cambden* has IN--G--N, as if some letters were wanting between those that are set down. In the *Transactions* it is LING--N, as if an o had been omitted to make it *Lingonensis*, and both make the last letter in the preceding line to be a p. But

^a Pag. 1015.
^b Pag. MVI. 8.
^c Script. Hist. Aug. p. 664. Eutrop. Lib. ix. cap. 2.
^d See *Durham N. xi, xii, and the observations upon them.*

^e In Vit. Gord. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 648.
^f Pag. xii. n. 4.
^g It. Sept. p. 82, 98.
^h Pag. 1015.
ⁱ N. 357.

But what they make an N appeared to me an M, when I examined it narrowly; nor could I discern the fore part of the P in the preceding line, so that it seemed to me like an I, though it is possible the head of the P may be worn off. However I am certain there are no letters wanting in the fifth line, nor any room for more, and the last stroke of the N seemed evidently to include an I in it, as there must also be an I included in the N in *Justinus*. But I leave it to others to read and judge as they please; for my own part if *provincia Lingonensi* be the reading, I could by no means make it out, when I had the altar before me, and endeavoured to do it. Though if *Lingonensis* be the word, I would rather make it out by supposing the last letter in the preceding line to have been an L, and to be joined to those in the following; for thus we have LING; and the M after it may possibly be another name of *Justinus*; or, as Mr. *Ward* conjectures, it may be read *Lingonum municipii* or *municeps* ^a. There is another difference in the last line, the first two letters of which appeared to me not II, but ET. And there seems to be no other proof but this inscription, that *Tuscanus* was oftner consul than once ^b. However the names of the consuls seem to give the year 188 for the date of the inscription, according to the *Christian aera*.

^a The inscription
not say that Tusc
but Silanus only
it seems, that is, to
have consul.

LVII. THIS is in the end-wall of a stable at *Drumbrugh castle*, and still legible; the face of the altar being within the stable, and so secured from the weather. It is in the last edition of *Cambden* inserted (for what reason I know not) among the *Elenborough* inscriptions. *Cambden* ^c himself says expressly that it was dug up at *Old Carlisle* ^d, and in his time was at *Ilkirk*, and I suppose has been since removed from thence to *Drumbrugh* by *John Aglionby Esq;*, which place formerly belonged to the *Dacres*, now to my Lord *Lonsdale*. This stone is broke through in the middle, and the break seems to have been made with a pick or some such tool; which misfortune I believe must have happened to it since *Cambden* saw it, because he takes no notice of it, and copied the whole without any difficulty; whereas that line is now much damaged by the fracture, and hard to be read. This altar has been erected by the same *ala* and to the same deity as the last, but at a different time, when *Apronianus* and *Bradua* were consuls, in the year 191, under the reign of *Commodus*; at which time they had changed their commander, who was now *Publius Aelius Magnus* the son of *Publius*, of the tribe *Sergia* mentioned in *Virgil* ^e, and town of *Mursa* in the lower *Pannonia*.

^b Woodford agrees with
him

LVIII. THIS pillar is now in *Naworth garden*, and I take it for granted it must be the same with that which *Cambden* describes, and says was found on the military way, not far from *Old Carlisle*, and was at that time to be seen at *Thoresby*. It agrees with *Cambden's* in all respects, as to every word and letter, and the position of them; and it is just what he calls it, a pillar of rude stone; and the letters on it are rude and unevenly cut ^d. The second stroke of the word IVL, in the seventh line (however it happened) is plainly superfluous, though clear and distinct upon the stone. I take this to have been one of the milliary stones that were erected at every mile's end upon the military ways, and to have been set up in the year 247, when *Philip* the father was consul the second time, and his son the first. The word NOBILISSIMO, which respects the son, is wrote at length, and so seems to shew that NOB. CAES. when contracted, is to be read *nobilissimo*, rather than *nobilis Caesari*.

LIX

^a "The Lingones were a people of Belgic Gaul,
" whose chief town Eutropius calls by the same
" name, Lib. ix. c. 15. Pliny calls them foederati,
" H. N. L. iv. c. 17. and Tacitus says the freedom
" of Rome was granted them by Otho: Lingoni-
" bus universis civitatem Romanam dedit. Hist.
" L. i. c. 78. Which accounts plainly shew them

" to have been a municipium, according to the
" several kinds of them described by Festus, in voce
" Municipium." (Cicero calls them a foederati)
^b Pag. 1011, 1013.
^c Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen.
Aen. v. 121.

erectum civitatem an
presently after municipi
n. 6, d.

^d Pag. 1017.

LIX. *CRISPUS*, to whose honour this inscription has been erected, was son of *Constantine* the great, and created *Caesar* by him. Some say he was put to death by his father, at the instigation of the empress *Fausta*; though this is questioned by others. He was thrice consul when *Caesar*, as appears by the *Fasti Consulares*, namely, in the years 318, 321, and 324. About this time therefore must this pillar and inscription have been erected. In the *Fasti Consulares* he is called *Flavius Valerius Crispus Caesar*, but upon his coins he is named *Flavius Julius Crispus*^a. And thus he seems to have been called here. This is the only inscription in *Britain*, where his name is mentioned, though there are some in other parts nearly parallel to this, which may be seen in *Goltzius*^b, and *Gruter*^c. He is called the son of *Constantine*, and the grandson of *Constantius*; and *Constantius* is styled *divus* and *pius*. *Eutropius* tells us “that *Constantius* died in *Britain* at *York*, and was ranked “among the *divi*.” And *Dr. Gale* informs us that “many coins of the “*Roman* emperors have been dug up at *Combe*, a mile from *Kingston*; the “latest of which was inscribed *DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO*.” I wonder much that this inscription, being amongst *Sir Robert Cotton*’s collection and yet remaining at *Conington*, should not have been published before, and particularly that *Cambden* should have taken no notice of it. Where this inscription was first found, is not known; but I leave it in this place, because I know not where to dispose of it better.

LX. BESIDES these there are three inscriptions more in *Cambden*, two of which, as I hinted before^d, have probably been upon two altars that are at *Drumbrugh*, but no visible letters upon them now. One of these altars is built up in the garden walls; and the other, which is of a very coarse and reddish stone, stands in the hay loft. The former is the more beautiful, whose figure I have here given. And as the following inscription seems to be the chief of the three, whose originals are wanting, and appears also both as to the number and length of the lines, to suit the size of this altar, I believe it may formerly have belonged to it. The words run thus^e:

DEO
SANCTO BELA
TVCADRO
AVRELIUS
DIATOVA ARA^uE
X VOTO POSVIT
LL. MM.

Deo
sancto Bela-
tucadro
Aurelius
Diatova aram ex
voto posuit
libentissime meritissime.

It seems plain that *ARA* in the fifth line must be for *ARAM*. *Ex voto* is usual, and *voto* without the preposition sometimes occurs. *MM* at the last can be read no otherwise than *meritissime*. This, together with its being more easy and natural, has determined me to read *LL libentissime*^h, rather than *libens libens* as usual. *LIBENS* and *LVBENS* do each occur apart at large in our *British* or *Brito-Roman* inscriptions, but never conjunctly, nor indeed does *libentissime* at large any where appear. *Mr. Cambden* says this inscription and altar was at *Wordal* the seat of *Mr. Dykes*; and it may probably have been removed from thence to *Drumbrugh*.

THE following inscription to a local deity is another of those in *Cambden*ⁱ:

DEO
CEAIIO AVR
M RTI. ETMS
ERVURACIO PRO
SE ET SVIS. V. S.
LL. M.

Deo
Ceaio Aurelius
Eruracio pro
se et suis votum solvit
libentissime merito.

Ceauius,

^a See *Mediobarb.*
^b *Theaur. rei antiq.*
^c *Pag. cclxxxiv. 7, &c.*
^d *Oblit in Britannia, Eborac, — atque inter divos relatus est. Lib. x. c. i.*

^e *Anton. It. p. 72.*
^f *See N. L. v. p. 276.*
^g *Cambd. Brit. pag. 1017.*
^h *See before in this chapter, pag. 221.*
ⁱ *Pag. 1017.*

Ceaius, if that be the true reading, must be the name of some local deity ; but the third line, which contains a part of the name of the person erecting the altar, is in confusion ; so that I know not whether it has been *Aurelius Martius et Martia Eruracio*, or *Aurelius Martius Martii filius*. Mr. Ward proposes the following reading of it. “ *Ceaius* is so uncouth a name, that I can by no means think it the true reading. I am much inclined to fancy the deity here designed was *Oceanus*, and that the inscription should be read in the following manner: *Deo Oceano Aurelius Martius et Martia* [or *Marsia*] *Eruracio*, &c. The first o of *OCEANO* might be near effaced in *Cambden*’s time.^a The oblique stroke of the N might likewise be so faint as to make it appear like a double II. *Eruracio* in the fourth line seems rather a woman’s name, and Ms at the end of the line above it very probably is a mistake, because in *Gruter* it is writ *MARS*^b, where the A might be included in the M ; and we find both *Marsia* and *Martia* in him upon other inscriptions. I would suppose therefore that the inscription was erected by this *Martius* and his wife to *Oceanus*, upon account of themselves and their family, for their safe passage hither by sea. That the ancients represented *Oceanus* as a deity, is plain from *Virgil*:

*Oceano libemus, ait ; simul ipsa precatur,
Oceanumque patrem rerum, Nymphasque sorores*^b.

*who was very
ous in pub us his
thing obscure, an
observed before,
but.*

I AM not able to determine whether the former inscription, or this next (described also by *Cambden* ^c) may best suit the other altar now in the hay loft at *Drumbrugh*.

D M
MABLI
NIVS SEC
VNDVS
EQVIS
ALE AVG
STE STIP

*Diis Manibus
Mabli-
nius Se-
cundus
eques
alae Augu-
stae stipendiorum*

The years he served are not here, I suppose the number in the original was effaced. There is little remarkable in the inscription, only *equis* for *eques*, and *ale* with a single E, though this is frequent. *Cambden* says a great many other antiquities were dug up here, as eagles, lions, and other images, which are now all lost.

I BELIEVE there is no one *Roman* station in *Britain*, where so great a number of inscriptions has been found as at *Elenborough* ; and most of the originals are yet preserved at *Elenborough hall*, the seat of *Humphrey Senhouse Esq* ; who is the proprietor of the ground on which the station has been, and the worthy descendant of *John Senhouse Esq* ; whom *Cambden* commends for his great civility to Sir *Robert Cotton* and himself, for his skill in antiquity, and for the great care with which he preserved such curiosities^d. The soldiers that seem to have been in garrison here are the *cohors prima Hispanorum*, *cohors prima Dalmatarum*, and the *cohors prima Baetastorum*. At least these are all mentioned in some inscriptions, that have been found at this place.

Elenborough.

LXI. THIS stone was presented to Mr. Kirby of *Asblack* in *Lancashire*, in whose hands it now is. The inscription imports only that this beautiful altar was erected to *Jupiter* by *Cammius Maximus* the prefect of the first cohort of *Spanish* horse.

LXII. THIS is still at *Elenborough hall* in the middle of the garden with a sun-dial upon it. I will not pretend to determine, whether we are to understand

^a Pag. LXXXIX. 10.

^b Georg. L. IV. v. 381.

^c Pag. 1016.

^d Pag. 1012.

derstand the same cohort here, as in the former inscription; for they are expressly called horse, and are said to be under a prefect; but here the word *equitum* is not expressed, and the officer is called a tribune, who is also of a different name from the former. But that the terms *praefectus* and *tribunus* were sometimes used promiscuously has been shewn elsewhere*. However as the word *equitum* is not mentioned here, I am more inclined to think this was a foot cohort. According to the *Notitia*, in the latter end of the empire the *tribunus cohortis primae Hispanorum* was at *Axelodunum*, which I have shewn to be *Brugh* upon the wall^b, to which place it is probable they removed, after this inscription was erected.

LXIII. THIS following inscription is upon an altar, which seems to have been erected by the same cohort, as the former; though, as it appears to me, much after it. The stone is now in the *isle of man* in the library of the bishop of that island. And as I had no opportunity to visit it, I have here laid it down according to the dimensions and copy given of it in the appendix to Mr. Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*^c. The ingenious author of that letter supposes it to have been in the time of *Marcus Aurelius*. But the form of some of the letters inclines me to think it must have been later, particularly the cut of the L, which I have considered before in my observations on the inscription on the rock at the *Gelt*^d. The transverse stroke of the A is likewise somewhat uncommon, and much of the same sort with that at *Boroughbridge*^e, which by all appearance has been very late. It is well known that *Diocletian* was fond of the name *Jovius*, to whose time all the circumstances of this inscription seem to agree. " *Bandurius* exhibits " a coin of this emperor, upon the reverse of which is IOVI AVG. which " words most probably stand for *Jovi Augusti*, since upon another of his coins " in the same author we find in words at length IOVI AVGVSTORVM. And " in the same manner perhaps IOVI AVG ought to be read upon this altar. " The emperor *Antoninus Pius* was also of this city *Nemausus*^f, now called " *Nismes*."

LXIV. BOTH this and the next were published long ago by *Cambden*^g, and lately by Mr. *Gordon*^h, who has given us most of the originals, which belong to this place, and thinks this monument has been erected in honour of *Antoninus Pius*. But there has not been room in the first line for what usually precedes that emperor's name in other inscriptionsⁱ. And *pii felicitis* (if we read it so and not *patris patriae*) suits not him, but some of the following *Antonines*, as *Caracalla*^k or *Commodus*, who first joined *felix* to *pius*^l. But I confess the remains look liker PP for *patris patriae*.

LXV. THIS is also in *Gruter's Corpus*^m, but incorrect both as to the inscription and figures. It is not to be doubted but the same person erected this, who erected the former. There is no difficulty in the reading, and the sculpture is curious.

THE figure on the right side is *Hercules* with his club in his right hand; but what he carries in his left seems not to be a cup or *patera*, as it is represented by Mr. *Gordon*ⁿ, but three *Hesperian* apples^o. I once imagined the figure on the left side might have been *Hercules* too, leaning upon his club or pillar, for it seems rather too large and clumsy for a spear.

LXVI.

* See Book I. c. vi. p. 94.
^b Book I. c. vii. p. 109.
^c Pag. 183.
^d N. XLIV.
^e Yorkshire N. vi.
^f Script. Hist. Aug. p. 124.
^g Pag. 1012, 1013.
^h It. Sept. plate XLIV, XLV. at p. 98.

ⁱ See Scotland N. I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, X, XXVI, and Northumberland N. VII.
^k Goltzius and the Monmouthshire inscriptions.
^l Science de Medailles, p. 125.
^m Pag. cxiv. n. 1.
ⁿ It. Sept. plate XLIV. at p. 98.
^o See Montfaucon Tom. I. par. II. liv. 1.

LXVI. THIS is placed above the door of a house built at the fort called *Elenfoot*, and by Mr. *Senhouse*, *Volantium*, in allusion to Mr. *Cambden's* conjecture about the name of this place. The left side of the altar has suffered damage by the plough that turned it up, whereby some letters are effaced, and particularly a part of the name of the commander is lost; but excepting this, there is no difficulty in reading the inscription. *Mars militaris* is remarkable, and is perhaps of the same purport with *Mars Belatucader*. The contraction of VM in the third line is common, and the rest of them here, as well as in other inscriptions, seem to have been in order to bring the words within the compass allotted to them. The *Baetasii* were a people of *Belgic Gaul*. The different ways in which their name is writ, may be worth observing. Here 'tis with AE, in *Pliny* 'tis *Betasi*, in *Tacitus*, *Bethasii* or *Betasii*, and in the *Notitia*, *Vetasii*^a. The two names *Julius Tutor* are found together in an inscription in *Gruter*^b. The vacant space at the end of the fourth line would, I think, just be filled up by the letters that are wanting of IVLIVS.

LXVII. BESIDES the inscriptions in which express mention is made of a particular cohort, there are others that mention some officers, without telling us to what body they belonged. Of this sort is this next, which only gives us the name of the tribune who erected it.

LXVIII. THIS is the finest and most curious *Roman* altar, that ever was discovered in *Britain*. The draught of it I think has been given no where, except in *Cambden's Britannia*, and there not very correctly^c. It was found at this station, and removed from *Elenborough hall* to *Flat hall*, near *Whitehaven*, the seat of *James Lowther Esq*; where it is carefully preserved. But though the altar is fine, yet the inscription seems to be coarse; and I have often observed, that rude inscriptions are upon beautiful altars. The inscription at present is in some parts, especially towards the end, nearly effaced; where no doubt it was visible enough, when *Cambden* first copied it: and in these parts I took the help of his reading, in order to make the whole as compleat as I could. It will be proper first to take notice of the inscription, and then of the sculpture.

^a) Woodforde has copied draught of the altar; *Cambden*. And in the line for RED they both REDUC.

THE altar is inscribed *Genio loci, Fortunae reduci, Romae aeternae, et Fato bono*. It is well known that places had their *Genii*, as well as persons and states. And it was a common practice for the *Romans* to make their addresses to the *Genius* of the place, even where they were strangers. So *Aeneas* when he arrives at the mouth of the *Tiber*;

——— *Frondenti tempora ramo*
Implicat, et Geniumque loci, primamque deorum
Tellurem, Nymphasque, et adhuc ignota precatur
Flumina^d. ———

We have also another monument inscribed *Genio loci* found at *York*^e. *Fortuna redux* and *Roma aeterna* are also common, both on coins and inscriptions; so that these three first are not unusual. But *FATO BONO* is somewhat peculiar; yet we have another instance in *Britain* of an altar *MARTI VICTORI, GENIO LOCI, ET BONO EVENTVI*^f. And these two seem to be much the same, *bonum fatum* and *bonus Eventus*. This epithet is added to other gods and goddesses. Among the *Arundelian* collection we have *BONAE DEAE VENERI*^g. And *Virgil* ascribes it to *Juno*,

Adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Juno^h.

Pliny.

^a See Cellarii Geogr. Ant. Tom. I. p. 230.

^b Pag. DXLV. 8.

^c Pag. 1011.

^d Virg. Aen. VII. 135.

^e See it in Yorkshire under N. IX.

^f See observations on Durham N. XXXI.

^g See Selden's works, vol. II. p. 248.

^h Aen. I. 738.

Pliny describes the image of *bonus Eventus*, as “holding a *patera* in the right hand, an ear of corn and poppy in the left^a.” The figure of it upon medals is agreeable to this description. In a coin of *Antoninus Pius* it has a *patera* over a flaming altar in one hand, and ears of corn in the other^b. I mention this now, because it may help us to understand what relates to the sculpture upon this altar. I only farther add for the same purpose, that as *Burton* informs us^c, “*Severus’s bonus Eventus* stands robed, with corn in the charger, poppy and an ear of corn in the left.” What follows in the inscription is the name of the tribune *Gaius Cornelius Peregrinus*, but what cohort he commanded I know not, for I believe what follows expresses his own country, namely *Mauritania Caesariensis*, like what we have before in another inscription^d. For *Mauritania*, as is well known, was divided into *Tigritana* and *Caesariensis*. The *Barcarii Tigritenses* are in the *Notitia* placed at *Arbeia*, and a *numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum* at *Aballaba*. I am at a loss to understand *Cambden’s* supplement to the end of this inscription. I shall give it in his own words. “In the inscription every thing is plain; only in the last line but one, *ET* and *AEDES* have two letters joined in one. At the bottom it is imperfect; possibly to be restored thus, *DECVRIONVM ORDINEM RESTITVIT, &c.* These *decuriones* were the same in the *municipia*, as senators were at *Rome*, and in the colonies. They were so called from *curia* the court, wherein they presided; from whence also they were named *curiales*, as having the chief management of all court or civil affairs^e.” If we are to read *decurionum ordinem restituit* in this place, what must be done with *domos et aedes*? He seems afterwards to join all the three together, as if this tribune had restored houses, temples, and the order of the *decuriones*. But then another *et* seems to be wanting before *decurionum*, and therefore I think it is much better to leave out the word *ordinem*, for which there is not room on the altar, and then all is plain and easy.

ON the back of the altar is *VOLANTI VIVAS*, where *VOLANTI* does not appear with a double *i* as in *Cambden*. His conjecture upon it is this: “These two words, says he, puzzle me, and I can make nothing of them, unless the *decuriones*, *equites* and the *plebs* (of which three the *municipium* consisted) did erect it to *G. Cornelius Peregrinus*, who restored the houses, temples, and the *decuriones*, by way of vow or prayer, that this their benefactor might live at *Volantium*.” And from hence he conjectures that this place may formerly have been called *Volantium*; though others suppose it to be *Olenacum*. But I see no necessity to suppose the altar was erected by the inhabitants; they might order these words to be cut upon it, after it was erected. And I find *PETREI BIBAS* at the end of an inscription in *Gruter*^f, where *B* is put instead of *v*, so that it is *Petrei vivas*, and perhaps a parallel instance to this which is now before us. And in *Montfaucon*^g we have a *tessera* with *FAVSTE VIVAS* upon it; and likewise in the same author^h, *VALENTINIANE ZESES*, that is, *vivas*. These instances make me suspect that *VOLANTI* may be the name of some person, addressed to in the vocative case, like *Petrei*. And I am inclined to think the name of this place was *Virofidum* in the time of the *Notitia*ⁱ.

IN the sculpture, beside what is purely ornamental, there is upon the back of the altar the usual sacrificing ax and knife; and upon one side, the *patera* and *praefericulum*. “On the right side, says *Cambden* (according to the translation^k) is a goblet, a dish, and a pear (if I judge aright) though others will have it to be a holy-water-pot.” But what he takes to be a pear (which I remember not among the symbols of any of the deities) I took at first

^a Simulacrum boni Eventus dextra pateram, sinistra spicam et papaver, tenens. Lib. xxxviii. c. 8.

^b Montfaucon tom. i. part. ii. liv. ii. ch. ii.

^c Anton. Itin. p. 52.

^d N. lxxiii.

^e Pag. 1011.

^f Pag. mxx. 1.

^g Tom. iii. par. ii. liv. iv. ch. 10. pl. clxxxvi.

^h Tom. iii. par. ii. liv. iv. ch. vii. pl. clxxxi.

ⁱ See Book i. ch. vii. pag. 113.

^k Pag. 1013.

first for a pine-apple, two of which are also upon the face of the capital of the altar. But I now rather believe they have been designed for *spicae* or ears of corn. The representation seems to be very nearly the same with what I observed on a fine medal of *Augustus*, which I saw at *London*, where no distinction of the several ears appeared. I am also of opinion that the sculpture, which is between the two heads in the front of the capital, has been a bunch of corn, though no marks of distinction did clearly appear. This suits *bonus Eventus*, or *bonum Fatum*. And *Horace* joins *Ceres* (to whom ears of corn are also suitable) with *alma Faustitas*^a. What *Cambden* calls a dish, I take to be a wheel; the most natural, and distinguishing symbol of *Fortune*, another of the deities to whom this altar is inscribed. And what he calls a goblet (if I mistake him not) I apprehend to be somewhat of a *patera* or dish. This might perhaps be designed to contain the flowers or the wine for the *Genius*^b. The two full faces on the capital of the front manifestly represent the sun. It seems also to be the sun shining, that is in the capital at the back of the altar. And perhaps this may represent the setting, as the others the meridian sun. All these symbols suit well enough the contents of the inscription, or the imaginary deities to whom the altar was dedicated.

LXIX. I TAKE this to have been an altar erected to the local goddess *Setlocenia*, by *L. Abareus* a centurion. Mr. *Gordon* makes them one name *Labaneus*, and omits the *c*^c which I suppose must stand for *centurio*, as it sometimes does.

THERE is another inscription found at this place, the original of which is lost. It seems also to have been erected by another officer, as *Cambden* reads it^d, which is as follows:

BELATV	<i>Belatu-</i>
CADRO	<i>cadro</i>
IVL CI	<i>Julius Ci-</i>
VILIS	<i>vilis</i>
OPT	<i>optio</i>
VSLM	<i>votum solvit libens merito.</i>

What the duty of an *optio* was, has been shewn before^e. Mr. *Cambden* explains it, *praefectus excubiis*, that is, captain of the guard.

LXX. THIS inscription is in a *corona*, supported by two *Victories*, which is a form we frequently meet with. *Cambden* calls them two winged *genii* supporting a garland^f; but this must be a mistake, for they are plainly female figures. The principal thing that concerns this inscription is to fix the emperors, for whose honour it was erected. And the words *domini nostri* may help us as to this matter. I know none more likely than *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. *Spanheim* carries this title in the plural no higher than *Constantine* the great^g. But there is an inscription found at *Tadmor*, and described in the *Philosophical Transactions*^h, which I believe ought to be read, *conservatores orbis, et propagatores generis humani, domini nostri, Diocletianus et Maximianus fortissimi imperatores, &c.* But to wave this; 'tis plain in the general, that the title *domini nostri* is given to those emperors more frequently, than to any others, and that they are generally represented upon inscriptions, as brave and victorious.

LXXI. BESIDES these there were formerly several sepulchral stones here, but only one remains at present; the inscription of which was published by *Cambden*,

^a Ode v. lib. iv.

^b Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Hor. Lib. ii. epist. i. v. 143.

^c It. Sept. p. 99.

^d Pag. 1012.

^e N. xl. iv of this county. pag. 268.

^f Pag. 1014, 1015.

^g De praestant. et usu num. Tom. ii. p. 486.

^h N. 217.

Cambden^a, and lately both that and the sculpture by Mr. *Gordon*^b. The figure on the stone I take to be *Julia Martima* the party deceased; but what that upon her head is designed for, I know not. By the rays issuing out from it, I guess it to be the setting sun, an emblem not improper on such an occasion. Mr. *Gordon* justly observes, that the figure is very coarse, and the letters rude like the *Gothic* character; but he has in the third line of the inscription made that an L which is manifestly an I in the original. *Cambden* has also confused the last line, and *Gruter* more^c, by making an H at the end instead of II. The last I of the three in the last line has the numeral stroke above it, and it appears over that only. No doubt the three III have been intended both for numerals and to include an M in them. There is somewhat of the same nature upon an inscription in *Scotland*^d, where the three strokes seem to stand for *ter mille*, and so to be both numeral, and yet to include an M in them for *mille*.

THERE was another original of the sepulchral kind extant when Mr. *Gordon* was at this place^e, which is since destroyed. He tells us that it was very imperfect when he saw it; and the copy he has given of it is unintelligible, only in the general it seems to have contained the names and ages of the deceased. It stands thus in him:

IL SER
QV ANAT
CALAPIADIO
BVIT CAIA
XIT ANN
MORII VI
DESIDE
RIS INT
NON VA.

The other sepulchral inscriptions belonging to this place, which are in *Cambden*^f, but the originals lost long ago, are these which follow:

D M	<i>Dis manibus</i>
INGENVI. AN. X.	<i>Ingenui annorum decem [or Ingentis vixit annos decem]</i>
IVL. SIMPLEX PATER	<i>Julius Simplex pater</i>
F C.	<i>faciendum curavit.</i>

Another of them is thus:

D M.	<i>Dis Manibus</i>
MORI REGIS	<i>Mori Regis</i>
FILII HEREDES	<i>filii heredes</i>
EIVS SVBSTITVE	<i>ejus substitue-</i>
RVNT VIX. A. LXX.	<i>runt vixit annos septuaginta.</i>

Morus Rex seems to have been the name of the person deceased, whose sons erected this monument. "It was customary with the antients to erect sepulchral monuments for themselves and families, while they were living; which might possibly be the case here, with respect to this *Morus Rex*. But the monument he built, might have fallen to decay, or by some accidents have been demolished, before his death, and his sons upon his decease have rebuilt it. The word *substituerunt* seems to intimate something like this, which signifies the putting of some person, or thing, in the room of another, which was there before. So we say *substituere judicem*; and by the *Roman* law the usufructuary was obliged *substituere pecora*^g, or *arbores*^h, in the room of such as died. It would be very difficult to put any other meaning upon *substituerunt* in this inscription; for to take it in the sense of *constituerunt*, is perhaps without example. The persons, on whose account

^a Pag. 1014.

^b It. Sept. p. 99. *plat.* XLV. N. 2.

^c Pag. DCCCXV. II.

^d N. xxv. See likewise the figure of the M upon the Scots pillars in *Gordon*. It. Sept. *plate* LVIII.

at page 161.

^e Ibid. pag. 99. *plat.* XLV. n. 3.

^f Pag. 1013, 1014.

^g L. 68. §. 2. ff. De usufruct.

^h D. tit. l. 18.

“ account the following inscription was erected, were probably of the same family, for REG in the third line seems to stand for REGIS.”

HIC EXSEGERE FATA
 .. ENVS SC GERMA ..
 .. S REG VIX. AN ...
 S VIX. AN ...
 IX

This seems to have been a sepulchral monument for three persons, but their names and ages are imperfect. The s in EXSEGERE is plainly redundant, being contained in the x. See N. LXXV.

D M	<i>Diis Manibus</i>
LVCA. VIX	<i>Luca vixit</i>
ANN	<i>an-</i>
IS XX	<i>nis viginti</i>

Whether LVCA be the whole name or only a part, is uncertain.

LXXII. BESIDES these inscriptions there is a sculpture or two, that deserve to be taken notice of, and which Mr. Gordon has already published from the originals^a. This female figure with a vessel in her right hand may possibly represent the goddess *Setlocenia*, mentioned in an inscription belonging to this place^b.

LXXIII. THIS is supposed to be a *Roman* bagnio, and the naked figure seems not much unlike *Venus pudica*.

LXXIV. THIS stone is built up in the side of the porch of Mr. *Senhouse's* seat. The learned Dr. *Stukeley* who obliged me with his draught of this figure is of opinion, that this sculpture has never been finished. It has indeed a rude appearance at present, for which reason it has been neglected and never published before. But I think the later and ruder performances (if we suppose this to have been one of them) should be made publick, as well as those that are more antient and elegant; because it is a curiosity to observe the difference, and see the degeneracy. One cannot now certainly tell upon what occasion this figure has been erected. But as it is common to have such figures on funeral monuments erected for horsemen in the army, I am most inclined to think that this may have been of that nature.

AT *Moresby* about ten miles south from *Elenborough* and not far from *Whitehaven*, has been a *Roman* station or fort, where some inscriptions and other antiquities have been found.

Moresby.

LXXV. THERE is an original inscription yet remaining at a stile, in a field called *Ingclose*, a little east of *Moresby hall*, but pretty much effaced and broken. 'Tis sepulchral, and has contained the name of the person deceased, with his age, and the years he had served in the army. For I take the last letters in the last line but two to have been STIP for *stipendiorum*, and *vixit* in the following line to stand for *vixit*. “ This soldier may have had three names, the letter for the *praenomen* seems to have been defaced; the other two might be *Smerius Tomacius*, for *Smerius* is a family name in *Gruter*.” I think the fourth and fifth lines must have been *miles cohortis secundae Thracum*. I prefer *secundae* before *primae*, though only one I appears; because there is room for another; and this second cohort of *Thracians*, according to the *Notitia*, kept garrison at *Gabrosentum*^c. And though I don't imagine that *Moresby* was *Gabrosentum*; yet this may favour the opinion, that *Gabrosentum* was on the western end of the wall. The head of the deceased is in

^a It. Sept. p. 100.
^b See N. LXXIX.

^c Pag. DCCXLII. 1.
^d See Book I. chap. VII. p. 109.

in the pediment at the top, and I believe the inscription has been continued farther at the bottom. The Q in the last line I believe stands for *que*; and though it be placed before the V for *quinque*, yet I believe it is designed to join it to the preceding numerals.

LXXVI. THIS appears to be a curious sculpture, though not executed with a fine taste. I know not whether it may have been sepulchral, for there is no inscription upon the stone. The dress and scroll in the hand look senatorial.^a The features of the face are become very obscure. I found this stone at a stile near the other.

THE originals of those inscriptions, which *Cambden* has given us, I could not discover; no doubt since his time they are lost or destroyed. Therefore I give them and his account of them in his own words^a. Speaking of *Moresby* he says: "There are many remains of antiquity about it in the vaults and foundations of buildings; several caverns, which they call *Piet's holes*, and several pieces of stones dug up with inscriptions. Upon one of them is LVCIVS SEVERINVS ORDINATVS: upon another COH. VII. And I saw this altar lately dug up^b with a little horned image of *Silvanus*."

DEO SILVAN . . .

COH. II. LING

CVI PRÆES . . .^c

G. POMPEIVS M . .

SATVRNINVS . . .

Deo Silvano

cohors secunda Lingonum

cui praeest

Gaius Pompeius M . .

Saturninus.

"As also this fragment, which was copied out and sent me by J. Fletcher, lord of the place:

.

.

OB PROSPE

RITATEM

CVLMINIS

INSTITVTI.

'Tis hard to know what to make of this last inscription, since the former part is wanting. It seems as if some edifice had been built or repaired, to which it has a reference; and the seventh cohort mentioned before (which most probably was of the twentieth legion detached from *Chester*) might be employed in this work, and *Severinus* have the charge of it. But this is uncertain.

As for the altar inscribed to the god *Silvanus* by the *cohors secunda Lingonum*, there is no difficulty in it except in the fourth line at the end; and the M there must either have been another name of the commander, or else there may have been an F after it, for *Marci filius*. This altar and inscription to the god *Silvanus* confirm me in my opinion, that the altar, the capital whereof is in the Earl of *Rutherglen's* possession at *Cramond*, has also been to the same god, and not to *Jupiter Hammon*. But of this I have spoken in its proper place^a.

D U R H A M.

AT *South Shields* there has been a *Roman* station, and to this belong the three following antiquities.

South Shields.

I. THIS altar was (when I took the draught of it) upon the spot, where the station has been, lying at the north-west corner. Dr. *Hunter* has since got

^a Pag. 1004.
^b A. D. 1607.

^c See Scotland N. xxviii. pag. 204.

got it removed to the library at *Durham*, where I saw it when I was last there. It is of a coarse brown stone, much of the same nature with what we frequently meet with in other *Roman* altars; though the people here tell me, no such stone is now to be found in these parts. The usual sacrificing vessels are upon the sides of the altar, and the sacrificing knife upon the back, which is not so common. There has no doubt been an inscription upon this altar, though it is now entirely effaced. Yet as this was the only original I could recover belonging to this station, I thought proper to give a draught of it.

II. BESIDES this, two other altars have been found at this place; one of which, as I am informed, was built up in a quay-wall about forty years ago, and now is not to be come at. The other was first sent to *York* to Dr. *Lister*, and since his death, as I have been told, was sent to *Norwich* to one Mr. *Giles*, and I suppose is now lost. Dr. *Lister* published it in the *Transactions*^a, and from thence it has been inserted in *Cambden's Britannia*^b, and in Dr. *Gale's* edition of *Antonini Itinerarium*^c. I have taken the draught of the altar and inscription from the copy of Dr. *Lister* compared with the others, and given a reading of the inscription somewhat different from Dr. *Lister's*, and only pricked those letters, or parts of letters, which I imagine ought to be supplied. As it is not usual to place the word *imperator* after the name of the emperor, so I see no occasion for doing it here. The doctor observes that this altar might be erected for *Caracalla*, when going into *Caledonia*. *Severus* is I believe generally joined to *Caracalla* in the inscriptions before the *Caledonian* expedition, as he was in the expedition itself. This makes it less probable that *Caracalla* is intended in the inscription. And yet OB REDITVM, and the titles, *pii felicitis*, don't seem to suit *Marcus Aurelius*, nor OB REDITVM *Commodus*, though to him *pius felix* are usually annexed. So that I suppose it yet more improbable that either of these is intended. Nor do I think there is much in having both PRO SALVTE and OB REDITVM in the inscription. It is for his safe return: *pro salute itus et reditus* is not uncommon^d. I was told at *South Shields* that this altar was a very large one, and consequently is here represented in proportion less than it should be. If we understand this inscription of *Caracalla*, it may serve to prove that the station at *South Shields* was not abandoned in his reign, though it is not mentioned in the *Itinerary*.

III. THIS is a fragment lately discover'd. I believe by the remains of the pediment which has been at the top, and the imperfect letter which is visible, that it has been sepulchral.

IV. AT *Ebchester* some *Roman* antiquities have been found, which are taken notice of by Dr. *Hunter* in the *Philosophical Transactions*^e. One of these is a tall altar, but no visible inscription upon it. Another is said to be a man in a *Roman* dress upon a grave-stone near the church door, which I have here represented. The image is very obscure, nor do I see how it can now be discerned, whether it has been male or female; for there is no inscription at all, and the features are quite gone. There have been two dolphins, one on each side the image, which is somewhat peculiar. When I viewed it, the small figure at the top appeared like a pine-apple, or perhaps a bunch of ears of corn, and that on the side of the image seemed designed for a wreath. I doubt not but it has been sepulchral, and that the image was intended to represent the person deceased. "When the antients erected their own tombs in their life time, they often left the inscriptions, and sometimes their effigies, to be cut by their relations or friends after their decease. So *Gorius* in his description of a large funeral vault, lately discovered

Ebchester.

^a N. 145.

^b Pag. 957.

^c Pag. 9.

^d See Fleetwood's Sylloge, p. 5.

^e N. 278.

A description of several tombs for the same reason, where persons were yet living, was in use also among the Greeks, as appears by the following epigram:

Αὐτὸς καὶ τέκνῳ γυναικὶ τὴν τύχην ἔδειξεν
 Ἀνδρῶν ἔκω δ' ἑκάστῳ ἔκει τὰς εἰς.
 Σὺ γὰρ καὶ μέγα κτενὸν πολλὰν γόνον δὲ δόξα καὶ δῆ,
 Δεξιέρην ἐν ἑμοῖς τῶν περὶ ἐκείνῃ περὶ τῶν.

“ near *Rome*, has given us the draught of a marble coffin with the bust of
 “ the deceased person cut upon the side, but only a round ball for the head,
 “ which doubtless was designed to have been afterwards finished. And upon
 “ another there is a whole human figure, finished except the head, which is
 “ left in the same manner with the former. And in several of the niches
 “ made in the sides of the monument, which contained two urns, the in-
 “ scription is cut over one only, and that part of the stone which was
 “ placed over the other is empty, the person being then living for whom
 “ that urn was designed.”

V. THIS in *Cambden*^b is placed among the *Lanchester* inscriptions, but it is plain from Dr. *Hunter*'s account, that it was found at *Ebchester*. It was first in the doctor's own possession, and is now in the library at *Durham*. It has been a sepulchral monument, and HAVE is for AVE; as in *Gruter*, HAVE MELETINA SVAVISSIMA^c. The custom of thus saluting as it were the dead, or taking their last farewell of them, is very well known. And it may seem almost needless to produce any instances of it. Thus *Aeneas* bids an eternal adieu to *Pallas* :

————— *Salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,
 Aeternumque vale* —————

Thus also *Achilles* salutes his dead friend *Patroclus* :

Χαῖρέ μοι ὦ Πάτροκλε καὶ εἰν αἰδᾶο δόμοισι^d.

I shall not insist on the *novissima verba*, *ter vocati*, &c. But old *Priam*'s words spoken with reference to this custom are so moving, that I must beg leave to transcribe them.

Sic o, sic positum adfati discedite corpus^e.

There is another stone of a like figure, which probably has stood beside it, but there never has been any letters upon it.

VI. THIS, according to the account in *Cambden*^g, was also found in this place. It is a small altar erected to the local god *Vitires*, to whom we find a good number of altars inscribed. The letter A having no transverse, is included in M at the beginning of the third line, and the M and V are connected as usual. The letters are meanly cut; on one side of the altar is a boar, and a toad on the other. It may deserve to be considered, why these noxious creatures should be represented upon the altars. Whether it might be that they who erected the altars were much molested with them, and addressed to the deities to be delivered from them. “ ’Tis well known that the antients used
 “ to address to different deities for different benefits, and ascribe names to
 “ them suited to the favours, which they imagined they received from them.
 “ Thus *Apollo* is said to have been called Σμινθεὺς by the *Greeks* for destroy-
 “ ing mice, σμινθα in their language signifying a mouse. And as this country
 “ might antiently have been infested both with boars and toads, the inhabi-
 “ tants might apply to this god *Vitires* on that account. And since it was
 “ customary with the *Romans* to adopt into their worship the deities of those
 “ nations which they conquered, this *Maximus* might for that reason erect
 “ an altar to the god *Vitires*, and cut the figures of these two animals upon
 “ it.” The figure in the capital of the altar looks like that at the head of the sculpture in number IV. only this seems to approach nearer to the figure of a heart.

VII. THIS is a fragment of a stone with an inscription upon it, which is now at this place, in the outside of a garden wall, at the end of the town. I take it to have been a piece of an altar. It is difficult to make NVMINIBVS OCEANI out of it, or to account for it, if it be read so^h. Possibly the VIT

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^a *Gor. Monument. libert. &c. Liv. Aug. p. 20.*

^b *Pag. 954.*

^c *Pag. MXXVI. 9.*

^d *Virg. Aen. xi. 97. Ave atque vale. Catull.*

^e *Hom. II. Ψ. v. 19.*

^f *Virg. Aen. ii. 644.*

^g *Pag. 955.*

^h *Parcite caerulei vos saltem numina ponti,
 Infestumque mihi sit satis esse Jovem.*

Ovid. Trist. L. i. El. 3.

in the last line may have been part of *vitam*, that is *ob vitam servatam*, or some such thing.

WE are also told in *Cambden*^a “ that an urn was found here of a very “ uncommon shape near a yard high, and not above seven inches wide, with “ a little cup in the heart of it ; perhaps for an oblation of tears, or of wine “ and milk, such as the *Romans* used at the burying of their dead.”

VIII. AT *Ebchester* several stones have been found of the centurial kind. One was discovered a few days before I came there, and is very clear and distinct, having been erected by the fifth cohort of some legion, most likely of the *legio sexta victrix*.

IX. THIS is another centurial stone, which I have represented at large, in order to shew that these stones were generally like what, I think, our masons call *through-stones* ; or however that they were very long and went a great way into the wall, twice or thrice as far as the other facing stones. Sometimes they are, as this, in the form of a parallelopiped, and sometimes of a pyramidal form. I can make nothing out of the letters, which appear upon this.

X. THE four contained under this number are other centurial stones. The two first and finest of them are in the front of a house, near the door ; but not a visible letter upon them. The next is in the end of a house, and whether the cross within be designed for an x, *cohors decima*, or only ornamental, I cannot be certain. The last with the number *four* upon it was before the door of a dwelling house. The single imperfect stroke at last is to me unintelligible. It may be part of an L for *legionis*. So great a number of this sort of inscriptions makes it probable that this fort was built by the legionary cohorts, upon which occasion these stones, as usual, were inserted in the face of the ramparts, or the inscriptions cut out upon them.

AT *Lanchester* there has been a very large *Roman* station and town. Mr. *Gale* in the *Philosophical Transactions* calls it the *castra stativa*, where the soldiers were quartered in time of peace^b. A great many inscriptions, coins, and other *Roman* antiquities have been found here, particularly these which follow.

Lanchester.

XI. THIS and the next are two curious and useful inscriptions, which with most of the following were made publick in the *Philosophical Transactions*^c from Dr. *Hunter*, and have most of them been inserted in *Cambden*^d. The originals are now in the library at *Durham*. Mr. *Gale* thinks that the *legio* here called *Gordiana* was the *legio sexta victrix*, which continued so long in the north, and had its stated quarters at *York*, whilst the other legions had theirs at a much greater distance^e. Yet we have an inscription at this very place by the *leg. xx. v. v.*^f which was employed not far from hence in building or repairing some structure, as appears from the inscription at *Whitley castle* in *Northumberland*^g. These inscriptions are valuable, as they have preserved to us the names of two *propraetors*, which otherwise must have been lost. For, as Mr. *Gale* observes, from *Virius Lupus* who was *propraetor* under *Severus* in the year 208, to *Nonnius Philippus* (whom he believes to have succeeded the latter of these here mentioned) to the year 242, the name of no other *propraetor* or legate is any where else to be met with^h. It is highly probable that the two here mentioned immediately succeeded one another, because

^a *Pag.* 955.

^b *N.* 357.

^c *N.* 266, 354.

^d *Pag.* 952, 953.

^e *Phil. Transf.* *N.* 357.

^f *N.* xvi.

^g *N.* cxi.

^h See *Cumberland N.* i.v.

because both inscriptions were erected not only under the same emperor, but under the same commander of the cohort, *Aurelius Quirinus*, who had the care of both these works. This, as Dr. *Hunter* informs us, was found about an hundred yards east from the fort; the other within the fort, which confirms Mr. *Gale's* opinion, that the soldiers lodged within the fort. The *basiliæ* of the antients were publick buildings, in which causes were heard, and merchants met for business. They were adorned with pillars and covered walks. *Vitruvius* has given a description of them^a, and so has *Palladio* from him^b. This stone is broke through the middle, and some of the letters are damaged or lost; but it is easy to supply them: and this inscription seems rather to be worse cut, and to be the later of the two. As for the PRE for PER and GN for *Gneium* in the fourth line of the inscription, it would be easy to produce other parallel instances; as also of L for *legionis*. But Mr. *Ward* is inclined to think, that PRE at the beginning of the fourth line was not designed for *per*, and that the following word should not be read *Gneium*, but *Egnatium*, a name that frequently occurs in *Gruter*. His reason for reading it thus is; “that in all such mixtures of smaller letters against the middle of larger in the same word, the word always begins with a letter of the larger size. And as for the E, he imagines it was not intended to serve both words, by being read twice; because in such cases, which are very rare, the letter to be repeated is always found in a complex character^c. He supposes therefore, that either there has been a small E between PR, which is now defaced; or that it was designed to be put there, but was forgot, as it easily might be.”

XII. So much has been said already concerning this inscription under the former and another in *Northumberland*^d, that little more need be added here. It may not be amiss to observe, that the emperor's name is here at length *Antonius*, as 'tis printed also in the *Fasti consulares*. We have likewise some other instances of it in *Montfaucon*^e. Mr. *Gale* says^f that the *armamentaria* signify the arsenal, and *principia* the quarters either of the legionary soldiers called the *principes*, or the place where the ensigns were kept. But from a passage in *Tacitus*^g, one would rather conclude the latter to be the general's pavilion.

XIII. I BELIEVE this was set up by the same cohort as the two former. It is much of the same sort with those, which I have frequently observed to be erected by legions and cohorts in the face of some work they were building. The last letter has been mistaken for a T^h, but in the original it is evidently an I with the usual numeral stroke above it, and so can be nothing else but *cohors prima*.

XIV. I KNOW not what cohort *Publius Aelius Atticus* commanded, who erected this altar. The word *praefectus* without any thing following is not uncommon in inscriptionsⁱ. The person where I lodged at *Lanchester* told me, that this altar was found at the east end [of a square room, which they discovered within the station; and the back of the altar is undressed. I know not whether or no the figure between the two leaves in the capital can be designed for the sun.

XV. THIS stone looks like a pedestal, and seems by its regular square cavity at the top to have had something fixed upon it, but it is nothing like the base of an altar. The letters are tolerably well cut. I at first was doubtful if the first line might have been *Genio praetoris*; but upon examining the original,

^a Lib. v. c. 1.

^b Lib. III. c. 19.

^c See Somers. iv. Middlesex *Inscript.* &c.

^d N. LXXXIX.

^e Gruter, p. cclxxii. n. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

^f Phil. Trans. N. 357.

^g In ipsis principiis stuprum ausa. Hist. Lib. 1. cap. 48.

^h See Phil. Trans. N. 266. and Camden Brit. p. 951.

ⁱ See Cumberland N. xxviii.

original, I saw every letter very plain, and was convinced that there neither was, nor ever had been an s at the end. I then thought it might be a flattering compliment to the un-named praetor, as if he was their *genius* or tutelary god. But my learned friend Mr. *Ward* judges this too high a compliment to be paid by a tribune to a praetor, and observes, that *Genius* is a proper name frequent in *Gruter*. It is therefore my present opinion, that this stone has sustained some pillar, or somewhat of that nature, and that the monument has been erected to the honour of *Genius* the praetor. "If we read "*votum posuit*, the word *votum* must by a trope be taken here for the thing "vowed^a; as upon another inscription we have *memoriam posuit*, for *monu-* " *mentum*^b; and upon another *votum fecit*^c, which expression in the common "sense is not to pay a vow, but to make it. And thus *Virgil* seems to have "used the word *votum*, when he says,

" *Lustramurque Jovi, votisque incendimus aras*^d.

" And likewise *Petronius* in the following passage,

Stipant graves

" *Equi recessus Danaï, et in voto latent*^e.

" Where the same thing is twice repeated in different words, and both *equi* "and *voto* denote the wooden horse, which the *Greeks* pretended to consecrate "to *Pallas*: *Votum pro reditu simulant*." This compliment is paid by *Claudius Epaphroditus Claudianus* the tribune of the first or second cohort of the *Lingones*. The second cohort of these people was in *Britain*, as appears from other inscriptions: and in *Cambden*^f a smaller *r* is set before the other in this inscription, so as to make it plainly the second. There is I think room for it upon the stone, but the part where it should be is broken or worn.

XVI. THE *corona* here is supported by two winged *Victories* with the usual symbols and the usual drapery and attitude. The boar within may imply that it has been erected after some victory over the *Caledonians* by this legion. The stone is broken quite through; but the letters notwithstanding are very visible, and none of them lost in the breach.

XVI^a. THE judicious antiquary Dr. *Hunter* of *Durham* was so obliging as to send me the copy of this inscription, which I found to be very exact, when I compared it with the original. The doctor supposes it has been affixed to the face of an altar, and that the holes in the first line have been for this purpose. The plate is of gold, but very thin, weighing just two guineas; and the letters, which is very peculiar, are raised by an impression made on the inner side by some proper instrument. The plate is so thin, that in some places it is struck quite through by the tool that has been used for raising the letters. It may be questioned whether we are to read *Marti Augusto*, and suppose the emperor to be represented as it were under the image or notion of the god of war; or *Marti Augusti*, and to suppose the emperor to be the favourite of *Mars*, or *Mars* to be the emperor's favourite deity. But as to this matter I shall only refer to what has already been said in a parallel case^g. The cut of the letters, particularly of the *G*, looks like the lower empire; but I know no evidence whereby the particular emperor can be determined with any great probability. We have several other altars at this place inscribed also to *Mars*^h, which have been taken notice of before. I have only to add, that according to Dr. *Hunter*'s account in his letter to me; "This plate was found in the year 1716, in a heap of rubbish cast out "to clear an old foundation, without the fortification of the garrison, a little "south from the *balneum*."

XVII. THIS

^a See N. XVIII.

^b Middlesex inscript.

^c Westmorland, N. III.

^d Æn. III. v. 279.

^e Satyr. cap. 49.

^f Pag. 952.

^g See observations on N. LXIII. in Cumberland.

^h See N. XVII, XVIII, XXIV.

XVII. THIS and the next are dedicated to *Mars*, and both but meanly performed. There is no name upon this, so we cannot tell by whom it was erected.

XVIII. THE name of the person who dedicated this is *Caius Aurelius*; but who he was, I suppose, is unknown.^a This small altar has a *patera* on one side, and a *praefericulum* on the other.

*S before votum
had for solvit, and
non bene place
is all in the nomi-
e, or it may be
votum solvit votum.*

XIX. THIS is inscribed to the local god *Vitires*, but by whom is not said.

XX. THE three marked with this number are all of them small altars, which have no visible inscriptions upon them. They have, I believe, been published only by Mr. *Gordon*^a. That to the right has three female figures, which he very probably supposes to be some of the *matres*^b. The next has a toad on one side, and the usual sacrificing instruments on the other. I have only represented that side with the toad, as being more curious. The last has a pediment supported by two rude pilasters.

XXI. THIS small altar with the boar on the side, and the inscription much effaced, is also ranked among these *Lanchester* inscriptions. Mr. *Ward*^c supposes "this altar might be erected to the god *Vitires*, and that the letters *VIT* were "upon the first line, as we find them before^d. The second line is plainly "votum, and the remaining letters upon the third line, he thinks, may be "part of *solvit*." This conjecture is favoured by another inscription of this county upon an altar dedicated to this deity, which has a boar upon one "side". But I think it more likely, that the latter part of the inscription has been the name of the person erecting the altar. The last letters are obscure and doubtful.

*the last line of inscrip-
tion may have been
- construction of
solvit, as of the
line, from the l.
ix.*

XXI^a. THIS must have been the figure of the goddess *Fortune* seated. The wheel that is by her side, and the *cornu copiae* she has in her left hand, and the globe at her foot on the other side, do all shew it to be *Fortune*, tho' one of her arms as well as her head be now broken off. There are several altars in this collection at *Durham* inscribed to *Fortune*. We have one in it found at this same station of *Lanchester* inscribed *Fortunae Augusti*^e. Perhaps this has been the image of that *Fortune*; and by this image, with a globe at her foot, may be expressed the emperor's universal dominion. The modern letters, that are now cut out on the base, may easily at first view deceive one into an opinion, that the image is not *Roman* or antique. But this only shews when it was found, and by whom; namely in the year 1700, by *Henry Ornsby* of *Lanchester*, whose wife's name was *Elizabeth*. To disguise this figure farther, there stands on it a *Mercury's* head, as is plain from the *petafus*. So that I look upon it as certain, that the head and the body have belonged to different figures; tho' now the one is generally set upon the other. This image of *Fortune* I take to be the same with a figure in Mr. *Gordon*^f, which I can find no where explained. He has made the proportion by much too large for the rest of the figures, and possibly had forgot the dimensions.

XXII. BESIDES these already mentioned, which are now at *Durham*, there are some curiosities remaining yet in the station or town; and among the rest, this large stone almost like a mortar. What use it has been for, is hard to determine. Some of the people call it a font; others, who are more skilled, think it has been designed to hold water for the *Roman* lustrations.

XXIII. THIS

^a It. Sept. plate XL. at p. 94.
^b See Northumberland, N. XLVIII, XLIX, L.
^c N. XIX.

^d N. VI.
^e N. XIV.
^f Plate XXXIV. fig. 1. inserted at p. 100.

XXIII. THIS represents a curious sculpture, which is on a stone built up in the vestry of the church. It is much like that at *Netherby*^a, though there is some difference in the drapery, and here is no *corona* on the head, but only the hair plaited. I believe this to be a *genius* as well as the other, or at least the emperor represented as such^b.

XXIV. HERE is a small altar which was in a stone wall inclosing a field called *Broomlawe*, near the station, belonging to Mr. *Rowland Wilkinson*, but I have now got it into my own possession. The inscription has suffered very much by the weather. The remains of it look likest *DEO MARTI*; but it can't now inform us by whom it was consecrated. Tho' the last visible letters look like *Acilius*, a common *Roman* name, and which I think occurs in another of our inscriptions^c.

XXV. THE capital of this altar, and a small part of the inscription is broken off and lost, and the want of it occasions some difficulty as to the reading. When I first saw this stone, it was built up in the wall of an inclosure. I viewed it several times in this situation; but then nothing appeared but the imperfect *Greek* inscription, the opposite part of the stone being entirely under cover, and built up within the wall. I at first view concluded it to be *Greek*, but could discover no satisfactory reading. When I had purchased the stone, and got it into my own possession, I was much surprized to see a *Latin* inscription on the opposite part of the altar. Which is the face, and which the back of this altar, or whether like *Janus bifrons*, it was designed to be double-faced, I shall not pretend to determine. However, to have inscriptions both behind and before is a singular curiosity, of which I remember no parallel instance in *Britain*, unless the beautiful altar in *Cumberland*^d be taken for such. But to have two such inscriptions in two different languages is yet more remarkable. Some suspect the *Greek* inscription not to be genuine, or that it has been added by a different hand, and at a different time from the *Latin*. But I see no just reason to entertain this suspicion; because I cannot discern by whom, or with what view, it could have been added. So little was this altar regarded or valued, that according to the usual fate of such monuments, it was used as a common stone in a wall. The high prices of curious *Roman* coins have produced a great many forgeries contrived very artfully; but the little regard that has been had for monuments of stone, renders us more secure of their being altogether genuine. But to return from this digression. The sight of the *Latin* inscription enabled me to read the remains of the *Greek* one (I humbly think) with great probability; for I take the greatest part of the one to be much the same with the other, excepting the different language and character. I shall first therefore speak to the *Latin* inscription, as being more easy and perfect. It appears plainly from this, that the altar has been erected by one *Titus Flavius Titianus* a tribune, but no cohort is mentioned which he commanded.^e There are several consuls of the name *Titianus*, but the other names are different from that of our tribune. *Tiberius Fabius Titianus* appears five times in the *Fasti*, and at such a distance of time as to make it probable that they were five different persons. This made me suspicious that the *T* in our inscriptions was to be read *Tiberius*, and that the following name might be *Fabius*. But the *FL* is so distinct on the stone, as to leave no room for a doubt. I find *Postumius Titianus* was consul in the year 301, in the time of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. And *Almeloveen* conjectures that this may be the same with one who is called in *Gruter*^f *T. FL. POSTUMIUS TITIANVS*. This comes nearest the names of our tribune, but there is no arguing from hence with any probability, that these two

*Dio mentions
Flavius Titianus
was procurator
Alexandria in
time of Caracalla
L. lxxvii. p. 279.*

^a Cumberland, N. xl. ix.

^b See before, p. 272.

^c Northumberland, N. xcvi. ii.

^d N. lxxviii.

^e Pag. cccclix. 7.

Titiani lived at or near the same time. But thus much for the person erecting this altar; the principal question is, to whom it has been inscribed. We have little to guide us in this, but the letters P I O at the top which are certain and distinct. I thought of *Antoninus Pius* and other emperors, to whom living or dead and deified this epithet *pius* has been applied, such as *Divo Constantio pio* and others. Baron *Clerk* was so obliging as to send me several conjectures about this *Latin* inscription, a copy of which I transmitted to him. Among other things this very learned antiquary supposes that P I O may be a part of *Aesculapio*. This conjecture is more agreeable and satisfactory, than any thing that has occurred to my self or been offered by any other. I think by the proportion of the altar, that there is not above one line of the inscription wanting, which might be filled up with A E S C V L A, or with D E O A E S C V L A.

As for the *Greek* inscription I believe it has stood thus when entire :

ΤΗΕΡ ΩΤΗ
ΡΙΑC. Τ. ΦΛΑΟΥ
ΙΟC ΤΙΤΙΑΝΟ
C ΧΙΛΙΑΡ
ΧΟC

*Pro salu-
te Titus Fla-
vius Titianus
tribu-
nus.*

I observe that there are five lines in the *Greek* inscription, and but four remaining in the *Latin*, and that the stone is rather higher on the side of the *Greek* inscription than on the other. This induces me to think, that the imperfect remains at the top have been a part of the first line of this inscription. I need say nothing to show how suitable this reading is to the remains on the stone, and to the *Latin* inscription on the other side. Both the one and the other I think appear at first sight. That there were some here in this part of the island who were willing to pay regard to the gods who presided over health and recovery, appears from the sculpture at *Risingham* in *Northumberland*^a. *Χιλιαρχος* is the *Greek* word that generally corresponds to *tribunus* in *Latin*. In the new testament *ὁ χιλιαρχος* is rendered *tribunus* and *στρατήρ cohors* by several^b. This is the second instance of the *Greek* character used in such inscriptions in *Britain*, the other is the famous altar at *Corbridge*^c. No doubt they have been erected by some auxiliaries which came from *Greece* or the neighbourhood of it, such as the *Thracians*, &c. some cohorts of which were in *Britain*.

XXVI. WHEN first I saw this stone, it was in the corner of a close belonging to *Nicholas Greenwell*, not far from the former. The upper part was broken off and built up in the wall, and the inscription covered. But upon removing it out of the wall, and comparing the two parts together, I perceived they had been originally united. I have since this got both the pieces into my own possession, and so have had an opportunity of placing one upon the other. When this was done I found they tallied with so much exactness, as to render it absolutely certain that they have originally made up one and the same altar. This altar is inscribed to *Jupiter optimus maximus*; and has been erected, as I take it, by the vexillation of an equestrian cohort of the *Varduli-Cranci*, people of *Spain*.^d The first word in the second line must, I think, have been VEXILLATIO; and the o perhaps has been a little one, and added near the top of the i, as we sometimes find it. I once thought I discerned it there, but own my self jealous that my imagination assisted my eye-sight. The next word is plainly *cohors*; but who the people have been, of which this cohort consisted, must be more distinctly considered. When I first viewed the two pieces as they lay separate, I read the name *Vardiorum*. These are a people of *Dalmatia*, mentioned with some variation of the name by *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. But since I got them home, and put them together :

^a See N. xcii. in *Northumberland, and the observations upon it*, pag. 238, 239.

^b See *Synopf. Critic.* in Joh. xviii. v. 12. and other places.

^c *Northumberland*, N. cvi.

together; I have found that by the largeness of the interval there must have been two letters between the D and O in the third line. I have also discovered the sure remains of an V after the D besides the imperfect letter before the O. I make no doubt therefore but the Name is *Vardulorum*. The two first letters in the fourth line, of which there are any remains, seem plainly to have been CR, which I would have concluded to have been the initial letters of the name *Cranei*, and to have read *Vardulorum-Craneorum* ^a or *et Craneorum*, if my first conjecture concerning CRANEIS in the *Riechester* inscription ^b could have been supported. But that being rejected, I am more at a loss for any probable reading of this part of the inscription now before us. I would gladly still make use of the one as a key to the other. And therefore if *consecraneis* be read in the former, I am most inclined to suppose CR to be some part of an abbreviation of the same word in this. Possibly it has been CS CR, which supply seems not unsuitable to the vacant space on the stone; and perhaps ET has been at the end of the preceding line in letters of the same size. Thus it would be *Vardulorum et consecraneorum* in this, as *Vardulorum cum consecraneis* in the other. EQ in this fourth line is no doubt for *equestris* or *equitum*. The character at the end of this line is much the same with an M that is used for *mille* in one of the inscriptions at *Glasgow* ^c; but that it here signifies a thousand horse, is more than I dare venture to affirm. We have *ala* and *cohors milliaria* and *millenaria* in *Vegetius* and the *Notitia*. *Goltzius* in his *Thesaurus* has also *cohors millenaria*. *Titianus* in the preceding inscription is stiled *χλίαςρχος*. Possibly this might be the millenary cohort which he commanded.

XXVII. At first view this seemed to be an altar with an urn upon the top; but I found it to be somewhat like a flower-pot placed upon a square stone, which I suppose has been set for ornament in some proper place. And by the hole in the bottom it appeared to have been fixed upon something else.

At *Binchester*, near *Bishop-Aukland*, several *Roman* antiquities have been found, as coins (called *Binchester pennies*) urns, and a cornelian ^d. Dr. *Hunter* is of opinion, that there has also been a considerable pottery at this place. He has several pieces of pots found here with some imperfect figures on them; and one piece had AMANDVS (probably the name of the potter) inscribed, which is now in the possession of the Earl of *Oxford*. Here too were dug up some *Roman* altars, which I shall next describe.

XXVIII. This is built up in the court wall near the gate on the right hand, as you enter. *Camden* saw and published it, but not very correctly, nor with the implication of the letters ^e. Dr. *Gale* has given a more exact copy of it ^f, from whence it has been inserted in the last edition of *Camden* ^g. The only difficulty in the reading lies in the implication at the end of the second and beginning of the third line. And these by the course of the inscription should express the tribe, or the name of the father of this *Quintianus*, and so I have read it; the third line seems to begin with FIL connected together. The r at the top of the o (or rather Q) is probably intended for the first letter in the second syllable of *Quinti*. The name *Quintianus* occurs in another inscription in this same county ^h, and in the *Fasti consulares* one *Lucius Ragonius Urinatus Quintianus* was consul in the year 235. This I fancy, by the note in the margin of *Camden*, has been supposed to be the person,

TF VERECVND
MAG EQVI S ALAE
I FLA AVG BRIT OO
C R IVR ITALICI AV
XXXX S XIX ISES PRO
F PRISCINVS VEX
E INGENVS HÆRED

Literarum explicatio.

Titus Flavius Verecundo
magistro equitum, stationis alae
primae Flaviae Augustae Britannicae
cohortis Romanae, juris Italici, aucto
40 stipendii, ignis in suis civitatibus
collegiis praefectus
Flavius Priscinus vexillator,
et Ingenus haeredes.

T FL BARBI V
ETER ALAE FL
AVG BRIT
O C R LICI
MEMOR FR
ATRI SVO POSUIT

Literarum explicatio.

Titus Flavius Barbis veteranus
alae primae Flaviae
Augustalis Britannicae,
millenariae cohortis Romanae primae
memor patri
suo posuit.

¹⁾ From a book in
the Bod. Lib. at
Oxford. See the
quod J. vetustate
Rom. in saxo qd
binadam, opera
dici vix. D. Hori
his Schallancz.
Dionysius 1560.

I should not CR in the
inscriptions be read conjunctim
Romanorum? See a better
copy of this inscription with
notes of Mr. Gale up
it, in the Register of J. C. L.
May 1735.

But see Dr. Taylor's expla-
nation of an inscription found
at *Binchester* upon the Roman
wall, and published in *Philos. T.*
Vol. XLIV. Class. 4. 2. p. 39.

^a See *Yorkshire N. x.* The form of the name *Varduli-Cranei* is the same with *Bituriges-Cubi*. But Mr. Gale justly observes that, the *Grovii* in *Spain* are too far distant from the *Varduli* to be united with them in the same common name; as also that there is not the same reason for it in this case as in the other: for there are in *Gaul* two nations of the *Bituriges*, viz. *Bituriges-Cubi* and *Bituriges-Vopisci*; whereas *Pomponius Mela* expressly

names the *Varduli* as one Nation. p. 300.

^b See *Northumberland N. xciv.* pag. 242.

^c *Scotland N. vii.*

^d See *Camden*, p. 946.

^e Pag. 775. edit. 1695. Also in his own edition 1697, as well in *Woodford*

^f *Anton. Itin.* p. 11.

^g Pag. 945.

^h *N. xxxii.*

person, for *beneficiarius* is omitted in his copy. "There is no doubt but "CL in the third line stands for *Claudia* [tribu] which we have upon many "inscriptions in *Gruter*. And there was an inscription before amongst those "of *Cumberland* just in this form: *Marcus Censorius Marci filius Voltinia* " [tribu] *Cornelianus* *."

XXIX. THIS next was lying loose in the kitchen, when I saw it, nor do I remember that it has been made publick before. It is an altar to the same *Deae Matres*, erected by one *Gemellus*, or *Gaius Emellus* as Mr. *Ward* conjectures from the name *Emellus* in *Gruter* ^b.

XXX. THIS altar is built up in the court wall; but the inscription is effaced, and no letters left upon it, but the usual four at last, V. S. L. M.

XXXI. WE have here the representation of two altars, one of which was lying loose on the ground in the yard, and the other built up in the court wall. That which lay loose has a capital that is somewhat singular, with a *praefericulum* on one side, and a *patera* on the other. That in the wall is more simple and plain. I should scarce have given a draught of either, but that I am persuaded on one of them has been the inscription we meet with in *Camden*, the original whereof I can no where else discover. And I think it more probable it has been upon the lesser altar, built up in the wall of the court, because the plane of this is taller, and so more likely to contain the number of lines; and the other has probably been dug up later; the altars that were discovered before *Camden*'s time, and had any inscriptions upon them having been designedly built up in the wall of the court. However as neither of these at present have any vestiges of letters upon them, I must take the copy of the inscription intirely from *Camden*, who says that it was imperfect even in his time, but according to his reading it is as follows^c:

.....

 TRIB. COHOR. I^x
 CARTOV.
 MARTI VICTORI
 GENIO LOCI.
 ET BONO
 EVENTVI.

.....

 tribunus cohortis primae
 Cartov
 Marti victori
 Genio loci
 et bono
 Eventui.

That the *Romans* made an imaginary god of *bonus Eventus* is certain^d. And I have some jealousy that instead of *Cartoviorum* we should read *Cornoviorum*; the *cohors Cornoviorum* is in the *Notitia*, and was at *Pons Aelii*.

XXXII. THIS stone was found near *Piercebridge*, not far from *Watling-street*. It has been published by Mr. *Thoresby* ^e, as also in the later editions of *Camden*^f, and is inserted by Dr. *Gale* in his *Antonini Itinerarium*^g. It is a funeral monument erected to one *Condatus* in the usual tenour of such inscriptions. I wonder therefore that not only Mr. *Thoresby*, but also the learned and judicious Dr. *Gale* should take it for the name of a place, which does not use to be inserted in this kind of inscriptions; and that they should suspect it to be the *Condate* in the *Itinerary*, which by all circumstances appears to be in *Cheshire*. As *Condatus* is the name of the deceased, so *Attonius Quintianus* are two names of the person who erected the altar, and I suppose *MEN* to be a third name of the same person. The line in the base I have ventured to read *Ex jussu susceptum solvit libenti animo*, because it was common for them to pretend, that they took a vow upon them by the command

* N. LXIII.

^b Pag. DCXLV. 2.

^c Pag. 945.

^d See *Cumberland* N. LXVIII. pag. 221.

^e *Philos. Transact.* N.

^f Pag. 940.

^g Pag. 50.

edwards read, the first
 TRIB COH I. and read
 in margin, Apud Binsted
 in Devon.

command or order of some deity. Parallel instances of this kind may be seen in this collection^a. “ Mr. *Ward* reads the letters EX C C IMP: *ex charissimæ conjugis impensa*; and so refers *ex jussu susceptum* on the base to the order of the widow, who not being present desired this *Quintianus*, a friend or relation of her deceased husband, to erect this monument at her expence. “ In *Manutius* c c stand for *charissima conjux*; but if any think them put for *contubernaliū* here, the sense will not be incongruous.” *Kennet* has *contubernales imperatoris*^b; but he produces no authority for it, and I think it is without probability. It was not uncommon for them to erect sepulchral monuments and altars near a river and a military way, though it might not be very near to a station; so that it is not necessary barely upon this account to suppose there has been a station either at or near the place, where this altar was found; but other evidences put it out of doubt that there was, as I shall have occasion to shew in another place.

WESTMORLAND.^c

*a See an account
antiquities for
R.T. vi. 150. p. 1.*

THE county of *Westmorland* affords no great number of *Roman* inscriptions, but there are some in it worth our notice. As soon as the military way, which comes from *Carlisle*, has well entered this county, it comes to *Brougham-castle*; where, as appears by all the usual evidences, there has been a station, the present castle (now also in ruins) standing within it. Some coins and urns have been found here, as also some *Roman* stones and inscriptions.

Brougham-castle.

I. THIS is a fragment of a small and imperfect altar, which has little curious on it; for the person's name by whom it has been erected for himself and his, is broken off at the top. The form and size of the stops may deserve observation.

II. THIS belongs also to the same station, as appears from *Cambden's* account of it^c. The stone, which I have given the draught of, is at present at *Appleby*; but I will not vouch for its being the original, which *Cambden* saw, or at least mentions. It was found in the year 1602, near the confluence of the rivers *Loder* and *Eimot*, near this station. It is in honour of the emperor *Constantine* the great, and of a later date than that which was found upon the wall, and may be seen in this collection^d; as is manifest from the title *Augusto*.

UNDER this stone had been another inserted in the wall, whence the inscriptions at *Appleby* were taken, though now they are lying loose upon the ground. The inscription on this other stone is modern, and I suppose has been done by Mr. *Bainbrigg*. It runs thus:

H. L. INVENT. E.

BROVONACI.

Hic lapis inventus est

Brovonaci.

So I suppose it must be read. He took *Brovonacum* to be the name, and *Brougham* the place.

To this same station must be referred another inscription, whose original I would gladly have recovered, but could not. According to *Burton* and *Gale* it was found near *Lowther*^e, or at least was to be seen there.^f But I was told of two or three stones with inscriptions upon them, which the masons had lately destroyed at *Appleby*, and perhaps this might be one of that number. The copy of the inscription is doubtless incorrect, which runs thus:

DEABVS

^a See Scotland N. xxx. pag. 205. See also *Cambden* edit. 1695. p. 605. and *Montfaucon* Tom. i. part. i. liv. 2. ch. 4. pl. 18.

^b *Romæ antiquæ notitia. Part II. book IV. ch. 12.*

^c Pag. 998.

^d *Northumberland LXXI.*

^e *Burton Anton. It. p. 49. Gale Ant. It. p. 7.*

*This is in W.
p. 2.*

DEABVS MATRIBVS
 TRAMAL VEX CERMA
 P. V. R. D. PRO SALVTE
 RFVS. L. M.

Dr. Gale's remark upon it is this; "I read (says he) *Bramae vexillatio Germanorum*. The *Deae Matres* were in great esteem among the Germans, as appears from many inscriptions in Gruter and Reinesius." But it is evident from the inscription now at Great Salkfield in Cumberland that the true reading must be *Deabus TRAMAR* for *tramarinis*. The letters and stops in the beginning of the third line are certainly wrong, and perhaps it has been no more than NORVM, that is, *vexillatio Germanorum*; and the P in the last line may have been a P, so that the whole inscription has stood thus:

DEABVS MATRIBVS	<i>Deabus matribus</i>
TRAMAR. VEX. GERMA	<i>tramarinis vexillatio Germa-</i>
NORVM PRO SALVTE	<i>norum pro salute</i>
RP. V. S. L. M.	<i>reipublicae votum solvit libens merito.</i>

The words *vexillatio Germanorum* may serve to illustrate, and be illustrated by, a passage or two in Suetonius and Tacitus. For we have *vexillatio Germanorum* in the one^c, and *Germanorum vexilla* in the other^d. Some read *Germaniciorum*, or *Germanicorum* in Suetonius; but I think the evidence that appears here is decisive in favour of *Germanorum*. Excepting the Germans we seldom or never have the *vexillatio* of any but legionary soldiers, either in the Roman historians, or any of our Roman inscriptions in Britain. I remember none in this collection, but the *vexillatio Vardulorum Craneorum*; which is not altogether certain, and if it was sure, must be of horse. The Germans seem to be spoken of as fit for expedition, and are particularly on several occasions famed for their swimming. Tacitus tells us "that the Roman soldiers being loaded with their arms were afraid to swim, but the Germans were accustomed to it, and qualified for it by the lightness of their arms and tallness of their bodies." If the notion of *vexillarii* and *vexillatio* which I have already endeavoured to establish be right^e, we may hence be furnished with a good reason, why there should be vexillations of Germans, rather than of any other auxiliary forces.

Kirby Thure.

III. THIS is an altar found at the station near Kirby Thure or Whelp-castle. It is at present built up in the end of the old school-house at Appleby. The meaning of the words *votum fecit* upon this inscription has been explained before^f.

UNDER this is another modern stone with this inscription upon it:

H. M. EST	<i>Hoc monumentum est</i>
GALLAGI.	<i>Gallagi.</i>

The design of it is to signify that this monument was found at Whelp-castle, which has passed current for *Gallagum* ever since Camden stamped it with his authority. This I suppose has been also done by the famous Mr. Bainbrigg, whom Camden calls a very learned person, and says that he transcribed several ancient inscriptions for him, and had removed some into his own garden^h.

IN the *Philosophical Transactions*ⁱ we have an account by Mr. Thomas Machil of another imperfect inscription, which was upon the bottom of a platter. The letters were these: . . . - TIAN IMP. . . . This Mr. Machil supposes

^c Lego *Bramae vexillatio Germanorum*. *Deae Matres* a Germanis eximia cultae sunt, ut ex multis inscriptionibus apud Gruterum et Reinesium patet. Anton. It. p. 7.

^d N. L.

^e Sueton. in Galb. c. 20.

^f Tacit. Hist. Lib. i. c. 70.

^g Miles Romanus armis gravis et nandi pavidus;

^h Germanos fluminibus suctos levitas armorum, et proceritas corporum attollit. Tac. Hist. Lib. v. c. 14.

ⁱ See Book i. c. vi. p. 96.

^j Durham N. xv.

^k Pag. 991.

^l N. 158.

supposes to have been *Domitianus imperator*. But these letters make a part of the name of some other emperors, to whom it may be applied with much greater probability.

BESIDES these inscriptions, some coins, urns, and other *Roman* antiquities have been also found at this place.

IV. To this same station also I shall refer the inscriptions upon the rock at *Crawdendale-waith*, which is not far from it. Mr. *Bainbrigg* thought it proper to take on another stone a copy of the two inscriptions comprehended under this number, and to build it up in the same wall with the others. He has copied them, as if they had been but a single inscription, and has put under it this memorandum :

a) Camden's differs in the 2^d line but neither of them follow the form

Q. S. S. S. AP
CRAWDUNDALE :

Which I read :

Quae supra scripta, sunt apud Crawdendale.

In this copy is also added in a line at the bottom, what was taken to be the names of the consuls, but now is almost effaced upon the rock. In *Cambden*^a the words are,

CN. OCT. COT. COSS.

And in Mr. *Bainbrigg*'s copy they are the same. But by *Cambden*'s account they seem to have been on another different rock near to this and to the following number. However I suppose the names have been taken for *Octavius* and *Cotta*; but neither the time, nor *praenomen* will answer; nor can I find any consuls of the like names, that will come within the due compass of time : so that I can't but suspect there has been a mistake in the transcript. The two inscriptions are both but rude, and the upper one especially seems to have been worked with a common pick, or some such tool. They are now upon two distinct pieces of the rock, that have fallen off from the grand one, and are laid one upon the other, as here represented. In *Cambden* the first word of the second line is read *praefectus*, which differs from his copy. Indeed in the copy upon the stone at *Appleby* it is ECTVS, but this is taking much too great a liberty, when it is ESSYS so distinctly in the original. I therefore rather take this to be part of another name of *Varronius*, perhaps *Lessus*, which which we have in *Gruter*^b. The c which in *Cambden*'s copy is prefixed to *Varronius* is now scarce discernible. It does not appear to me from the inscription what office this *Varronius* bore in the legion, or whether any at all; unless the c that stands before the name *Varronius* should be read *centurio*. The shape of the E at the beginning of the second line is remarkable. *Aelius Lucanus* is also made *praefectus legionis* in the reading in *Cambden*; but in the original it is neither a p, as in the copy at *Appleby*, nor an r only, as in the copy in *Cambden*, but rr, which I think must stand for *tribunus*. The c at the end is read in *Cambden*, *castrametati sunt*. If that be the word, I should rather chuse the singular *castrametatus est*, and suppose them not only two inscriptions, but also cut at different times.

V. THIS is upon the face of the grand rock. The c and other imperfect letters below have perhaps been the names of the consuls taken notice of in *Cambden*, and so they must have belonged to this, rather than the former inscriptions, but I have already spoke to this matter.

It is not improbable these inscriptions were cut, when the *Romans* were getting stones here for some of the buildings. And some have imagined from the nearness of the place, and the nature and grit of the stone, that the *Roman* fort at *Kirby Thure* was built, and repaired, as there was occasion, with
stones

^a Pag. 996.

^b P. DCLXI. 10.

calls that an urn, and what was set within it, containing the ashes, a vessel; but I rather think the vessel was the urn, though but small (and so the late Mr. *Gilpin* called it) and that the use of the stone has been to contain the urn^a. Mr. *Gilpin*'s is said to have had a cover to it, but I did not hear of any such thing belonging to this at *Water crook*.

XII. THIS imperfect statue was designed very probably either for *Silenus*, or *Bacchus*. If for the latter, as I rather think, it confirms my conjecture, that the altar N. IX. was consecrated to this deity. The *corolla*, of which I have likewise given the draught, was in the memory of an aged person yet living placed upon the head of the image; though it is now by some unhappy accident broken off, and the rest of the image lost.

THERE is also a small earthen lamp; and several coins and seals have also been found here. None of the antiquities at this place have, that I know of, been published before.

LANCASHIRE.

THERE are only two places in *Lancashire* that furnish any inscriptions, *Manchester* and *Ribblechester*.

I. THIS is the only original now remaining of those which belonged to the station at *Manchester*. According to the information I had, it was found by the water side near *Giants* or *Tarquin's castle*, and so farther confirms this to have been the place where the *Roman* station was. It is now preserved at the *Holme* in the Lady *Bland*'s gardens, about a mile from the station. In *Cambden* it is said to have been found in the year 1612 at *Alparc* or *Aldport*^b near the river *Medlock*. The mark for the centurion is somewhat peculiar with us, but you have it in *Ursatus*. The middle part of the M comes the least down of any I have observed. The name *Martius* occurs in two other inscriptions at *Old Penreth* in *Cumberland*^c. This inscription naturally brings to mind *Horace*'s fine ode to *Fortune*^d:

Manchester.

*Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.*

It has been published several times already. The altar on the left hand side has the common *praefericulum*, and the *patera* on the right.

THE other two inscriptions belonging to this place, and described in *Cambden*, cannot now be recovered^e. The fort at which they were found is there called *Mancastle*, which I fancy must be a mistake for *Giants castle*. The copies are as follow:

OCANDIDI
FIDES. XX.
IIII.

*centurionis Candidi
Fides annorum viginti
mensium quatuor.*

The other is thus:

COHO. I. FRISIN
OC MASAVONIS
P. XXIII.

*Cohors prima Frisingensium [or Frisonum]
centurioni Marco Savonio sti-
pendiorum viginti trium.*

If these copies have been rightly taken, the former looks like a sepulchral inscription for a centurion. The xx most probably expresses the number of years he lived; the IIII either the number of months or else of days, the number of months being quite effaced. The other also refers to a centurion, and seems to be an honorary monument erected to him by the whole cohort.

RIBBLE-

^a See Gordon It. Sept. pl. 34. fig. 4. at p. 100.

under the Observations at N. L.

^b Pag. 965. See also Gale Ant. It. p. 48. who says it was first published by Dr. Lister.

^d Lib. i. ode 35.

^e Pag. 965.

^c The originals of these are lost. See the copies

Ribchester.

RIBBLECHESTER or *Ribchester* has been a considerable *Roman* station; and by the distance and course of the stations, seems to be *Coccium* in the *Itinerary*; though *Cambden*^a suspects that *Ptolemy's Rigodunum* may have been *Ribodunum*, and *Ribchester* the place, the situation whereof answers well enough to *Rigodunum* in *Ptolemy*. A multitude of inscriptions and other antiquities have been found here; but the originals of those which were copied by *Cambden*, are now lost.

II. **THIS** is yet in the town, lying at the door of a dwelling-house. It has probably been an honorary monument to *Severus* and *Caracalla*, for the other inscriptions to these emperors begin after much the same manner^b. It has been erected by a vexillation of one of the legions, but which of them is not so certain. The place lies most in the way of the twentieth legion, quartered at *Chester*, and therefore it is most likely it may refer to this. The **L** and **E** in the third line are expressed by one character.

III. **THE** form of this looks somewhat like a miliary pillar. It was lying in a garden at the west end of the town, and near the river. So much of the inscription is quite effaced, as makes it hard to guess at the meaning of the whole. I think by the letters **MA** in the second line it must have been erected to one of the *Antonines*, either *Marcus Aurelius*, *Commodus* or *Caracalla*. What follows seems to express the usual titles *consul*, *pontifex maximus*, *tribunitia potestate*, and the rest. The letters at the bottom are so confused, I can make nothing out of them. I believe this inscription has not been published before, for I don't find it in *Dr. Leigh's Natural History*.

BESIDES these a great number of other *Roman* antiquities have been found here, as coins, vases of several sorts, with some imperfect words or letters upon them. But as I could meet with no other original inscriptions, except the two preceding, which were not effaced; I shall now give the copies of those we have in *Cambden*^c, having met with little or no assistance in this respect from *Dr. Leigh's Natural History*. The first of these is what follows:

SEOSAM
ROLNASON
OSALVEDN
AL. Q. Q. SAR
BREVENM
BEDIANIS
ANTONI
VS MEG. VI.^a/
IC. DOMV
ELITER.

Cambden says, "the stone with this inscription upon it was in a wall near *Salisbury hall*, with a pourtraiture of a *Cupid* and another little image" [perhaps two *Genii*] but that the sculpture was very much abused, and the inscription effaced. *Gruter* has this inscription also in his *Corpus*^d, but more confused and imperfect than it is here; and through mistake it is there said to be in *Cumberland*. *Cambden* adds farther, that after a great deal of study he could make no sense of it, and could not so much as fancy any thing about it, but that many of the words are *British* names of places hereabout. I believe the fourth line may be **ALAE EQVITVM SARMAT**, the following inscription making this very probable; and the seventh, eighth, and ninth are perhaps **ANTONINVS** or **ANTONIVS MILES LEGIONIS VI VICTRICIS DOMV** for **DOMO**; and **ANIS** in the end of the sixth line may stand for **ANNIS**; so that it may be a sepulchral stone erected for one of the *ala Sarmatarum* by a soldier of the sixth legion.

THE

^a Pag. 974.^b See Northumberland N. cix.^c Pag. 972, 973, 974.^d Pag. DCCCCXXXII.

Dr. Leigh writes vic for
at the right hand. And
his margin just quote

THE next is a votive altar to *Mars pacifer* :

PACIFE
RO MARTI
ELEGAVR
BA POS
VITEX VO
TO.

a) Word for de
BA for BA in
Ans.

We meet with *Mars pacifer* in several coins of the lower emperors. "The names of the person erecting this may be read, *Elegans Aurelius Bassus* ; all which are often in *Gruter*."

THIS inscription is to *Mars* and *Victory* jointly :

DEO	Deo
MARTI, ET	Marti et
VICTORIÆ	Victoriæ
DD. AVGG.	dominorum Augustorum
ET CC.—NN	et Caesarum nostrorum.

As this stone has been erected when there were two emperors and two *Caesars* at the same time, it is highly probable that *Diocletian* and *Maximian* were the two emperors, and *Constantius* and *Galerius Maximianus* the two *Caesars*, to the former of whom the title *domini nostri* is frequently applied.

THIS inscription in *Cambden* is said to be in the house of one *Thomas Rodes*, but it is not now to be found there :

DEIS MATRIBVS	Deis Matribus
M. INGENVI . . .	Marcus Ingenui-
VS ASIATICVS	nus Asiaticus
DEC. AL. AST.	decurio alae Astorum
SS. LL. M.	Susceptum solvit libentissime merito.

I believe both the preceding stones were removed to *Salisbury hall*, but the inscriptions are now effaced.

THIS inscription is in *Dr. Gale's* edition of *Antonini Itinerarium*^a, and in *Dr. Leigh*^b :

DEO MARTI ET	Deo Marti et
VICTORIÆ DEC.	Victoriæ decurio
ASIATIC. AL. SARMAT.	Asiaticus alae Sarmatarum
SS. LL. M. I. T. C. C. NN.	Susceptum solvit libentissime merito.

The last letters appear in confusion. If they had stood in a proper place, I should have read them ET. CC. NN, for *et Caesaribus nostris*. It looks very like a mistake in mixing the two preceding inscriptions, or a part of each together, which I can't but the more suspect by looking into *Dr. Leigh*^c.

THIS in *Cambden* is said to have been taken out of *William Lambard's* papers :

HIS. TERRIS. TEGITVR	His terris tegitur
AEL. MATRONA QV . .	Aelia Matrona quae
VIX. AN. XXVIII. M. II. D. VIII.	vixit annos viginti octo menses duos dies octo
ET M. IVLIVS MAXIMVS. FIL.	et Marcus Julius Maximus filius
VIX. AN. VI. M. III. D. XX. ET CAM	vixit annos sex menses tres dies viginti et Cam-
PANIA. DVBBA. MATER	pania Dubba mater
VIX. AN L. IVLIVS MAXIMVS	vixit annos quinquaginta Julius Maximus
. . . ALAE. SAR. CONIVX	. . . alae Sarmatarum conjux
CONIVGI. INCOMPARABILI	conjugi incomparabili
ET. FILIO. PATRI PIENTIS	et filio patri pientis-
SIMO. ET SOCERAE. TENA	simo et socerae tena-
CISSIMAE. MEMORIAE. P.	cissimae memoriae posuit.

Perhaps

^a Pag. 119.

^b B. III. p. 3.

1

^c Book III. p. 81. table 1. fig. 67.

Perhaps in the beginning of the eighth line there has been EQ for *eques*, or DEC for *Decurio*. " This inscription seems to carry in it several marks of " the low empire, and alteration in the *Roman* language, both as to the " words and forms of expression. *His terris tegitur* stand here in the room " of *Dis Manibus*. *Mater* must here mean the wife's mother, who is after- " wards called *socera*, instead of the usual name *socrus*. And *patri pientissimo* " for *in patrem*, very dutiful to his father, is perhaps as uncommon. Nor " is *tenacissimae memoriae*, of very dear memory, less remarkable in this " passive sense."

THIS following is read in *Cambden*, *centurio alae Sarmatarum* :

D. M. GAL. SARMATA

But as the centurions properly belonged to the legionary foot, I rather suspect that instead of G we are to read EQ for *eques alae Sarmatarum*. We are further told that " there was upon the same stone the pourtraiture of a naked " man on horseback without saddle or bridle, brandishing his spear with both " his hands, and insulting over another naked man prostrated before him, and " holding out a square piece," which I suppose was designed to represent a shield. The man on horseback was probably the person deceased.

T O R K S H I R E.

A T *Bowes* in *Richmondshire*, about three miles from *Bernard castle*, has been a considerable station, the antient *Lavatrae*. Here, and at *Gretabridge*, and *Rookby* within three or four miles of it, some inscriptions have been found, the originals of which are now scattered and dispersed, and some of them I fear destroyed, or lost irretrievably.

Bowes.

The first E.

by Caes.
and (see
Hamilt. c. ult.
on what they
the first found
Lupus
are there
in the reign
of which
to refer this
to have had
had under
from Curia
joined with
should not
however
is not in the
as in the
usually in
not up after
of Chelmsbury?
is more
erected
and reign
Curia Chelmsbury
think it
has been by
the present
not common
in found

I. THIS is curious and remarkable, so that Sir *Robert Cotton* thought it worth his while to remove it to *Conington*, where it now is. The first E is wanting in DEAE at the top.* BALINEVM for BALNEVM is frequent with the best writers, of which the latter seems only a contraction. *Virius Lupus* was *propraetor* under *Severus*, which determines the age of the inscription, the letters of which are rather better cut, than most of that time. The *Vettones* were a people of *Spain*.^α

II. THIS fragment is at *Appleby*. Mr. *Bainbrigg* (as I suppose) had ordered a copy of the inscription to be cut out upon another stone, which yet remains at the same place together with the original. This inscription farther shews, that before the decline of the empire the *cohors prima Thracum* kept garrison at *Lavatrae*, though in the time of the *Notitia* it was garrisoned by a *numerus exploratorum*. It is impossible to know what emperor this has been erected to, only *nobilissimo Caesari* argues it to be late. Nor can it be discovered who this *Frontinus* was, or what office he bore; though Mr. *Bainbrigg* was certainly mistaken, if he imagined him to be the *propraetor* and legate, which seems to have been his opinion by the following inscription erected with a manifest reference to this antient one: IVLIVS FRONTINVS DOMVIT BRIGANTES ET SILVRES HVIC SVCESSIT IVLIVS AGRICOLA SVB VESPASIANO.

THERE is another curious, but imperfect inscription, which *Cambden* has preserved and handed down to us^α, though the original is now lost. *Cambden* says the stone, upon which it was cut, had been used not long before for a communion table. I carefully enquired after it, when I was on the spot; but no one could give me any account, what was become of this old communion table. *Cambden's* copy, and supply of what was then deficient, is as follows:

IMP.

IMP. CÆSARI DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI. *Max filio*
 DIVI NERVÆ NEPOTI TRAIANO. *Hadria*
 NO AVG. PONT. MAXM.
 COS. I. . . P. P. COH. IIII. F. . . .
 IO. SEV. &)

*as Woodforde has
 from Camden,
 to the supply*

The emperor *Hadrian* was only consul three times, and by the vacant space in the fourth line, and other circumstances, it is highly probable that it has been COS. III. for *consuli tertium* (as the PP which follow are for *patri patriæ*) which would determine the date of the inscription to the year 119. And if we suppose it to have been erected upon occasion of this emperor's coming over to *Britain* in person, it will fix the time of that expedition to an earlier date than is usually assigned it. I cannot certainly tell what fourth cohort this has been. It is generally supposed to have been of the *Frisii* or *Frisiones*; but I have some suspicion that the last letter here in the fourth line may have been P or B, and so the *cohors quarta praetoria*, as at *Drawdikes* in *Cumberland*^a, or else *cohors quarta Bri.* . of which cohort we have mention made in some other inscriptions^b. If the last line has contained the name of *Julius Severus*, who was legate under *Hadrian* at this time, then the other titles *leg. Aug. propr.* are omitted, or more probably have been effaced, and perhaps what is taken for an o in IO has been only a stop. For the same has happened in copying the following inscription at *Amerbach* in *Germany*^c.

✓ NYMPHISϕ	<i>Nymphis</i>
N ϕ BRITTON ϕ	<i>Numerus Brittonum</i>
TRIPVTIEN ϕ
SVB CVRA	<i>sub cura</i>
M ϕ VLPI	<i>Marci Ulpii</i>
MALCHI ϕ	<i>Malchi</i>
> LEG XXII	<i>centurionis legionis vicesimæ secundæ</i>
PR ϕ P ϕ F ϕ	<i>primigeniæ piæ fidelis.</i>

The unusual stop ϕ is every where taken for an o in the copy of this inscription in the introduction to *Cambden's Britannia*^d.

At *Rookby*, the seat of *Thomas Robinson Esq*; the present member of parliament for *Morpeth* in *Northumberland*, are preserved two or three very curious and valuable inscriptions. *Rookby* is within less than a mile of *Gretabridge*, about three miles from *Bernard castle*, and four from *Bowes*. The old *Roman* bridge, that has been cross the river *Greta*, stood about a hundred yards below the present *Gretabridge*; and the *Roman* military way, which led to it, leaves the high road a little before it reaches *Gretabridge*, and enters the inclosures.

III. JUST by the side of the military way this inscription was found about four years ago. It is a milliary pillar, and the inscription upon it is to the emperors *Gallus* and *Volusianus*. *Volusianus* was *Gallus's* son, and joined with him in the empire. In the year 252 they were consuls together. The emperor *Decius* was consul the year before^e, so that this year 252 must have been the first of their reign. But it is uncertain whether this inscription was erected the first year of their reign or after. The title of *domini nostri* attributed to these emperors, the cut of the letters L and G, with some other particulars, are curious and remarkable. This inscription is the only one in *Britain* that belongs to these emperors.

Gretabridge.

IV. THIS altar was found near *Gretabridge* (as is said) in the year 1702. It has been published oftner than once; but in a very confused and erroneous manner, both as to the figure of the altar, and the inscription it self. It was inserted by the learned *Dr. Gale* in his *Antonini Itinerarium*^f, and from thence

^a N. xxxviii. ^d Pag. xxxvi.
^b See Northumberland, N. Lxxvi. ^e See Fasti consular.
^c Gruter. p. xciii. See also Gale Ant. It. p. 100. ^f Pag. 42.

thence, I suppose, put into the late edition of *Cambden's Britannia*^a. The copy in both is this:

DEAI NIMPHAI
NEINBRICA X ET
IANVARIA X ET
IBINVS MV
IOSONIRVN

The learned doctor conjectures that it may be *Deae Nymphae Brigantum*. The outstrokes of the E in the inscription are very short, which I suppose has been the occasion of its being oft mistaken for an I. This I strongly suspect has induced some other person to give it in this form

DEAE NVM
ERIAE NV
MINI BR
IG ET
IAN. . . .

These two are publish'd as distinct inscriptions in the late edition of *Cambden*; but how widely soever they differ from one another, and both of 'em from the original, yet they are but one and the same inscription; this being the only altar with any such inscription upon it, that is now any where in the neighbourhood of *Gretabridge*. The letters, as I have now given them upon the plate, appeared to me sufficiently clear and distinct on a review of the stone. And I am indebted to Mr. *Gale* for the hint in reading NYMP for *Nymphae*, and supposing the word *Elauna*, which follows, to be her name. The same gentleman observ'd to me, that the forest of *Lune* was not far from hence; and I see there is a river of that name, which runs into the *Tees*, passing by the forest, to which it probably has imparted its name. And tho' this river runs into the *Tees* about five or six miles above the confluence of the *Tees* and *Greta*, yet 'tis possible that the name *Lune* may formerly have been continued as low down at least as this confluence, which seems to have been the case in several parallel instances. The erecting altars to rivers and making vows and addresses to them is well known to have been very common. *Tacitus* tells us that when it was debated in the senate whether in order to prevent the inundations of the *Tiber*, it was proper to divert the course of some rivers which emptied themselves into it; among other arguments urged against such a method this was one, "That some regard should be had to the religion of their allies, who had consecrated groves and altars to their country rivers^b." The forest of *Lune*, and this altar may possibly have both been consecrated to the river *Elauna*. *Homer* introduces *Achilles* mentioning a solemn vow of his father *Peleus* made to the river *Sperchius*.

Σπερχεί, ἄλλως σοί γε πατήρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεὺς,
Κεῖσέ με νοσήσαντα φίλην εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
Σοί τε κέρην κέρειν, ῥέξειν δ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην.
Πενήκοῖσ' αὖτις παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερύσειν
'Εἰ πηγᾷ, ὅθι τοι τέμενος ὦμος τε θυήεις^c.

And *Virgil* introduces *Aeneas* making his addresses on his arrival at the mouth of the *Tiber*, "to the nymphs and unknown rivers."

—*Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
Flumina*—

I only farther add, that *Inebrica et Januaria filia* agrees very well as to form with some other inscriptions in our collection^d.

V. THE river *Greta* runs into the *Tees* about a short mile below *Greta-bridge*; and at the *Tees* side, just below where *Greta* joins it, was found an altar, which now lies at *Morton*, belonging to my Lord *Carlisle*, hard by *Rookby*. The altar is upon the ground before the court, exposed to all the injuries

^a Pag. 926.

^b Spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra, et lucos et aras patris amnibus dicaverint. Annal. lib. i. c. 79.

^c Il. Ψ. v. 144, &c.

^d See Cheshire, N. 11. and Northumberland, N. Lxx. and the Observations.

injuries of the weather. The three first lines of the inscription were almost worn out, when I first saw them; and on my last review I thought them entirely gone, so that it is a little strange all the other lines should be so legible and distinct. The altar has been erected by one *Ellinus* a pensionary of the consul, who was of the upper province. This *provincia superior* seems to answer *Dion's* $\eta \alpha \nu \omega$ ^a, and what is called by others *Britannia secunda* ^b. But to whom this altar has been erected is uncertain, that part of the inscription together with the other names of *Ellinus* being, as I have said, in a manner effaced; tho' the place where it was found, and the other altar at *Rookby*, make it probable that it might be inscrib'd *Deae Nymphae*.

I COULD not, upon the strictest search and enquiry, meet with any *Roman* inscriptions at *Thornborough* near *Cataraet* bridge, the antient and so much celebrated *Cataraetonium*.

DR. *Gale* speaks of an inscription upon a broken piece of an urn at *Brugh hall*, but it is now lost. He thus represents it :

II AVR HERACLE
PAT ET FIL F BAR

Perhaps it has been *Aurelia Heraclea patri et filio fecit benemerentibus* ^c.

THE same author ^d gives us another remarkable inscription, as belonging to this place, and says we owe it to *Cambden* ^e. The copy of it is thus :

DEO QVI VIAS	<i>Deo qui vias</i>
ET SEMITAS COM	<i>et semitas com-</i>
MENTVS EST T. IR	<i>mentus est Titus Ir-</i>
DAS. S. C. F. V. LL. M.	<i>das.</i>
Q. VARIVS. VITA	<i>Quintus Varius Vita-</i>
LIS ET E COS ARAM	<i>lis aram</i>
SACRAM RESTI	<i>sacram resti-</i>
TVIT	<i>tuit</i>
APRONIANO ET BRA	<i>Aproniano et Bra-</i>
DVA COS. ^f	<i>dua consulibus.</i>

*y Woodford, near
Ecton before the
year, 1. 114.
x Why not, J.
fieri voluit*

The copy appears to be incorrect or imperfect. Dr. *Gale* conjectures, that in the sixth line it should be, *BF COS beneficiarius consulis*; and I believe that the fourth line is to be read, *sacra faciendo votum libentissime merito*; so that the altar was first erected by *Irdas*; and afterwards repaired by *Vitalis*, when *Apronianus* and *Bradua* were consuls in the year 191.

VI. THIS inscription is at *Boroughbridge* upon a stone in the outside of a *Aldbrough* garden wall, facing one of the streets. The letters are of the largest size above four inches high. The stone has been cut and dressed, in order to be put into the wall, so that part of the inscription on one side has been taken off; and it is so placed in the wall, that the broken side is uppermost, and the sides of the letters lie horizontally. The transverse stroke of the A is remarkable for the manner of it. This inscription has been very much misrepresented even by good hands. It is plainly sepulchral, and, as I think, for two persons deceased. It may originally have stood thus :

AVRELIO
VIX AN
ET ANTO
NIO VIX
AN. V.

The last visible character on this inscription is put for Y in the alphabet, at the bottom of the fourth table of *Roman* coins prefixed to *Cambden's Britannia*; but sometimes it stands for v ^f, and so I take it to do here.

VII.

^a See the passage quoted, B. I. c. vi. p. 83.
^b See Gale Ant. It. p. 2, 3.
^c Ibid. p. 13.
^d Ibid. p. 13, 14.
^e This I suppose is taken from the Appendix to the Marmora Oxoniensia, or from Selden, where the inscription occurs.
^f Vid. Comment. in epitaph. Julii Vitalis. p. 18.

VII. THIS is an obscure image at the end of the church in *Aldborough*. It might probably be designed for *Silvanus*, or perhaps *Mercury* with his *petasus*. The light slender shape of the body favours this latter conjecture^a.

IN a small house in the same town there is a part of a curious tessellated pavement.

York. WE next proceed to the station at *York*, where the temple of *Bellona* has often been taken notice of. It is mentioned by *Spartian* in the life of *Severus*; where the historian says that *Severus*, when he came to *York*, was led through mistake to this temple^b. Other *Roman* antiquities have been found here, and these following inscriptions belong to this station.

VIII. THIS is a very curious and remarkable inscription. It was first discovered in *Trinity-yard* in *Micklegate*; and is now at *Ribston* near *Wetherby*, being carefully preserved under cover in a garden by Sir *Henry Goodrick*, who knows how to set a just value upon this curious piece of antiquity. It has been communicated to the publick by Mr. *Thoresby* in the *Philosophical Transactions*^c; and from thence has been inserted in the late edition of *Cambden's Britannia*^d, but ill represented there as to the shape and cut of the letters. Dr. *Gale* in his edition of *Antonini Itinerarium*^e has done it more justice; for the letters are well cut, strong and clear, and all of it yet very legible; particularly *LEG. VIII* at the end of the fourth line is distinct and certain, which is the great curiosity of the inscription. The principal difficulty with respect to the reading is in the beginning of the second line. Mr. *Thoresby* (who gives us the reading of no part of the inscription but the last line and this) would have it to be *lubens voluit*, which is neither agreeable to the letters themselves, nor the situation of them, nor at all consistent with the obvious sense of the rest of the inscription. Upon sight of the original I was soon convinced these letters were *LVOLTE*, the last three *LTE* being all connected together; and they must I think be read *Lucii Voltinia* [*tribu*] *filius*. So that it expresses the father's tribe; and the father might be of this tribe, though the son was of *Vienna* in *Gaul*, which was a famous *Roman* colony^f. And *provincia Viennensis* was one of the seventeen provinces of *Gaul*, which were under the *praefectus praetorio Galliarum*^g. This *tribus Voltinia* is likewise mentioned upon another inscription in *Cumberland*^h. It may seem strange perhaps, that the *v* for *filius* should be joined in the same character, that includes two letters of the preceding word; but we have an instance of the like kind upon another inscription, at *Great Salkeld* in *Cumberland*ⁱ, where the same cypher contains two letters belonging to two different words. The flourish annexed to the foot of the first *N* in the third line is somewhat peculiar, but very distinct. The name *Rufinus* occurs in another of our inscriptions^k. The rest has no difficulty; and as for the *legio nona*, I have given a full account of it in the history of the *Roman* legions in *Britain*^l. The figure of this *signifer* is placed above the inscription with his *vexillum* in one hand (or the *signum* of a cohort according to Mr. *Ward*, whose conjecture I shall add) and a thing like a basket in the other. There is somewhat of much the same appearance in the hand of a soldier upon a funeral stone in *Scotland* at *Skirvay*^m. This may possibly represent the vessel for holding or measuring the corn, which was a part of the *Roman* soldiers pay.

“ I AM

^a *Membra decora juventae*. Virg. Aen. iv. 559.

^b In civitatem veniens, ad Bellonae templum ductus est errore, &c. Script. hist. August. p. 363.

^c N. 305.

^d Pag. 877.

^e Pag. 23.

^f See Savil's notes on Tacitus. p. 45, 46.

^g *Noctia imp. occid.* c. 1.

^h N. LXIII.

ⁱ N. LI.

^k *Northumberland.* xcvi.

^l *Book 1.* c. vi. p. 80.

^m N. XI.

" I AM inclined to think, what he holds in his right hand is the ensign
 " of a cohort, or *manipulus*. It seems very probable from a passage in *Caesar*
 " that every cohort had its particular ensign. His words are these: Almost
 " all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, the ensign-bearer killed,
 " and the ensign itself lost, &c.^a Now in all the legionary coins of *M.*
 " *Anthony* the eagle is placed between two such ensigns, as this image holds
 " in his right hand. As the eagle therefore was the standard of the whole
 " legion, one would be led to think these were designed to represent the
 " ensigns of the cohorts, as next in order. But since some very learned men
 " have thought them rather the ensigns of the *manipuli*, I would leave every
 " one to judge of them as he pleases.^b What this image holds in his left hand,
 " I take to be the *vexillum* of a century. The form of the *vexillum* seems,
 " I think, to favour this opinion; for it was four square, as appears by a
 " draught of it which has been given above^c."

6 Una two
signa cohortis
lib. Ann. &

a Si continet
manipulos &
instituta va-
pudor rari-
in postulabo
erat praefectus
Caes. B. G. &

THERE was another curious altar at this city, an account of which we have both in the *Philosophical Transactions*^c and *Cambden*^d. It is said to have been in my Lord *Fairfax's* gardens, at the Duke of *Buckingham's* house in *Skeldergate*. I enquired for it, though I must own without any great hopes of success, since Dr. *Gale* had before told us, that in his time it was not to be found there^e. The copy of it is as follows:

I. O. M.
 DIS. DEABVSQVE
 HOSPITALIBVS PE
 NATIBVSQ. OB. CON
 SERVATAM SALVTEM
 SVAM. SVORVMQ.
 P. AEL. MARCIAN
 VS. PRAEF. COH.
 ARAM. SAC. F. N. C. D.

This last line I imagine is to be read, *aram sacra faciendo nuncupavit dedicavit*; and there is no difficulty in the rest. The last line Mr. *Watd* reads, "*aram sacram factam nomine communi dedicavit*. The dedication of any thing to the gods was properly made by the head of the family, though in the name of the whole. So that this expression is equivalent to what we have elsewhere, *pro se et suis*." Perhaps the cohort here mentioned might be legionary, and one of the *legio sexta victrix*, which was quartered here, if the word *praefectus* will admit of it.

IX. MR. *THORFESBY* has also given us an account of a *Roman* brick found here, inscribed *LEG. IX. VIC. legio nona victrix*, the original of which is in his collection at *Leeds*^f. I have here given a draught of it, and have fully discoursed upon another occasion concerning the incorporation of this legion with the *legio sexta victrix*, whose stated quarters were at this place^g.

THE same gentleman gives us an account of another inscription^h, which also belongs to this place:

GENIO LOCI
 FELICITER.

But I cannot learn what is become of the original. It was found in digging a cellar in *Coningstreet*. The dimensions of the stone are twenty one inches in length, and seven in breadth.

X.

^a Quartae cohortis omnibus fere centurionibus
 occisis, signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, &c.
 B. G. Lib. II. c. 25.

^b See Northumberl. N. LX.

^c N. 4. It is not in the *P. T. but III.*
Houde Philosophical Collections v. 4. K k k k
 1143. 72.

^d Pag. 878.

^e Ant. Itin. p. 21.

^f Philof. Transf. N. 305.

^g See *Bibl. i. ch. vi. p. 80.*

^h Phil. Transf. N. 303. See also *Cambden*. p. 878.

X. CAMBDEN himself saw this stone in an alderman's house of this city^a. It has since been removed as far as *Hull*, and for some time was converted into a watering trough for horses at a publick inn. It is a sepulchral stone, and called *theca* by Dr. Gale^b; designed I believe to contain some urns, for it seems not to be of the usual shape of a *sarcophagus*, nor large enough to contain a human body. It is certain that the practice of burying bodies entire, as well as burning, was promiscuously used by the *Romans*; and we have several instances of stone coffins or *sarcophagi* found near *Roman* stations, and in *Roman tumuli* here in *Britain*: but I think it is also agreed, that urns containing the relicks after burning, were frequently placed in covers or chests; and such I take this to be, which is now before us.^c The person for whom this was principally or only designed, is named *Marcus Verecundus Diogenes*, a *sevir* of the colony at *York*. *Eboracum* or *York* was therefore a colony, and our *Verecundus* was some sort of magistrate or officer in it. *Sevir*, from ancient inscriptions and a passage in *Capitolinus*, seems sometimes to mean an officer of horse whose post was very honourable^d. The *seviri Augustales* were a set of priests in the colonies. The learned bishop *Fleetwood* conjectures that there might be also some magistrates in the colonies who went by this name^e. This notion I should like best for our present purpose, if it could be well supported. There are several obvious difficulties with relation to the meaning of the word *sevir*, that seem never yet to have been duly considered; but this is not a proper place for large and critical enquiries into these matters. The form of the word is much the same with that of *dumvir*, *triumvir*, *decemvir*, &c. This *Diogenes* is farther described from his country *Biturix-Cubus*, for no doubt both these words refer to his country, and to that only; though *CVBVS* has been otherwise understood by some very good antiquaries. *Pliny* speaking of *Aquitania* in *Gaul*, mentions the *Bituriges*, who he says are also called *Cubi*^f. *Strabo* likewise says that the *Bituriges* are also called *Cubi*, and joining them together calls them *Cubi Bituriges*^g. *Biturix-Cubus* must be the same, nor do these words require, nor will they I think admit of any other explication or reading. *Civis Biturix* has been interpreted a citizen of *Bordeaux* in *France*, and the addition of the word *Cubus* makes no great alteration in the matter. This funeral stone was provided for *Verecundus* during his life time; which might be, and yet the words expressing this, *haec sibi vivus fecit*, be added by his friends after his decease.^h I found it removed to Mr. *Bailiff's* house near *Beverly gate*, and that side of it, which has the inscription, was unfortunately broken in the removal. The two pieces of stone that were broken off, are buried underground and inaccessible. There is nothing like a B at each end, as in Dr. Galeⁱ, but an ornament of a very different shape. The letters *CVBVS* in the last line are yet very distinct, though omitted by Mr. *Cambden*^j. The pricked letters, which are on those pieces of the stone, that are now buried, I have taken from the other copies, which were published before.

XI. THIS stands in the south wall, near the porch, of the church called *All-saints* or *Northstreet church*^k. Dr. *Lister* has given an account of it in the *Transactions*^l, and it is in the late edition of *Cambden*^m, where it is said to be in *All-saints-street*. Dr. *Lister* justly supposes it to be sepulchral, and no doubt it is the figure of the person deceased, which is represented on the side of the stone now much defaced. The inscription is on a plane, depressed about

^a Britannia. p. 878.

^b Ant. It. p. 24. See the Essex sculpture and Westmorland N. xi. p. 300.

^c See Script. Hist. Aug. p. 163.

^d See the index to his Sylloge in voc. *Sevir* and *Augustalis*.

^e Hinc *Bituriges liberi*, qui *Cubi* appellantur. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. iv. c. 19.

^f Lib. iv.

^g Ant. It. p. 24. See also Burton. p. 64.

^h See Cambd. p. 718. edit. 1695. They are inserted in the last edition I suppose from Dr. Gale. I have frequently observed Cambden to omit such letters, as were doubtful or unintelligible to him; though even yet sufficiently visible.

ⁱ Vid. Gal. Ant. Itin. p. 22.

^j N. 4.

^k Pag. 878, 879.

*« Rapt. Fab. u.
ipt. antiq. p. 17.
Gual. p. cclxxxix.*

*« It is now at the
of y^e Earl of
fact near the
curiously worked
the front, which
I call the stone
of Britannia.*

*Rapt. Fab. u.
am.*

*the inscription
Durham 18.
... of the
of Pontifical's
... of the*

about three or four inches below the bordering and sculpture. Part of this side of the stone and of the inscription is covered with a buttress, and the beginning of the three first lines was dawbed with lime, when I copied it. Dr. Gale puts AI at the top, though there is but one visible stroke, which Dr. Lister takes to be part of the M for *Manibus*, and reads the three last lines *bene merenti Antonio* (or *Antonino*) *conjugi*. But it is manifestly ENTEM (perhaps part of [*curam*] *agente Marco*) in the fourth line.

The following is in Woodford's, where it is, or had it, I can't say.
M. AVRELIO AI
FEL. AVG. GER
TR. POT. X. IN
PRO. PIETAT
See Horsley,

XII. HERE is another imperfect sepulchral inscription, which is placed in the wall without *Mickle-gate*, as you go to the mount^a. *Minna* seems to have been the name of the person deceased, which name is in *Gruter*^b.

THIS, which is the most curious of the inscriptions at *Ilkley*, I could by no means recover. I doubt not but it has been one of those, which Sir *Robert Cotton* and Mr. *Cambden* carried off, and has been since lost. It implies that the fort, or somewhat about it, had been repaired, or rebuilt by *Severus* and *Caracalla*, when the latter was only *Caesar destinatus*, under the care of *Virius Lupus* their legate and *propraetor*. The copy of the inscription in *Cambden* is as follows^c:

Ilkley.

IM. SEVERVS.
AVG. ET ANTONINVS
CAES. DESTINATVS
RESTITVERVNT, CV-
RANTE VIRIO LVPO.
LEG. EORVM PR. PR.

6) *Gruter* p. ccc. LATERANO. ET RVFI
SVPER. NVMER
COOPTATVS. EX.
M. AVRELIVS. ANT
CAES. DESTINA
P. R. C. C. DCCCC

XIII. THIS inscription continues yet in the church-wall, where *Cambden* saw and copied it^d; but his copy varies from the original, which is yet legible, though obscure.^e The upper part of the stone and inscription is broken off, but I think must be supplied as I have done it in my reading. The compliment paid to *Verus*, namely *Jovi dilectus*, is remarkable and curious, and brings to mind *Homer's* *διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες*^f. It may seem a little strange, that this compliment should be paid only to *Verus*, and not to both the emperors; but the TI in the belly of the C is certain, and will admit of no other reading. What cohort *Caecilius Lucanus* commanded, the inscription does not inform us. It might probably be the *cohors secunda Lingonum* mentioned in the following inscription.

It should be
Pot. A. Roland
Julian, ann
taken from
De veteri ju
L. i. c. 9.

a) *Cambden* has
word LVCANVS.
but every old stone
has, p. xiv.

XIV. THIS stone is at *Stubham-lodge* not far from *Ilkley*, but the inscription is almost entirely effaced. However what remains is sufficient to shew, that the copy upon a stone at *Ilkley* has imitated the original, as to the shape and size both of the stone and letters, with sufficient exactness; only the last line must certainly have been a little mistaken, and is most probably as others have read it, *cohorsis secundae Lingonum*. Upon the side of this same stone is a modern inscription, shewing that the stone was found in the year 1608, and the copy taken by the order of *William Middleton Esq*

GVIL. MIDLETON
ARM. ME FECIT AD
IMAGINEM ANTI
QUISS. LAPIDIS HIC
REPERTI 1608.

Verbeia is supposed by some to be the river *Wharf*, which runs by this place, the affinity of the name favouring the conjecture^g; or perhaps it may have been the name of some other topical goddess.

By Mr. Middleton, and
placed at Stubham was
"Wharf?"

XV

Mr. Fairfax's v
begins thus:
Upon Verbeia's
head being
As Otho's Dido
and wishes her
The note upon it
by his son, is as if
"I had to be the a
of the river Whar-
f, which the nature
family. Otho's
conferred by an
named: *Verbeia*
"The *Capita* *praef*
"Lingonum *praef*
"allies is observed
"years ago before
"C. 1100. and Mr. C.
"to the stone was
"it stood at the low
"called by the *Ver*
"there to be over
"monument. This
"carried away by
"and another led in
"opened. But this
"found, who had
"engaged the inscrip-
"and probably to be
"was the supposed
"the river, for the
"conceded to him in
"about as late, as the
"the parents of such
"the River."

^a Gal. Ant. Itin. p. 23.
^b Pag. cxxxiv. n. 5.
^c Pag. 867.

Pag. 868.
^d Il. C. 445.
^e See Gal. Ant. Itin. p. 43. and *Cambden*, p. 867.

XV. THIS and the two following were found at *Adelmill* in the grounds of Mr. *Arthington*, a few miles north from *Leeds*, where Mr. *Thoresby* supposes there has been a *Roman* station or town. 'Tis plain this has been a funeral monument, and erected I suppose by *Fortuna Pia* for one *Cadledinia*. The letters are almost all of 'em very clear and distinct. " Mr. *Ward* reads " the names of this inscription, *Cadillae Jeriae Piae Fortunata Pia*; all " which names are in *Gruter*."

XVI. HERE are three rude female figures seated, but much effaced, and no inscription to give us any light who they were designed for. Perhaps they are *Deae Matres*.

XVII. FROM what remains of this inscription one would guess it to have been erected by some husband for his very affectionate wife^a. We meet with *conjugi pientissimae* in *Gruter*^b.

Gretland.

XVIII. AT *Gretland* near *Eland* in the West Riding of *Yorkshire*, within two or three miles of *Halifax*, have been found some *Roman* antiquities. And we are told in *Cambden*^c that several *Roman* coins have been found at *Stainland*. At *Gretland* was likewise dug up a votive altar with two inscriptions, one on the face of it, and the other upon one of the sides; which I have exhibited separately, but placed them both under the same number. It is said both in *Cambden* and *Gruter*^d to have been then at *Bradley*, the house of the celebrated family of the *Savils*; but I saw it lying loose in the church at *Conington*, and copied the inscription from the original. Upon the face there is a dedication to DVI, the tutelar god of the *Brigantes*, and *numini* or *numinibus Augustorum*, by one *T. Aurelius Aurelianus*. If this person was of the army, the inscription favours my opinion concerning the date of the principal transactions in *Britain* under the reign of *Severus*^e. In *Cambden*'s copy the second line is ET. NVM GG. but in the original there is a double M for *numinibus*. And I suppose it must be understood of the emperors themselves, as the good *genii* of *Aurelianus* and his family. There is a small flaw in the stone passing thro' the first M; the rest is certain; so that AV must either be included in the last M, or omitted and interlined. The last (which was the third or fourth) time I viewed the stone, I thought I discerned a small AV above the M as if they had been inserted after the rest of the inscription had been cut; as the A in *Cumberland* N. xxvii. But I will not positively say that my eyesight in this case was no way assisted by my imagination. It is difficult to explain the five last letters on the face of the altar. *Cambden* says he knows not what to make of them. Dr. *Masgrave* reads these letters, *sacrum memori animo gratis solvens*^f. I would rather read, *susceptum merito animo grato solvit*. We have *susceptum solvit libenti animo* in another of our inscriptions^g. But in such doubtful matters as these every one must be left to their liberty. The word *civitas* here must be taken, as it is used by the best authors, not for a city, but for the state of the *Brigantes*. As for the inscription upon the side of the altar, it only contains the date. And in order to set this in a proper light, it must be observed, that the *Geta*, who was consul with *Plautianus* in the year 203, was the brother, not the son, of *Severus*. *Geta* Caesar son of *Severus*, and brother of *Caracalla*, was consul for the first time according to the *Fasti consulares* in the year 205, when *Caracalla* was second time consul. In the year 208 *Caracalla* was third time consul and *Geta* the second. I confess the first I in the second line is now somewhat doubtful by reason of a flaw near the edge of the stone; and if we should read *secundum* only, not *tertium*, this reading would be more consistent with the *Fasti consulares*: but

Cambden

^a See Mr. *Thoresby*'s *Ducatus Leodensis*, p. 162. and *Phil. Transf.* N. 282.

^b *Pag. unives.* 2.

^c *Pag.* 851.

^d *Pag.* MXVII. 3.

^e See *Book* I. c. IV. p. 62, 63.

^f *Geta Britan.* p. 33.

^g *Durham*, N. xxxii.

Cambden read *tertium*, and in all probability the stone was then more entire, and this numeral letter more visible and certain. "As *Jupiter Tanarus* is the same as *tonans*, and very probably had its original, tho' not immediately, from thence; Mr. *Ward* thinks *DVI*, the name of this *British* deity, is a corruption of *Δεῦς*, which, as *Hesychius* says, was the same as *Ζεύς*. Tho' indeed they might take it from either name, since *z* is nothing but a compound sound of *ΔΣ*. And the *Britons* could not but frequently hear the name of this deity from the *Greeks*, who came hither with the *Romans*, as we find by the *Greek* inscriptions." The copy of this inscription in *Gruter's Corpus* is very incorrect.

AT *Eland* some bricks are said to have been dug up, that were thus inscribed: COH. IIII. BRE^a. The word BRE is designed, I suppose, for the name of the cohort, or people of whom it consisted; for it is not usual to set the name of a town upon a brick, and it is too far south to be either *Bremenium* or *Bremetenracum*. I am apt to think it must have been *cohors quarta Bretonum*, for there was such a cohort, as appears from the *Notitia*; and I find the name *Brittonum* upon an imperfect altar in *Scotland*^b, which I believe has been *cohors quarta Bretonum* or *Brittonum*, tho' the upper part of the Stone is broken off, and the former part of the inscription lost^c.

AT *Brugh* near *Bainbridge*, and about a mile from *Askrigg*, were found the two following inscriptions, the originals whereof I believe are now lost; for I could hear nothing of them when I was there, tho' I enquired carefully after them. These copies are in *Cambden*^a, who says the first was in a very fair character, with a winged *Victory* supporting it; and conjectures from the inscription, that the ancient name of this fort was *Bracchium*; that it had been first built with turf, and now with stone by the sixth cohort of the *Nervians* in garrison here; and that the name of *Geta* had been designedly erased.

Brugh near Bainbridge.

See Woodford's Hist. Brit. Is. correctly 2000.

IMP CÆS. L. SEPTIMIO	<i>Imperator</i>	<i>Caesari</i>	<i>Lucio</i>	<i>Septimio</i>
PIO PERTINACI AVGV...		<i>pio</i>	<i>Pertinaci</i>	<i>Augusto</i> [et]
IMP CÆSARI. M. AVRELIO. A....	<i>Imperator</i>	<i>Caesari</i>	<i>Marco</i>	<i>Aurelio</i>
PIO FELICI AVGVSTO ...		<i>pio</i>	<i>felici</i>	<i>Augusto</i>

BRACCHIO CÆMENTICIVM	<i>Bracchio caementicium</i>	<i>cohors</i>
VI NERVIVM SVB CVRA L A	<i>sexta Nerviorum</i>	<i>sub cura</i>
SENECION AMPLISSIMI	<i>Senecionis amplissimi</i>	
OPERI L. VI SPIVS PRÆ ...	<i>operi</i>	<i>Lucius Vispius</i>
... LEGIO ...		<i>legionis</i>

Caementicium here is for *opus caementicium*, and signifies the matter of which the work was made.

THE other inscription which follows, *Cambden* says was in his time at *Nappa* (which is two or three miles from *Brugh*) but was defaced before he saw it.

CÆSARI AVGVSTO
MARCI AVRELII FILIO
.....
SEN IONIS AMPLISSIMI
VENTS PIVS.

The third visible line in this inscription is plainly the same with the seventh in the former, and the fourth is ill copied, as *Cambden* observes. But the greatest curiosity is, that this inscription was found under the statue of *Commodus* in the habit of *Hercules*, with a club in his right hand. I was much pleased with the sight of the *Roman* fort at *Brugh*, but should have been

^a *Cambden*, p. 852.
^b N. xx.

^c See *Northumberland* N. LXXVI.
^d Pag. 919.

been much more so, if I could have recovered these inscriptions. The fort is upon a hill between the *Ure* and another small river, and near their confluence, a situation which I have observed to be the most frequent of any.

Brugh on the
Humber.

Fragment is cast
in plate from
with the letters -
it is 7 inches -
wide, and was given
by the worthy person,
Warburton Esq. Somers-
et.

XIX. THIS fragment was found at *Brugh* on the *Humber*, and is now in the possession of Mr. *Warburton*. Perhaps *Brexarum* has been the *Roman* name of this place. Mr. *Ward* thinks "this inscription may be read, *Bretorum exarchus*. The word *exarchus* in later writers signifies both a civil and ecclesiastic governour; but there is one inscription in *Gruter*, wherein it seems to denote a military officer, by being joined with *signifer*". The inscription is this:

D M
AVRELIO. IANVARIO. SIGNIF
EX. NVMER. DALMAT. FORT. ET
AVRELIO. VALENTINIANO. EXARCHO
POSVIT. AVREL. IVSTVS. PATER.

"The last sense of the word *exarchus* suits best with this inscription."

I know of no other originals on the east side of *Watling street* in *Yorkshire*. We have the copy of one in Dr. *Gale's Antonini Itinerarium*^a, said to have been found at *Eastness* in *Rhydale* near *Patrington*.

TITIA' PINTA' VIXIT' ANN' XXXVIII'	Titiae Pintae vixit annos triginta octo
ET' VAL' ADIVTORI' VIXIT' ANN' XX'	et Valerio Adjutori vixit annos viginti
ET' VARIOLO' VIXIT' ANN' XV' VAL'	et Variola vixit annos quindecim
VINDICIANVS' CONIVGI' ET' FILIIS'	Vindicianus coniugi et filiis
F. C.	faciendum curavit.

The points in the form of a comma at the top of the letters are very remarkable and singular.

C H E S H I R E.

CHESTER is the only place in *Cheshire* that furnishes any *Roman* inscriptions, whose originals are yet extant. Of those which remain, one is now at *Oxford* among the *Arundelian marbles*, and another at *Leeds* in the late Mr. *Thoresby's* collection. The rest continue at *Chester*.

chester.

I. IT is well known that the twentieth legion had their stated quarters at *Chester*. Several bricks have been found here with the name of this legion impressed on them, tho' of all that have been discovered I could only, when I took my tour that way, meet with these two originals, one in Mr. *Thoresby's* collection, presented to him by the late Mr. *Prescot*, and the other in that of the reverend Mr. *Prescot*, one of the prebendaries at *Chester*; but neither of them intire. Some other pieces have been discovered since I was there, which I shall describe afterwards.

II. UNDER this number are represented the inscription and several views of a very curious altar, which [was found in *Forest street* in the city of *Chester*, in the year 1653. I saw a manuscript in the hands of Dr. *Hall* of *Chester*, giving a particular account of this monument, wrote just at the time when it was first discovered. This altar,] with a good collection of medals and other curiosities, are now in the possession of the reverend Mr. *Prescot*, the worthy son of the late learned Mr. *Prescot* of the same city. The inscription has been printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*^a and in *Cambden's Britannia*^d. If in some smaller things I read or understand it otherwise, I submit the difference to impartial judges, who may see the original. I think Dr. *Halley's* remark in the *Transactions* is very just, that the name in the fifth line has been *Longus* rather than *Longinus*, because there is not room for above two letters at most, and one can scarcely suppose that the father's name would be so much contracted, and the son's wrote at large. *Longus* is not altogether so common a name as *Longinus*, yet as *Longinus* is a derivative from it, it seems proper enough for the son of *Longus*. There is room only for one v at the end of the sixth line, so that it must have been xxv *vicecima victrix*, as before in number I. The last word in the seventh line has been read *Flavius* by some, but

^a Pag. dxviii. 7.

^b Pag. 26, 27.

^c N. 222.

^d Pag. 668.

but 'tis plainly an I that follows the F, the dot at the bottom being distinct and compleat, and consequently it can be nothing but *Filius*. I also imagine that ET is to be supplied at the beginning of this same line, for there is room for it, and the sense seems to require such a supply. The emperors, on whose account the altar was erected, were most probably *Diocletian* and *Maximian*; by the titles *domini nostri* join'd to *invictissimi*. The two persons who erected the altar were of *Samosata*, a city in *Syria*, where *Lucian* was born. On the back of the altar is represented a curtain* with a feston at the top. The palm-branches inclosing the globe may perhaps intimate the emperor's victory over the world, and have a reference to the title *invictissimi* in the inscription. On one side is a flower-pot, on the other a *Genius*, with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand. The face within the *thuribulum* or *focus* at the top of the altar is very peculiar, nor is it easy to determine whom it is designed to represent.† Some medals were also found near this altar. One of *Vespasian* with IMPER. CAES. VESP. AVG. COS. III. on the reverse a winged *Victory*, and VICTORIA AVGVSTI S. C. Another with this inscription: FL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. on the reverse a *Genius* with a *cornu copiae*, and the words GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. This I am apt to think was *Constantius Chlorus*, who was made *Caesar* by *Maximian*, and married his daughter, at the same time that *Galerius Maximianus* was made *Caesar* by *Diocletian*, and married to his daughter *Valeria*.

a The face is back of the a

III. THIS altar is now at *Oxford* among the *Arundelian* marbles, and so came to be first published by the great Mr. *Selden*, and since by Dr. *Prideaux*‡. The inscription is now almost effaced, only so much remains, as helps us to the shape and size of the letters. The third line, tho' faint, is discerned to be as here represented. I can't find that there is any farther knowledge of *Jupiter Tanarus* than what this inscription gives us. The account generally received is as follows; that 'tis a *British* name of this deity, the same as *Bportaios* among the *Greeks*, and *Tonans* among the *Latins*, that is, *Jupiter the Thunderer*; for *tanar* in the old *British* language signifies *thunder*. Dr. *Prideaux* reads the third line *praeses Guntiae*, which is approved by Dr. *Gale*§. But the N in PRAESENS is yet visible, and therefore I believe it to be another name of the person erecting this altar, that is, *Titus Eliupius Praesens*. *Guntia*,¶ as my friend Mr. *Ward* reads it, most probably denotes his town or country, which has been thought to be *Gwinedha* or *North Wales*; but his conjecture is what pleases me better; who observes, "that *Guntia* was the name of a town in *Vindelicia*, which the *Notitia* places under the governour of the province of *Rhaetia*‡. And it is usual to put the name in the ablative. *Galeria* is here the name of his tribe, which occurs several times in *Gruter*, and we have it again in a *Monmouthshire* inscription*." The letters PRI in the fourth line have been read *primipilus*, but perhaps they have been PRE or PRÆ for *praefectus*‡. There is a common *praefericulum* on one side of the altar, and an uncommon *patera* on the other. A piece of iron is now fixed upon the top of the altar within the *thuribulum*, on which I imagine something has been placed since the *Roman* times, as a cross is fixed upon another altar at *Corbridge*†.

b Sir James Ware upon this inscription gives to this name the same as recorded in the *Notitia* under the *Praefectus* of *Monmouth*, 1696. *Wardford* and cites *Ware*.

c With regard to the *praefericulum* & *patera*, and *Monmouth*, 1696. *Wardford* and *Ware* before 1100, in *Ware*.

BESIDES these inscriptions, Dr. *Gale*§ has given us this which follows:

DEAE
NYMPHAE
BRIG

And he concludes from hence, that *Chester* belonged to the *Brigantes*: but I can hear nothing of the original of this inscription; nor find either by whom, or whence it was first taken. It is taken notice of by *Selden*‡, and in the appendix to the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, from whence I suppose the doctor copied it‡.

IV.

d, *Ware* in *Ware*, pag. xi.

* See Observations on N. LXXXI. in Northumberland, pag. 235.

† Pag. 282.

‡ Ant. Itin. p. 53.

§ Praefectus militum Urbsensium Guntiae, Sect. 59.

• N. III.

† Northumberland, N. cv.

‡ Antonini Itin. p. 53.

§ Seldeni opera, vol. II. p. 1477.

¶ See the introduction to this book. pag. 179.

IV. THERE is an image of the goddess *Pallas* upon a rock in a field, on the south side of the river *Dee*, beyond the bridge, where according to tradition king *Edgar's* palace formerly stood. It is very much decayed, but I have here given a draught of it, as it now is. The *Diva armigera* appears in her usual warlike dress, and the owl, her bird, shews it self at the top of her quiver.

Figure is ill drawn.

V. MR. *PRESCOT* has also a small statue of stone found near the river. It has a *Phrygian* bonnet, and holds a torch, as is supposed, at each end. This image may represent either *Atys* or *Mithras*.^a If it be *Atys*, what he holds in his hand must be a thick staff bent at the end. If *Mithras*, it may perhaps express the rays of the meridian sun by its situation; or rather the sun after it has passed the meridian a little; for the torch manifestly declines, tho' not much. As *Atys* and *Mithras* both signify the sun, it is less material which of the two 'tis supposed to be. We have inscriptions in *Britain* *DEO MITRAE* and *SOLI INVICTO*, as I have shewn already.

*no doubt the solo
is theis cambrina
twins, at nomen
anier plun deis
is in fculptum.
m. 11. c. 69*

BESIDES these we have in *Cambden* an inscription or two upon some oblong pieces of lead.^b These were formerly at *Haulton castle*, near *War-rington*, in this county; but what is now become of 'em I know not. *Cambden's* words are, "While I was reviewing this work (*Haulton castle*) I heard from some credible persons, that there has been twenty pieces of lead dug up on this shore, of a square oblong form, and thus inscribed in the hollow of the upper part,

"IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GER. DE *Imperator Domitianus Augustus Germanicus de Ceangis*
"CEANG

"But in others,

"IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. *Imperatore Vespasiano septimum Tito imperatore quintum*
"COSS. *consulibus.*

*Does it appear to
be from time?*

Cambden gives us this account only from hearsay; so that I take these inscriptions to be of doubtful authority: which is rendered more so, by giving at one and the same time the title of *imperator* to *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and *Domitian*. As for the situation of the *Cangi*, I have treated already of that, and shall say nothing more to it here.

VI. THIS stone was found in *June* 1729, in digging a vault for a wine-cellar for Mr. *Dyson* in *Watergate* in *Chester*. The stone is said not to be of any kind that is found near this city, but is rather thought to be a kind of slate which comes from the *Isle of Man*, being of a bluish colour, about an inch and a half thick. The letters are well cut and clear, but the inscription imperfect. What remains of the stone is in three pieces. The two larger pieces join very close together, and this part is supposed to have been broken by the workmen when they discovered it. The lesser fragment does not tally so well. I wish I could hit upon any probable reading, but nothing as yet has offered that I can hope will be satisfactory to others, or that is so to my self. The inscription seems to be compleat at the beginning and at the top and bottom of what remains (excepting small flaws) and the deficiency is in the length. If the imperfect strokes of the A be certain, it must have been *numini Augusti* at the beginning; what has followed in the same line I am afraid must continue unknown, unless we can luckily find the remainder of the stone. *ALMAE* is an epithet frequently attributed by the poets to the goddesses, particularly to *Venus* and *Ceres*; but I remember it not in inscriptions, at least in none that are *British*: nor do I think it can belong to any goddess here, because tho' *numen Augusti* be common in inscriptions, yet where a god or goddess is joined, I think the creators of the monuments have always so much regard to decency, as to give the precedence to the deity. The empress
OR

^a Cumberland, N. xlviii, xxix.

^b Pag. 68o.

^c See Book I. ch. 11. p. 34.

or emperor's mother may have been conjoined with him in the inscription, and ALMAE belonged to her; but in this case too ALMAE is an uncommon, and perhaps would be a singular epithet. The two imperfect pieces of letters on the two different fragments of the stone would make a T when joined together; but the situation of the two pieces seem not to allow this conjunction, but rather to argue for their being the remains of two different letters. MAEC may stand for *Maecia* [tribu.] The person erecting a monument is often described from the tribe he belonged to, and we want not a parallel instance of this very tribe in a *Brito-Roman* inscription*. But then what AL should be at the beginning of the line will be hard to conjecture, unless it be the remainder of some name or word, the rest of which is lost with the other part of the stone. Some think that the third line is to be read *tribunus Aetiacae cohortis*: but CO seldom or never (as far as I remember) is put for *cohortis*; COH and CHO are common. Besides as there is no stop between the O and R, it may rather seem that COR belongs all to one word, which may either be the first letters of another name of the person, or the name of some office. *Aetiacae cohortis* I no where remember, but *Actius* is a *Roman* name, as well as one of the names of *Apollo*. NVS at the beginning of the third line may be the last syllable in *tribunus*, or perhaps a part of some other word. *Aetarius* or *aetuaris* is the name of an officer supposed to be somewhat of a scribe or clerk^b, and *cornicularius* is another name of an officer of much the same sort^c. Some sort of governours of provinces are also called *correctores*^d; but I dare not affirm, that in this inscription ACT. COR are designed to express any of these. It is not indeed unusual in inscriptions to express the several offices the person has bore; and this is usually done in a kind of gradation: but I can't say that has been the case here, no more than that COR stands for *Cornelia* [tribu] tho' there is both such a tribe, and such an abbreviation. The fourth line is entirely erased, and seems to have been designedly done with a chissel. It was not unusual to erase the names of persons out of inscriptions. *Cambden* observes it of *Geta* in one instance in *Britain*, and I have seen it my self in another in the county of *Northumberland*^e, where 'tis manifest that the name has been designedly struck out. We have also another stone with an inscription upon it found at *Elfdon* in the county of *Northumberland*, but now in the library at *Durham*, where the *propraetor's* name is designedly erased^f. From the remaining C in the inscription, and some other circumstances, I guessed *Calpurnius Agricola* to have been the name. If we could suppose the same name to be erased in this inscription, we might then determine the emperor to whom it belonged. But this is a very uncertain conjecture. The stone, as I have hinted, seems to be compleat at the top and bottom of what remains of it. The branch at the bottom has, as the learned Mr. *Prescot* rightly observes, been most probably set about the middle of the table; so that the one half is lost, and I doubt the loss is irrecoverable. The last line I am apt to think has been *ex voto faciendum* (or *faciundum*) *curavit*, or *curarunt*, according as we suppose one name or two to be contained in the former part of the inscription. One cannot be certain whether or no FACIENDVM has been at large or only FACIEND. However, it may help us to guess at the original length of the inscription, and I think favours Mr. *Prescot's* conjecture, that about the one half of it is lost. If we could read the second line *almae Cereri*, it might be beautifully illustrated by the poetic account and description of that goddess; but I have already propounded my objections against this, and I have no great heart to advance precarious doubtful conjectures which one lucky

fight

* See observations on Monmouthshire, after N. III.

^b Orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam seruntur, ut pro Q. Metello: quam non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab aetuariis exceptam, male subsequentibus verba dicentis,

quam ab ipso editam. Sueton. in vit. Jul. Caes. c. 55.

^c See observations on Northumberland, N. LXXVI. pag. 233. and LXIV^B pag. 229.

^d Eutrop. lib. ix. c. 13.

^e N. cix.

^f Northumberland, II. xcviII.

sight of the remainder of the stone may at once effectually confute. If one would give way to fancy, it might be easy to compleat the inscription, as thus :

NVMINI AVG OB REST
ALMAE CER TEMP MAG
NVS. ACT COR SVB CAL
AGRICOLA LEG AVG PR PR
EX VOTO FACIEND CVR

Dr. *Musgrave* in his *Geta Britannicus* says, that *Sabina* is frequently called *nova Ceres*^a. She was wife to *Hadrian*, as *Sabinia* was to *Gordian* the third.

VII. IN digging some vaults for Mr. Alderman *Bennet*, several *Roman* bricks were found not long ago, but few with inscriptions, and only one that was nearly compleat. This brick is about an inch thick ; it has a ledge turn'd up on each side about an inch broad, and raised an inch above the inner surface of the brick. The inscription is in the middle impressed in the usual manner, that is, raised letters on a depressed plane. This curious brick is in the possession of the reverend Mr. *Prescot*. Two fragments, which have both been inscribed with the name of the same twentieth legion, are in the possession of my learned and ingenious friend Dr. *Tilston*, to whom I am obliged for the account of these curiosities. The most remarkable circumstance of the inscriptions is the implication of the v^s and x^s, for I doubt not they are designed each of them for LEG. XX. V. V. tho' they seem to have somewhat redundant.

THERE are also some considerable remains of a *Roman* hypocaust yet to be seen. I have by the means of Dr. *Tilston* been favour'd with the following short account of it from the reverend Mr. *Stone* of this city. In *Bridge-street* on the south side the *Feather's-stairs*, adjoining to a cellar on the east, is a low room, the figure of which is a regular oblong. The roof is flat, and supported by several small pillars of stone about two foot high. Over each pillar is a *Roman* tile, near two foot square, and about three inches thick. Each of these tiles has a small hole or holes through it, about six inches distant from one another. The outer side of the tiles and holes is black, as if smok'd. The floor is of rough stone and cement.

DERBYSHIRE.

IN *Cambden's Britannia* we have the copy of an inscription found at or nigh *Hadden house*, a seat of the Duke of *Rutland*, near *Bakewell*. I could not hear of the original, but the copy is as follows^b :

DEO
MARTI
BRACIACAE
OSITTIVS
CÆCILIAN.
PRÆFECT.
TRO . . .

V. S.

The word in the last line but one of the inscription is imperfect, and I know not what it can have been. *Braciaca* seems to be the name of the place, where the altar was erected ; and the last v s is probably *votum solvit*.

L I N-

^a Nova Ceres Sabina passim appellatur. *Geta*. ^b Pag. 592.
Brit. p. 93.

L I N C O L N S H I R E.

I. *LINCOLNSHIRE* affords no inscriptions, except at *Lincoln* itself, and only one original is now remaining there, which has any legible letters. This stone is in the steeple of *St. Mary's* church, and faces the street; *Dr. Stukely* has publish'd the inscription, but without any reading or explication. There is no A in the word *Manibus*, unless we suppose it included in the M or N. I took *CARSSOVNAE* to be put for *CHARISSIMAE* by a blunder of the cutter. But *Mr. Ward* reads the four middle lines in the following manner: *Nominii Sacri Bruscfili civis Senonii et charissimae Vaniae conjugis*. "The capital city of the *Senones* in *Gaul* is by *Eutropius* called *Senoni*", from whence may come *Senonius*. The small o at the end of the fourth line may be only a stop; and *ANI* may be contained in one character in the fifth, as *AN* seems to be in the first, and *NI*, *RI*, in the second and fourth." *Quintia* was probably the daughter of the persons before mentioned, or the letters may be read *Quinti filii*. But as the bottom of the inscription is broken off, this must remain uncertain. The upper part of the stone is filled with a modern inscription very ill cut, which appears to be *Christian*, but is now scarce legible.

Lincoln.

NEWPORT gate is thought by *Dr. Stukely* to be *Roman*, as also a piece of a wall not far from it. The gate is truly curious and remarkable, as is also the military way, which appears in a magnificent manner for several miles together, as soon as you are got a little out of this gate.

DR. STUKELY mentions another inscription, which was dug up about the time, when he was there; but even then little of it could be seen or read, excepting what was sufficient to shew it had been sepulchral, namely:

D. M. *Diis Manibus*
VIX. ANN XXX *vixit annos triginta.*

I saw the stone when I was there myself, but was surprized to find it so much wasted since it was exposed to the weather. There is yet a visible stroke or two of a letter remaining, from whence it appears that the letters of the inscription have been of a prodigious size. This stone was found in a field behind the house, where the Lord *Hussey* was beheaded for rebellion in the reign of *Henry* the eighth, which house stands over against that of *John of Gaunt*.

M O N M O U T H S H I R E.

I HOPED to have met with several curious originals in *Monmouthshire*, but found with regret that all the old ones, mentioned in *Cambden*, are now lost; so that there remain not above two or three in this whole county, which I could by any means discover or hear of, and these are such as have been found since. At *Abergavenny* I had information of several *Roman* bricks found about the old castle, some of which had *LEG. II. AVG* impressed on them. The two ingenious physicians there had each of them, as they told me, one of those bricks, but they were lost before I came thither. *Dr. Roberts* obliged me with a sight of several *Roman* coins found probably at this place. A gold *Otho* was also found here. I was told likewise of a *Roman balneum* or sudatory, that was not very long ago to be seen at the castle, but is now filled up; tho' of this I was not so entirely satisfied. This, together with the military way, yet visible, renders it sufficiently clear, that there must have been a station here; and the course of the twelfth *iter* in the *Itinerary*, the distance, and affinity

* Lib. x. c. 7.

* Iter curios. p. 83, 84.

* Ibid. p. 85.

affinity of names, do all concur, to render it highly probable that it has been *Gobanium*.

Caerleon.

I. FROM *Abergavenny* to *Uske* are seven or eight long miles. The situation and shape of this latter town, lying in squares, together with some coins found there, favour its having been a *Roman* station; tho' at present there are no remains of it, and the *Roman* way is supposed to have gone, as the present road, by *Mamhiladd* to *Caerleon*, which is a short cut. But a lesser branch, as usual, may have gone off to this station at *Uske*, which is justly supposed to be the antient *Burrium*; from whence to *Caerleon* are six computed miles, which, considering the length of them, are sufficient to make nine *Roman* miles according to the *Itinerary*. The shortest way from *Abergavenny* to *Caerleon* is computed to be twelve or thirteen miles. Half way between *Uske* and *Caerleon*, at a place called *Tredynogg*, is this inscription. The stone was found near the foundation of the church, and, as I am informed, taken up by a grave-digger, being three foot under ground. It is now preserved in the church, and fixed in the wall near the font. *Cura agente* both here and in number III. is put for *curante*. We find several instances of the same construction in *Gruter*, but the more antient *Latin* writers use *curam* in this sense. This inscription is plain and distinct, and the letters well enough cut. *Amanda* is a proper name, which we meet with several times in *Gruter*.

II. AT *Caerleon* it self not one inscription remains, except what is here represented upon two pieces of bricks, which were in the hands of my landlord; one of which is so obscure, that I could not be sure whether it was LEG. AVG. OR LEG. II. AVG.

THIS town has been walled round, and had a castle belonging to it, but now all in ruins. There are some encampments near the town, among which is a large square one upon a rising ground about half a mile from it. But the station, I apprehend, has been near the water side, and the *Roman* town round about it; for remains of *Roman* antiquities are found on all sides, especially many bricks have been dug up, inscribed in the same manner with these. I saw a small brass image of *Jupiter* in the possession of one Mr. *Whitton*, which was found in building an house. The left hand was broken off, but the thunder was plain in the other.

III. THERE is a valuable collection of medals and other curiosities at Mr. *George's* in *Caerleon*, who also purchased this stone, and sent it to *London*, where I saw it at *Douglass's* coffee-house in *St. Martin's* lane. I found the whole inscription very fair and distinct in strong *Roman* capitals, tho' of different sizes. An ingenious gentleman in the *Philosophical Transactions* * supposes *Lugdunum* to be "a place standing upon a hill by the side of the " river *Lugg* now called *Luckton*, and that *Valerius* obtained some victory " here perpetuated by this inscription." But I rather take *Victor* for one of his names, and *Lugdunum* for the place of his birth, which I would suppose to be *Lyons* in *France* ^b, and not *Luckton* in *Wales*. The name of the place is here put in the genitive, tho' sometimes, I think generally, we have it in the ablative. *Galeria* is here the name of his tribe. We had it before in a *Cheshire* inscription ^c. We had *cura* for *curam* before ^d. This stone was found upon the bank of the river *Uske* about a quarter of a mile from *Caerleon*.

THESE are all the originals of any *Roman* inscriptions, that are to be met with in *Monmouthshire*: and there are few or none that are certain in *Wales*, though I saw at *Bangor*, and some other places, several sepulchral inscriptions

* N. 359.

^b Pliny enumerates the people belonging to Gallia Lugdunensis, Nat. Hist. Lib. iv. c. 18. And he seems to make it the same with Gallia Celtica:

Celtica eademque Lugdunensis, Ib. c. 17.

^c N. III.

^d N. I.

in *Latin*, but of a *Saxon* character. And I take those inscriptions in *Cambden*^a, which contain only the names of persons deceased in a very rude character, to be later than *Roman*, and therefore pass them by. But he has given us a centurial inscription or two belonging to this place^b:

>.VECILIANA. Centuria Veciliana.
VIII. Cohortis octavae.
 >.VALER. Centuria Valerii
 MAXSIMI. Maximi.

y) Woodforde
 ven in the fol
 /tion, but doe
 he took it, nor
 found.
 I.E.
 DIANA
 CRV A
 TIMO
 V S T

I was shewn the stone on which the former of these is said to have been cut, but there is not the least appearance of a letter upon it now. It is inserted in a wall near the church. No doubt these centuries and this eighth cohort have been of the *legio secunda Augusta*.

THERE is another inscription^c in *Cambden*, where he supposes a legion is mentioned, I reckon the same *legio secunda Augusta*:

T. FL. POSTVMIVS VARVS
 V. C. LEG. TEMPL. DIANÆ M AE
 RESTITVIT.^d

α This inseri
 in being, and
 a wall of a fo
 in Monmouth
 three miles
 and ten from
 is now much
 the words for
 from the don
 of 1511, are for
 This also was
 from D. Jan
 the Twelve
 who saw the
 of 1511. It
 22 October 11

He seems to have read it thus: *Titus Flavius Postumius Varus quintae cohortis legionis [secundae Augustae] templum Dianae restituit*. But doubtless *v. c.* *LEG* is for *vir clarissimus* (or *consularis*) *legatus*. As to what *Cambden* tells us of the statue of *Diana* found on a checquered pavement in a meadow adjoining, where some labourers were digging^e; I was shewn a house where I expected to see some remains of this work, but it was entirely demolished. Mr. *Rice* of *Caerleon* shewed me the street called *Templestreet*, leading towards *Arthur's round table*, as they call it, which he believed to be the spot on which *Diana's* temple had stood; but it now looks more like an artificial pond or receptacle for water, though entirely dry at present.

IT is very certain that the *legio secunda Augusta* was at this place, but there is no evidence of this before the end of *Severus's* reign, at which time we find it here by the following inscription:^f

PRO SALVTE
 AVGG. N.N.
 SEVERI ET ANTONI-
 NI ET GETAE CAES.
 P. SALTIVS P. F. MAE-
 CIA THALAMVS HADRI.
 PRAEF. LEG. II. AVG.
 C. VAMPEIANO ET
 LVCILIAN
 Pro salute
 Augustorum nostrorum
 Severi et Antoni-
 ni et Getae Caesaris
 Publius Saltienus Publii filius Mae-
 cia [tribu] Thalamus Hadrianus
 praefectus legionis secundae Augustae
 Caio Vampeiano et
 Luciliano [consulibus]

6 This inscrip
 yet stand at
 place as the
 tolerable, as
 agrees with
 thought, the
 GETAE CAES
 justly suppo
 supposing no
 defaced. For
 better as a bo
 R. L. Howie
 that there w
 at the same
 more which
 which is no

Cambden gives us this inscription from a votive altar^g, out of which the name of *Geta* (as he says) has been erased, yet so as that some shadows of the letters remain. According to the *Fasti* it should be *Claudius Pompeianus et Lollianus Avitus*, that is in the year 210. I don't find that in any *Roman* inscription in *Britain* *Geta* is stiled *Augustus*^h, unless it may have been in some of those, in which the name is erased; and then perhaps for this very reason it has been struck out.

7 Geta is not
 effigies, and
 m. eff. Had he
 like been ap
 it would have
 N N N

IN some inscriptions in *Gruter* (one of which is quoted and transcribed by the learned Dr. *Musgrave* in his *Geta Britannicus*ⁱ) *Geta* is stiled *imperator*, as well as his father *Severus*, and his brother *Antoninus Caracalla*. Upon some coins inscribed *ADVENTVS AVG.* he is titled *Caesar*, in others with the same *epigraphe* he is called *imperator*. *Vaillant* supposes that the one sett have been struck upon his return from the east with his father and brother, the other

^a Pag. 739, 740, 746, 750, 769.
^b Pag. 719.
^c Pag. 719.
^d Pag. 718.
^e Pag. 720.
^f Pag. 26.

other upon his return from *Britain* after the death of his father, when he shared for a while the empire with his brother, or at least had the name of doing so. Dr. *Musgrave* opposes these inscriptions in *Gruter* to the opinion of the learned *Vaillant*. But this incomparable antiquary's conjecture is certainly very rational and ingenious. And since *Geta* is only called *Caesar* in several inscriptions and coins, if we also suppose him to be called *imperator* in others (and at the same time too) I would rather suspect an excess of compliment in the one, than any omission or defect in the other (if we take it for granted that the copies are exact and correct) especially since we have no express account in the best historians of *Geta's* being emperor before the death of his father; though *Cambden* and others say he was made *Augustus* by *Severus* when they came into *Britain*. The case is plain with respect to *Caracalla* both from the historians and inscriptions too. According to *Spartian* he was made an associate of the empire when thirteen years old^a. But as for *Geta* I think it evident that he is called *Caesar* only in some *Brito-Roman* inscriptions, even after his coming into *Britain*. This may easily be concluded from what I have said concerning the chronology, and particularly the time of building *Severus's* wall. I see that I differ in several things from the learned Dr. *Musgrave* in his *Severianae Domus Aug. Synopf. Chronol.* But these are things about which a variety of opinions is to be expected, and full liberty of judging must be allowed.

THIS next Mr. *Cambden* tells us was upon the fragment of a very fine altar^b. α,

IMP.	<i>Imperator</i>
M AVRELIO	<i>Marco Aurelio</i>
ANTONINO	<i>Antonino</i>
AVC	<i>Augusto</i>
SEVERI. LVCII	<i>Severi Lucii</i>
FILIO	<i>filio</i>
LEC. II. VVG. P.	<i>legio secunda Augusta posuit.</i>

The c in *Aug.* and the other in *leg.* as also the former v in the last line are plainly errors either in the artist or the transcriber. The placing *Lucius* after *Severus* may create some difficulty in the inscription, yet such transpositions are found in other inscriptions^c. If this has been rightly transcribed, it cannot be applied to any other person than *Caracalla* the son of *Severus*.

THIS was also upon the fragment of an altar, as we are told by *Cambden*^d:

ISVS. CL
IILIVS. Q.I
HATERIANVS
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.
PROVINC. CILIC.

There is nothing observable in it, but the name of *Haterianus*, who was the *legatus Augustalis* and *propraetor* of the province of *Cilicia*.

THIS remarkable inscription is also in *Cambden*^e.

IOVI. O. M. DOLICHV
I. . ONI. °. AEMILIANVS
CALPURNIVS
RVFILIANVS . . EC
AVGVSTORVM
MONITV.

^a Ob hoc etiam filium ejus Bassianum Antoninum, qui Caesar appellatus jam fuerat, annum decimum tertium agentem, participem imperii dixerunt milites. *Spartian. in Sever. Herodian* *blows as the same thing lib. III. §. 34. with which*

the inscriptions agree.

^b Pag. 720.

^c See *Observations Cumberl. N. XLVI. pag. 270.*

^d Pag. 718.

^e Pag. 721.

It is thus read in *Cambden*: *Jovi optimo maximo Dolicheno Junoni optimae Aemilianus Calpurnius Rufilianus fecit Augustorum monitu*. The letter at the end of the first line seems to be part of an N, the other stroke being lost in the breach of the altar; as also the E that might be joined to the back of the H as usual. The explication of *Jupiter Dolichenus* has been given already^a. The number of medals of the later emperors and of both the *Valentinians*, that were found here, shew it was late before the *Romans* quitted this place.

THERE are two inscriptions in *Cambden*^b belonging to *Cardiganshire*, that look very like those of the common centurial kind. The one, which has remarkable stops like comma's^c, seems to read *Centuriae Artii Marcus Ennius Primus*, the other *Centuria Verionii*. There is another in *Pembrokeshire* which seems to read *Vitaliani emeriti*^d. Perhaps the mark for the century has been omitted, or else DM if we suppose it to be pagan and sepulchral. The same may be said of another^e, which, as there represented, reads *Safrani filii Cunotami*. But it is not worth while to enlarge on these.

Wales.

G L O C E S T E R S H I R E.

THIS inscription is at *Circester*. I shall only transcribe Dr. *Stukely's* account of it^f. "At *Circester*, in the house of one Mr. *Isaac Tibbot*, in " *Castle street* is to be seen the following monument. The height of the " letters equal to four inches. It was found at a place half a mile west of " the town, upon the north side of the *Fosse* road, called *Quern*, from the " quarries of stone thereabouts. Five such stones lay flat ways upon two " walls in a row, end to end, and underneath were the corpses of that family, " as we may suppose. He keeps *Julia Casta's* skull in his summer-house, " but people have stole all her teeth out for amulets against the ague. Another " of the stones serves for a table in his garden. 'Tis handsomely square, five " foot long, and three and a half broad, without an inscription. Another " of them is laid for a bridge over a kennel near the cross in *Castle street*. " There were but two of them which had inscriptions; the other inscription " perished, being unluckily exposed to the wet in a frosty season."

Circester.

S O M E R S E T S H I R E.

I. THIS stone is now placed at the end of the cathedral at *Bath*. The inscription has employed the learning and skill of some of our best antiquaries. The learned *Dodwell* has writ some critical notes, and Dr. *Musgrave* a large comment upon it, both in *Latin*, and Mr. *Hearne* some remarks in *English*^g. I shall give the substance of what they have said, together with some few observations of my own. This stone was thrown up and discovered in *October* 1708, in repairing the high road called the *Fosse*, at a village named *Walcote*, about a mile north-east from *Bath*. It is a funeral monument erected for one *Julius Vitalis*, who is farther described from his trade or business, the legion in which he had served, and the country to which he belonged. The name *Vitalis* is not uncommon. *Varius Vitalis* is named upon an inscription in *Yorkshire*^h; and I was pleased to find the very name *Julius Vitalis* in a centurial inscription, I discovered at *Drawdikes* near *Carlisle*ⁱ. That *Julius Vitalis* was a centurion in a praetorian cohort, and, as I believe, in the time of the emperor *Severus*; but of this *Julius Vitalis* nothing more is known, but what we are informed of by the inscription: and there is no room to think

Bath.

^a Northumberland N. vii. pag. 209.

^b Pag. 769.

^c See the like at the end of the Observations on Yorkshire. pag. 314.

^d Pag. 762.

^e Pag. 763.

^f Iter. curios. p. 63.

^g Subjoined to the life of Aelfred the Great.

^h N. v. in the Observations. pag. 307.

ⁱ Cumberland N. xxxviii.

think that the person, as well as the name, is the same in both inscriptions; for had this been an officer, doubtless it would have been mentioned. This *Julius Vitalis* is here stiled *fabriciesis* for *fabricensis*. Both the *i* is added, and the *n* omitted for the softer and smoother pronunciation, of which many instances are given by Dr. *Musgrave* and others. Mr. *Hearne* conjectures *ci* may possibly have been designed for *g*, the letters *g* and *c* being often changed one for the other; and that the word may be *fabrigesis* for *fabrigensis*. But he mentions this no otherwise, than as an uncertain conjecture. The *n* is in some words often omitted or added at pleasure, as in *conjunx conjux* or *cojux*, for we see it all the three ways in inscriptions. The excellent Mr. *Gale* observes and proves in the *Philosophical Transactions*^a, “that the letter *n* is “oft silent in the middle of a word, especially before *s* and *r*, when the *r* “is pronounced like an *s*,” and is of opinion, that *conlapsa* (as this word is often wrote in inscriptions) was pronounced as *collapsa*. And since the workmen were apt enough to write their words as they spoke or pronounced them, it is no wonder that a letter silent in pronunciation should be omitted in writing or cutting. However it is certain that there is no *n* in this word nor any transverse stroke at the top instead of it. The word *COLEGIO* has only a single *L*. But in inscriptions a single *L* is used in several words instead of a double one^b. It is also supposed that there is a *c* instead of a *g*, as if it was *Colecio*: but the *g* and *i* are connected, and the *i* put in the bosom of the *g*. For the better understanding the account given here of *Julius Vitalis*, it must be observed, that the legions had their particular *fabri*, who were employed in preparing arms and military instruments for the soldiers; that besides these, there were others in their towns; that these *fabri* were in later times called *fabricenses*; that their workhouse was called *officina* or *fabbrica*; and that *collegium fabricae* or *fabricensium* was the company or body of these artificers. These shops or work-houses they had also in their stations and camps, as well as in their towns; but these latter being more fixed, the work was carried to a greater perfection there, and the work-houses or *fabricae* (sometimes called *sacrae*) were more large and considerable, and the *collegia* also were here. The more considerable *fabricae* were erected at the publick expence, and the work not confined to the use of any particular legion; and the company of the *fabri* there employed were endowed with several privileges. Dr. *Musgrave* is inclinable to read *ex collegio fabricensium*. But such an abbreviation is not common, and a single *e* is frequently used instead of a diphthong. Besides *elatus ex* suits better with a place, if the word *collegium* does not; though indeed 'tis not common to express by the same words both the persons, and the places which they use or inhabit. The *Notitia* mentions several *fabricae*, but takes no notice of this. Dr. *Musgrave* thinks the *Notitia* was wrote about the year 451, and that the *Romans* had then quitted this island, so that it is absurd to expect any mention of this *fabrica* in the *Notitia*. But I shall shew in another place that the *Notitia* was wrote rather sooner^c, and beyond all doubt before the *Romans* had abandoned the island; or else how should it give us so distinct an account of two *Roman* legions, and so many *Roman* garrisons in it? Yet the western part of *England* seems at that time to have been left by them, for the *Notitia* mentions no garrisons there, and so no wonder if this *fabrica* be also omitted. And this legion is the only one of the three (that were towards the later empire in *Britain*) which is not mentioned in the *Notitia*. Dr. *Musgrave* farther observes, that the word *fabricensis* was late introduced; and from thence concludes, that this inscription in all probability was not erected till about the middle of the fifth century. And indeed every thing about it seems to fix it to the lower empire, though perhaps not altogether so late as this. He supposes also that *Julius Vitalis* was more than an ordinary *faber*; perhaps the prefect: and so *fabricensis* I find, is rendered by some; but I believe without

^a N. 357.^c Book III.^b See *Musgrav. Comment.* p. 128.

without any good authority. Besides, the post of *praefectus fabricae* seems too considerable for a common soldier, nor does it appear that this person was any thing more, and it is well known there were some of all trades among the *Roman* soldiers. As for his country, it is generally supposed to be *Britain*: *NATIONE BELGA*, that is, *Belga-Britannus*. The *Bath* itself was in the country of the *Belgae*, which together with the bare mention of *Belga* without any addition, may make it the more probable that he really was of this country. “ ’Tis true, as the doctor observes, he was a legionary “ soldier, and they were *cives Romani*; but this is no objection to his being “ a *Briton*, for ’tis well known how far that name and privilege was extended “ at last.” Dr. *Wynter* in his late treatise of bathing^b is of opinion, that the *fabrica* or work-house was not here but in *Wales*. What this ingenious gentleman observes concerning the mines in *Wales*, and how improper it must be to have a *fabrica* in a place designed for health, as the *Bath*, is plausible, and deserves some regard. Dr. *Stukeley*^c says, that in the fifth line it is not *ix* but *vix* for *vixit*; but no such thing appeared to me upon an impartial view of the original, nor indeed will the sense and construction admit of this reading. According to Dr. *Musgrave* four military ways meet and intersect at the *Bath*. Near to these was *Julius Vitalis* buried, and at a small distance from the town. It is usual upon funeral stones to see some ornaments besides the inscription; and frequently herbs, flowers, or garlands are cut out upon the top, or some other proper part of the monument. Dr. *Musgrave* takes these in the pediment here to be the *flower de luce*; and he is of opinion that it is a globe, which is set between the flowers, to signify the frailty of all mankind, who dwell upon this globe. But others think it is designed for an urn; and so I took it to be, when I saw the original.

BEFORE I dismiss this inscription, I shall add the remarks of my learned friend Mr. *Ward*: “ The two principal difficulties in this inscription seem to “ lie in the word *FABRICIENSIS*, and the expression *EX COLLEGIO FABRICAE* “ *ELATVS*. But the former of these may, I think, be very well accounted “ for from the observation of Mr. *Gale*, that *N* before *S* was often silent. “ For then it is only supposing that the workman spelt the word, as he sounded “ it, and he would be led naturally enough to place an *I* before *E*, and leave “ out the *N*. This must not only have been frequently the case with illiterate “ persons among the *Romans*, as we find it is with us; but there were those “ among them who pleaded for it, and *Augustus Caesar* chose that way of “ writing, as we learn from *Suetonius*^d. An attendance to this may perhaps “ give us reason to suppose, that some superfluous and other deficient letters, “ and the change of one letter for another, which occur in other inscriptions, “ might not be occasioned so much from inadvertency in the workmen, as “ their endeavouring to spell as they pronounced, whether through ignorance “ or choice. The latter difficulty appears to me much greater, as the words “ have hitherto been read by all our antiquaries. For *collegium*, as I apprehend, never signifies a place, but is always applied to persons; and if so, *ex* “ *collegio* here cannot denote the place from whence he was buried.^a And if “ it be taken for the body or company of these artificers, the construction of “ the words *ex collegio* in this sense will perhaps be as new and singular. I “ cannot therefore but suspect it should be read *ex collecto fabricae*, and that “ the fifth and sixth letters are *CT* not *GI*. The sense then will be, as we “ should express it in *English*, by a contribution of the smithy or smiths. We “ find

^a In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex constitutione Imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt. Ulpian. ff. Lib. 1. tit. 5. l. 17.

^b Pag. 13.

^c *Iun. curiosum*, pag. 140.

^d Orthographiam, id est, formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit; ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum, ac loquamur, existiment. Nam quod saepe non literas modo, sed syllabas aut permutat, aut praeterit, communis hominum error est. In vit. c. 88.

as since this was found that Mr. had made the name in a list. Musgrave, with the house of the But no person no son, V. 1. p. 173.

have been observed before in other inscriptions. The following is Mr. Ward's remark.

" I AM inclined to think the daughter's names here are *Succiae Petroniae* ;
 " the father's, *Valerius Petronius . . . mulus* or *. . . niulus* ; and the mother's, *Tuētia*
 " or *Tuccia Sabina*. Of these *Petronius* is the family name, and therefore
 " given to the daughter. The character at the beginning of it contains four
 " letters PETR, of which there are other instances^a. The names *Tuccia* and
 " *Sabina* are both found more than once in *Gruter*. The T at the beginning
 " of the word *Tuētia* is to be twice read, as L in the *Middlesex* inscription ;
 " the T has been added after the V to accommodate the spelling to the pro-
 " nunciation in prolonging the sound ; and nothing was more common
 " than the promiscuous use of C and T in the same word^b. I cannot but
 " fancy therefore that the daughter's name was taken from the mother's, a
 " little softened by substituting S for T, a thing not uncommon, as we learn
 " from *Quintilian*^c ; and in this case suited to that natural fondness in pa-
 " rents for their children, which the *Greeks* seem to have happily expressed
 " by the word *ὑποκορισμός*. The V in *Succia* is larger than the following
 " letters, very probably to give it the same force as VI in *Tuētia* by lengthen-
 " ing the sound, which was a thing very usual."^d

a) Woodford, p. 1.
 reads ANN IIII an
 after Camdon's
 But in the last
 Camdon it is AN
 D XX, as here.

At each end of this there is now fixed another stone with a figure upon it. They are three distinct stones, and don't appear to have been ever united. One of these figures is a *Victory* with a palm branch in her left hand, and a *corona* in her right ; the other, as Dr. *Stukeley* thinks, has a *cornucopiae* in her left hand : but I am persuaded they have no reference to the inscription near which they are now placed.

V. IN this inscription the small Q between the X and VI in the second line must I think be for *que* instead of *et*, and connect the two numbers LXXX and VI. Though this be odd, yet it wants not a parallel instance^e. The flaw in the stone between the O and N in the first line is not quite through the stone, and has been prior to the inscription, as appears by the division of the word *coloniae*. A *decurio* is either a senator in a colony or a commander of ten horse in the army. The former sense seems better to suit our inscription.

VI. THIS head is thought to have been broken off from a statue or bust, the neck of it being uneven and rugged. It was found July 1727 in *Stall-street* at the *Bath*, having (before it was dug up) been buried sixteen foot under ground. Some part of the gilding continues very fresh, and it is yet a very beautiful and elegant figure. It now stands in the town-hall at the *Bath*, and beside it are preserved in a box some coins, that were found at the same time, but none of them as I remember were very curious or valuable. They were of *Marcus Aurelius*, *Maximinus*, *Maximian*, *Diocletian*, *Constantine*, and some other emperors. This copy was taken from a drawing of *Roger Gale Esq*, made by Mr. *Gordon* from one of Mr. *Goffett's* casts, and finely engraven by Mr. *Vertue*, by order and at the expence of the *Society of Antiquaries*. 'Tis here reduced one third less than the original. Whether we should call it the head of *Pallas* or *Apollo* (though both the place where it was found, and the air of the face, seem to favour the latter) 'tis not for me to say ; since that learned body, who first published it, have not thought fit to determine this. The holes yet remaining in the upper part seem plainly to shew, that something has formerly been fixed to the head.

VII.

^a See Notumb. xci. Middlesex i. and the table of ligatures.

^b See Daufquius Orthograph. Lat.

^c Inst. Orat. L. 1. c. 4.

^d See Cumberland N. LXXIV.

^e See before. p. 206, 207.

VII. THIS inscription is in very large characters; but now so imperfect, that nothing certain can be said of it.

VIII. THERE are only a few traces of letters left upon this stone, and those very, obscure. Perhaps some of the imperfect inscriptions already published were taken from it; as those in Dr. *Guidot's Discourse* of the *Bath*^a:

VRN

IOP

And this^α:

III. VS. SA

IS. VX. SC

Nothing can be gathered from such imperfect words: but as all the inscriptions at *Bath*, which are perfect, appear to be sepulchral, 'tis probable the rest were so likewise; and that both the officers and soldiers might in those times use the water for their health, and many of them end their lives there, when the body of the legion was at a distance.

IX. THIS sculpture is fixed at the end of the cathedral, near the inscription of *Julius Vitalis*. It has been taken for *Geta*; though, I think, without sufficient reason. Dr. *Stukely* more justly supposes it to be only a sepulchral monument for some horseman; and both the nature and figure of the stone, as well as his bearing a shield, seem more suitable to this opinion; which is also confirmed by the flowers and pediment at the top, and by its being found in the *Roman* burying place.

THERE is also a large head upon a stone in the same wall, and a bust, which I take to have been sepulchral, on the outside of the wall; as also some figures of *Hercules*: but all these are now quite demolished. I thought I discerned in one of them a skin hanging over the arm.

DR. *WYNTER*^b is of opinion "that what Mr. *Cambden* calls something " of an antient image of *Hercules* grasping a serpent in his hand, was the " local *Hercules* with the reed in his hand, his proper ensign, as tutelar deity " of waters: and farther, that his *Ophiuchus* enfolded by a serpent between " the west and south gate, was the figure of the Greek *Aesculapius* very pro- " per for this place. Dr. *Guidot* (says our author) has given a cut of them " from his own imagination, whom Dr. *Musgrave* has followed implicitly."

DR. *GUIDOT* mentions a sepulchral inscription found at *Walcot*, a parish adjoining to the *Bath*. According to him^c it is thus:

VIBIA IVCVNDA

H. S. E.

But I know nothing more of this monument; nor will I be positive, that it is not the same with some of the defaced stones already described.

X. THIS inscription is upon a piece of lead weighing about fifty pound, in the library of the right honourable the Lord Viscount *Weymouth* at *Longleat*, about four miles from *Frome*. It was found in the Lord *Fitzharding's* grounds near *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*. It may be compared with other inscriptions on lead, which have been found in *Britain*, one in *Cheshire*, and another in a cave near *Mendop* hills in this county. This latter I presume is lost, and therefore we must rest contented with the copy we have of the inscription in *Cambden*^d, who supposes it to have been a trophy:

TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M.

TRIB. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN.

A

It

^a Pag. 70, 71.^b *Treatise of Bathing*. p. 10, 11.^c Pag. 72.^d Pag. 83.

It is explained by an antient coin, the inscription whereof is nearly the same; and perhaps it was copied from thence upon the lead.

XI. THIS uncommon head was found in or near the city of *Bath*, and presented to the late Dr. *Musgrave*, and is now in his son's possession. The doctor called it *Andromache Britanno-Belgica*, from the dress, in allusion to that passage in *Juvenal*.

*Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Aedificat caput, Andromachen a fronte videbis;
Post minor est, credas aliam*.*

He has given a very learned and ingenious dissertation upon it in the first volume of his *Belgium Britannicum*, from whence this draught is taken^b. He tells us, that it is made of a spongy stone, such as is found in that neighbourhood; and that such like ornaments of the head are very rare in statues, though usual on coins. The doctor observes also that this fashion of raised head-dresses appears first in coins in the reign of *Nero*, and increased gradually till *Trajan's* time, but ceased again in the following reign of *Hadrian*; from whence he conjectures, that this bust might be made, when *Julius Agricola* commanded in *Britain*. He has given a coin of the empress *Plotina* wife of *Trajan*, with a raised ornament upon her head, though of a different form from this. The doctor supposes, that this was the head of a statue intended to adorn some garden or *atrium*, or perhaps some military way^c. But Dr. *Stukely* more probably thinks, from the bulk of the head, that it has been set up upon some palace or temple^d. This gentleman says, the manner of carving is not despicable, and that the graver has not done it justice; but I had no opportunity of viewing the original, and therefore shall only add farther from Dr. *Stukely*, that it is twenty one inches from the top of the attire to the chin.

W I L T S H I R E.

THIS most valuable piece of antiquity (truly surprizing) is now in the possession of my Lord *Hertford*, who justly presides over the society of *British* antiquaries, and whose merit is superior even to his high quality. Though the print of this antique cup was but in a few hands before, yet his Lordship, out of his great humanity, and strict regard to good letters, readily consented to have it inserted in this collection, and favoured me with a sight of the original. The bottom of this cup is broken off from it, but is yet also in his Lordship's possession. It is not easy to offer a plausible conjecture concerning the use of this cup, and the meaning of the inscription upon it. Some uncertain guesses offered themselves to me, but none of them so satisfactory as that of the excellent Mr. *Gale*, which he was so obliging as to impart to me in a letter. If the shape and smallness of it prove not a strong objection against its having been a *patera*, I have little hopes of ever finding a more ingenious and promising conjecture, than that of this incomparable antiquary; though it may perhaps receive some little additional strength from what is observed afterwards. This gentleman then supposes it may have been a *patera*, used in libations by the people of those towns that are mentioned upon it. Sacrifices were generally offered by the antients, when they met together upon any solemn occasion; sometimes even when they were assembled only for mirth and feasting, as is evident from many passages, which mention this custom among them. Why then might there not be an alliance or society formed among these five neighbouring places, and perhaps a feast annually, or more frequently

* Sat. vi. vers. 501.

^b Belg. Brit. Tom. I. p. 112.

^c Ibid. p. 217, &c.

^d Itin. curios. p. 149.

frequently observed by them, when they jointly made their libations out of one common *patera* inscribed with all their names, as a token of their friendship and unanimity?

*Post iidem inter se, posito certamine, reges
Armati, Jovis ante aras, paterasque tenentes
Stabant, et caesa jungebant foedera porca*^a.

Here indeed each king seems to have had his own *patera*, whereas in the other case it is suppos'd, that one and the same *patera* was common to several places. The gentleman however would therefore have the inscription read, *A Mais, Aballava, Uxelodumo, Amboglanis, Banna*; supposing all the names to be in the *ablative* governed of the preposition *a*, and that the *c* before *Amboglanis* has been designed for an *o*, and is to be joined to *Uxelodum* which therefore makes it *Uxelodumo*. If we consider what has been said before concerning the stations *per lineam valli*, and what I shall offer concerning the names and order of the same stations, as they occur in the anonymous *Ravennas*; perhaps some further light may be derived from thence to this learned conjecture. For it will appear, that these five places were next to each other, and all of them upon that part of the wall, where probably the inroads were most frequently made; and consequently where the greater danger might make it more necessary, for the several garrisons to enter into a stricter confederacy for their mutual strength and relief. According to tradition, the northern inhabitants broke through a part of the wall near one of these stations; and the parts hereabout, as I have shewn on another occasion, seem to have been the principal seat of the war. The enemies country here was stretched out the farthest, and perhaps was the most populous; so that the part between the *Solway* frith, and the borders of the two counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, might on this account be more liable to an invasion than any other. And this is the very space on which stood the places, whose names are inscribed on this cup. But if this has been the use of the cup, and this the meaning of the inscription upon it; what has brought it from *Cumberland* to *Wiltshire*? For according to the account we have, it was found at *Rudge* about six miles east from *Marlborough*, where also some tessellated pavements, and other *Roman* monuments have been discovered. To this it may be answered, that so small a vessel might easily be transported from one part of the kingdom to another, even the most distant, and that on a thousand occasions, which it is needless to mention. The learned Baron *Clerk* supposes, that this *patera* may have been thrown into the well, where it was found, after some solemn libation. In those days wells were esteemed sacred, and sacrificing to them was common^b. But I know not, whether the antiquity of the well be sufficient to support this ingenious conjecture. The diameter at the bottom is about two inches or more, and the bottom seems to be thinner than the rest of the cup; the foliage on the cup required it to be thicker. I once thought it might have been some way fixed to the top of an *hasta* or military ensign. Somewhat like this does sometimes appear (if I am not mistaken) on the *Roman vexilla*. If this could be admitted, we need only suppose, that the cohort, to which this ensign belonged, had been in garrison, and perhaps behaved themselves well at the several places, whose names are inscribed round this ornament; such a matter of fact would be a sufficient ground for this inscription. The cup is of some kind of brass, and perhaps of the same with that, which the heads of the *Roman hastae* are usually found to consist of. It is a little surprising, that the name *Banna* on this cup should be exactly the same, with what is in the anonymous *Ravennas*; though that name occurs no where else, and the place intended by it be most probably the same, that is called *Petrianæ* in the *Notitia*, as I have shewn in another place. This and the omission of *Congavata* (or *Stanwicks*) upon the cup, though that when built stood between *Aballaba* and *Axelodunum*, and is mentioned

^a Virgil. Aeneid. Lib. VIII. v. 640, &c.

^b Hor. Lib. III. od. 13. Senec. ep. 41.

^c Ἐς πηγάς, ὅτι τοὶ τῆμενος βαμὸς τοῦ θυμῆ.
Hom. II. 4. 148.

Mr. Stowley says
that Rudge is
the western limit
of the eastern limit
of the Roman
kingdom, and
is the same as
the Roman
kingdom.



H. G. 1803.

Vrma Lapidea.

Paris F. G. 1803.

March 1803. Thomas Brand Hollis Esq^r presented the monument represented in this print, together with the print to the British Museum.

Recd from M^r Gower 29 Septem 1780 — T. B. Hollis
The Doctor had it from a Blacksmiths where it held water

mentioned in the *Notitia* among the stations *per lineam valli*, looks as if the cup was more antient than the *Notitia*, and prior to the building of the station at *Stanwicks* near *Carlisle*. This I think is also more agreeable to the historical account of the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*; for I see no evidence of their having any garrisons or settlements in the west of *England* so late as the *Notitia*, and it is more probable that this vase, of what kind soever it be, has been left at the place, where it was discovered, by the *Romans* themselves, rather than any other.

E S S E X.

THOUGH the *Romans* seem to have frequented this county very much, and to have had numerous settlements in it, beside the famous colony of *Camulodunum*, yet I never heard of any original *Roman* inscription or sculpture (except the following) belonging to it. These monuments, as well as the military ways, are the most ruined in this county, of any I know, where they have been in all probability so many. I discovered this in my last return from *London*. It was lying neglected in the mill at *Chesterford*. I believe it to be sepulchral, and that it has contained three urns, answerable to the three busts that appear on the outside of it. But as there is not, nor ever has been, any inscription upon the stone; it is impossible to know who the deceased persons have been,

M I D D L E S E X.

I. THIS inscription is now at *Oxford* amongst the *Arundelian* marbles; for which reason it was published by Dr. *Prideaux*^a, and since by Dr. *Gale*. It was found at *Ludgate* in *London* in the year 1669^b. The image of the person deceased is in a nich below the inscription. The stone is of a coarse grit, rude and unpolished. "MEMORIAM is here put for *monumentum*; in which sense we likewise meet with it upon a stone in *Gruter*: SERVILIVS TROILVS SE VIVO COMPARAVIT MEMORIAM SIBI ET SVIS^c. And that the writers of the fourth century so used the word, is plain from a passage in *St. Augustin*^d. That *votum* is so put for the thing vowed, has been shewn before^e. The sculpture is now very much defaced, having been long exposed to the injuries of the weather and other accidents, insomuch that nothing remains of the head, but just the shape of it. But it is very strange that the same figure should be represented in so different a posture, as this has been by Dr. *Prideaux*^f and Dr. *Gale*^g. As Dr. *Prideaux*'s copy was taken first, and when the original was doubtless much more perfect than it is now, so it comes nearer to the present remains; for which reason I have here given it, as it is in him, excepting the upper garment, which does not fall so low upon the breast, as he has drawn it, but as it is here represented. And indeed it may be justly suspected, that the engraver has expressed every part of the figure better than it ever was in the original, and particularly that the hair was not so full, nor so handsomly turned, but rather as we see it in Dr. *Gale*. But as no certain judgement can now be made of this, I have rather chosen to take it as Dr. *Prideaux* has given it us, than to venture upon any alterations from meer conjecture.

S^r Phil. Skipton
May, June 1669
at Ludgate
near St. Dunstons
monumentum
plene.
D M
VIVIA MA
AND LEE
AND IANNI
MARINA CO
PIENTISIM
IT ME MO
In rodum lapidis
militis. Philoso
between 911th & 1000th
correspondence.

THERE is another inscription produced by the learned Dr. *Gale*^h, which is said to have been in the *Arundelian* gardens; but where it was found, or what

^a Marm. Oxon. p. 280.
^b See Gale's Anton. Itin. p. 68, &c.
^c Pag. DCCCXXVII. n. 8.
^d Non ob aliud vel *memoriae*, vel *monumenta* dicuntur ea, quae insignita sunt sepulcra mortuorum, nisi quia eos, qui viventium oculis subtrahunt, sunt, ne oblivione etiam cordibus subtrahantur, in memoriam revocant. De cura pro mort. c. 4.
^e Durham N. xv.
^f Marm. Oxon. p. 280.
^g Anton. Itin. p. 68.
^h Anton. Itin. p. 71.

what is now become of it, is uncertain. It is a question with me, whether it has belonged to *Britain* or not. However I shall transcribe it here, as the doctor has published it.

inscription is also published by Mabillon. shown by Mr. Stourne in his notes upon Newbriggensis, V. III. p. 266. But they all both in the reading and history.

C. CAECILIUS. C.
ET. D. L^a. FLORVS
VIXIT. ANNOS. XVI.
ET MENSIBVS. VII. QVI.
HIC. MIXERIT. AVT.
CACARIT. HABEAT.
DEOS. SVPEROS. ET
INFEROS. IRATOS.

H A M P S H I R E.

info. p. xxv. reads after Camden.
THIS is said in *Camden*^b to have been found at *Silchester* in *Hampshire*, and from thence removed to my Lord *Burleigh's* in *London*. It is now at *Conington*. *Tamphilus* is found among the *Roman* consular names^c.

S U S S E X.

THIS (which was found at *Chichester*) is a very curious inscription indeed, and the learned and ingenious explication of it, with which Mr. *Gale* has obliged the world, in the *Philosophical Transactions*^a, deserves to be fully transcribed, which I have accordingly done. I chose to take it from Dr. *Stukely*^b, that I might also add the doctor's own remarks. The doctor has it thus, addressing himself to the ingenious author of the account in the *Transactions*.

" IN the middle of *North-street* was dug up this memorable inscription,
" which I have printed in plate 49. To your explication of it nothing can be
" added. The reader and my self will be obliged to you for the leave you have
" given me here to insert it. It was happy we took great care in transcribing
" the letters, for since it has been in the possession of the Duke of *Richmond*,
" I hear a workman, who pretended to set the fragments together, has de-
" faced it.

An account of a Roman inscription found at Chichester,
By Roger Gale Esq;

" THIS inscription, as curious as any that has yet been discovered in
" *Britain*, was found the beginning of last *April* at *Chichester*, in
" digging a cellar under the corner-house of *St. Martin's-lane*, on the north
" side as it comes into *North-street*. It lay about four foot under ground,
" with the face upwards, by which it had the misfortune to receive a great
" deal of damage from the picks of the labourers, as they endeavoured to raise
" it; for besides the defacing of several letters, what was here disinterred of
" the stone was broke into four pieces: the other part of it, still wanting,
" is, in all probability, buried under the next house; and will not be brought
" to light, 'till that happens to be rebuilt. The inscription is cut upon a grey
" *Sussex* marble, the length of which was six *Roman* feet, as may be con-
" jectured by measuring it from the middle of the word *TEMPLVM* to that
" end of it which is entire, and is not altogether three foot *English*, from
" the

^a Call et Calae libertus.

^b Pag. 150.

^c See Fasti Consulares.

^a N. 379.

^b Itin. curios. p. 188.

“ the point mentioned, the breadth of it is two and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the same feet, the
 “ letters beautifully and exactly drawn ; those in the two first lines three inches
 “ long, and the rest 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

“ BEING at *Chichester* in *September* last with *Dr. Stukeley*, we took an
 “ accurate view of this marble; which is now fixed in the wall under a
 “ window within the house where it was found; and that we might be as
 “ sure of the true reading as possible, wherever the letters were defaced, we
 “ impressed a paper with a wet sponge into them, and by that means found
 “ those in the fifth line to have been as we have expressed them above, and
 “ not as in other copies that have been handed about of this inscription.

“ THE only letter wanting in the first line is an N before EPTVNO and so
 “ no difficulty in reading that. As to the second, though it was more usual
 “ in inscriptions of this nature to express the donation by the word SACRVM
 “ only, referring to the temple or altar dedicated; yet we have so many
 “ instances in *Gruter's corpus inscriptionum* of TEMPLVM and ARAM also cut
 “ on the stones, that there is not the least occasion to say any thing farther
 “ upon that point.

“ THE third line can be no other way filled up, than as I have done it by
 “ the pricked letters: I must own, however, that I have had some scruple
 “ about the phrase of DOMVS DIVINA, the same thing as DOMVS AVGVSTA,
 “ the imperial family, which I cannot say occurs, with any certainty of
 “ the time it was used in, before the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, from
 “ whom, down to *Constantine* the great, it is very frequently met with
 “ in inscriptions. This kept me some time in suspense, whether this
 “ found at *Chichester* could be of so early a date as the time of *Claudius* :
 “ but as we find several inscriptions in *Gruter* with those words in them,
 “ or I. H. D. D. in honorem domus divinae, which is much the same thing,
 “ without any mark of the time when they were cut, they may have been
 “ before the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, and then only came into more general
 “ use; and as the time that *Cogidunus* lived in, will not let this be of a later
 “ standing, I think we may offer it as an authority for the use of this piece
 “ of flattery to the emperors long before that excellent prince came to the
 “ purple.

“ THE fourth line, as I believe, was EX AVCTORITATE. TIB. CLAVD. and
 “ the fifth COGIDVBNI. R. LEG. &c. that is, *ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii*
 “ *Cogidubni regis, legati Augusti in Britannia*; for the following reasons.
 “ We are informed by *Tacitus in vita Agricolae, cap. 14.* that after *Britain*
 “ had been reduced to a Roman province by the successful arms of *Aulus*
 “ *Plautius*, and *Ostorius Scapula*, under the emperor *Claudius*, *Quaedam ci-*
 “ *uitates Cogiduno regi erant donatae, is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissi-*
 “ *mus remansit, vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine ut*
 “ *haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.* This *Cogidunus* seems to be the
 “ same person as *Cogidubnus* in our inscription, the letter B in the third syllable
 “ making little or no difference in the word, especially if pronounced soft,
 “ as it ought to be, like a V consonant.

“ IT is so well known to have been the custom of the *Roman liberti* and
 “ *clientes*, to take the names of their patrons and benefactors, that it would be
 “ wasting of time to prove the constant usage of that practice. Now as this
 “ *Cogidubnus*, who, in all probability, was a petty prince of that part of the
 “ *Dobuni* which had submitted to *Claudius*, and one that continued many
 “ years faithful to him and the *Romans* (*vid. Tacit. ut supra*) had given him
 “ the government of some part of the island by that emperor, nothing could

“ be more grateful in regard to *Claudius*, nor more honourable to himself,
 “ after he was romanised, than to take the names of a benefactor to whom
 “ he was indebted for his kingdom, and so call himself TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS
 “ COGIDVBNVS.

“ I SUPPOSE him to have been a *regulus* of the *Dobuni*; because we
 “ are told by *Dion. Cassius* (in lib. LX.) that *Aulus Plautius* having put to
 “ flight *Cataratacus* and *Togodumnus*, sons of *Cunobelin*, part of the *Boduni*
 “ (the same people as the *Dobuni*) who were subject to the *Catuellani*, sub-
 “ mitted to the *Romans*; and the name *Cogidubnus*, or *Cogiduvnus*, *Coc o*
 “ *Dubn*, or *Dubn* (vid. *Baxteri Glossar. in verbis Cogidumnus & Dobuni*)
 “ signifying expressly in the *British* language PRINCEPS DOBVNORVM, seems
 “ to put the matter out of all doubt.

“ How far his territories extended, it is impossible to define. *Bishop*
 “ *Stillingfleet*, *Orig. Britan.* p. 63. supposes them to have lain in *Surrey*
 “ and *Suffex*; *Suffex* certainly was part of them, since the temple mentioned
 “ in this inscription was erected in it by his authority; and it is not unlike-
 “ ly, that besides the *Regni*, who were the people of those two counties, he
 “ might have that part of the *Dobuni* which had submitted to the *Romans*,
 “ and seems to have been his own principality, together with the *Ancalites*,
 “ *Bibroci* and *Segontiaci*, whose countries lay between the *Dobuni* and the
 “ *Regni*, bestowed upon him; the words *civitates quaedam* in *Tacitus*, not
 “ importing no more than some few towns, but several people, the word
 “ *civitas* always signifying a people in that historian.

“ BEFORE I proceed any farther, it will not be amiss to observe, that
 “ *Togodumnus* and *Cogidubnus*, though their names are so much alike, were
 “ two distinct persons: the first was son of *Cunobelin*, king of the *Trinobantes*,
 “ vanquished and killed in battle by *Aulus Plautius*; the second a prince
 “ that submitted to *Ostorius Scapula*, and continued in his fidelity to the
 “ *Romans*, in *nostram usque memoriam*, says *Tacitus*, who was born at the
 “ latter end of *Claudius*’s reign; so that *Togodumnus* was probably dead
 “ before *Cogidubnus* had his government conferred upon him.

“ I CALL it his government, for though by the letter R. standing in the
 “ inscription with a point both before and after it, by which it plainly denotes
 “ an intire word of itself, it may seem that it was intended for COGIDVBNV
 “ REGIS, and I believe was so in respect of his *quondam* dignity, yet it is
 “ evident, that he had condescended to take the title of LEGATVS AVGVSTI
 “ IN BRITANNIA from *Claudius*; and that too must have been only over
 “ those people that he had given him the government of; *Aulus Plautius*,
 “ *Ostorius Scapula*, *Didius Gallus*, *Avitus Veranius*, and *Suetonius Paullinus*,
 “ having the supreme command successively about this time in this island,
 “ the second and last of which are called expressly *legati* by *Tacitus*, Lib. XII.
 “ *Ann. cap. 23. et Vit. Agric. cap. 15.* The *legati Caesaris* or *Augusti* were
 “ those, *qui Caesaribus subditas regebant provincias.*

“ THE sixth line has lost at the beginning the letters COLLE, but so much
 “ remains of the word as makes it to have been indubitably, when entire,
 “ COLLEGIVM, and the following letters are an abbreviation of FABRORVM.

“ THESE colleges of artificers were very antient at *Rome*, as antient as
 “ their second king *Numa Pompilius*, if we may believe *Plutarch* (in *vit.*
 “ *Numae*) who tells us, that the people were divided by him into what we
 “ at this day call companies of tradesmen, and mentions the *τεχνῶνες* or
 “ *fabri* among them, though *Florus* (lib. I. cap. 6.) says, that *Populus Ro-*
 “ *manus a Servio Tullio relatus fuit in censum, digestus in classes, curiis*
 “ atque

“ *atque collegiis distributus*. But as the power of the *Romans* extended itself,
 “ it carried the arts of that great people along with it, and improved the
 “ nations that it subdued, by civilizing, and teaching them the use of what-
 “ ever was necessary or advantageous among their conquerors; from which
 “ most wise and generous disposition, among other beneficial institutions, we
 “ find these *collegia* to have been established in every part of the empire,
 “ from the frequent mention of them in the inscriptions collected by *Gruter*,
 “ *Spon*, and other antiquaries.

“ SEVERAL sorts of workmen were included under the name of *fabri*,
 “ particularly all those that were concerned in any kind of building, whence
 “ we meet with the *fabri ferrarii, lignarii, tignarii, materiarii, navales*,
 “ and others; the last named may have been the authors of dedicating this
 “ temple to *Neptune*, having so near a relation to the sea, from which the
 “ city of *Chichester* is at so small a distance, that perhaps that arm of it
 “ which still comes up within two miles of its walls, might formerly have
 “ washed them. The rest of the fraternity might very well pay the same
 “ devotion to *Minerva*, the goddess of all arts and sciences, and patroness
 “ of the *Daedalian* profession.

“ As no less than five letters are wanting at the beginning of the sixth
 “ line, there cannot be fewer lost at the beginning of the seventh, where
 “ the stone is more broke away than above; so that probably there were six
 “ when it was perfect. What we have left of them is only the top of an s;
 “ I will not therefore take upon me to affirm any thing as to the reading of
 “ them, which is so entirely defaced; perhaps it was A. SACR. S. *a sacris*
 “ *sunt*; perhaps it was HONOR. S. *honorati sunt*. As to the former, we
 “ find these *collegia* had their *sacerdotes*, therefore *qui a sacris sunt*, which
 “ is found in inscriptions (*vid. Grut. Corp. xxix. 8. cxxi. i. dcxxxii. i.*)
 “ would be no improper term to express them; or it might have been
 “ SACER. S. *sacerdotes sunt*, since we find such mentioned in the following
 “ inscriptions. *Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 58.*

MAVORTI SACRVM
 HOC SIGNVM
 RESTIT
 COLL. FABR. ARI
 CINORVM ANTIQVISS.
 VETVSTATE
 DILAPSVM ET
 REFECER. CVR. L. LVCILIVS
 LATINVS PROC. R. P. ARIC.
 ET T. SEXTIVS MAGGIVS
 SACER. COLL. EIVSD.

Mavorti sacrum
hoc signum
restituit
collegium fabrorum Ari-
cinorum antiquissimum
vetustate
dilapsum et
refecerunt: curabant Lucius Lucilius
Latinus procurator reipublicae Aricinorum
et Titus Sextius Maggus
sacerdos collegii ejusdem

“ Ibid. p. 64.

L. TERTENI AMANTI
 SACER. COLL. LOTORVM
 II VIR. C. SARTIVS C. F.
 ITERINVS ET L. ALLIVS
 PETELLINVS D. D.

Lucius Tertenius Amantius
sacerdos collegii lotorum
duumviri Caius Sartius Caii filius
Iterinus et Lucius Allius
Petellinus dedicaverunt.

“ As to the latter, those members of the college that had passed through
 “ the chief offices of it, as that of *praefectus*, or *magister quinquennalis*,
 “ had the title of HONORATI conferred upon them. You have several of
 “ these HONORATI mentioned in *Gruter*, particularly a long catalogue of
 “ them in *collegio fabrorum tignariorum*, p. cclxviii. i. and in *Reinesius's*
 “ *Syntagma*, p. 605. there is an inscription.

EPAGATHO TYRANNO
HONORATO COLLEGI
FABRVM TIGN ARIORVM
ROMANENSIVM &c.

“ So that the vacuity in our inscription may very well have been filled up
“ with one or other of these words, and the three next letters that follow
“ them D. S. D. *de suo dedicaverunt*, will agree with either of them, and what
“ precedes them.

“ THE last line has been PVDENTE PVDENTINI FILIO; but there must
“ have been a letter or two of the *praenomen* at the beginning of it, unless
“ it was shorter than the rest at that, as well as at the latter end of it; and
“ from what I have said, the whole may be read as follows: *Neptuno et*
“ *Minervae templum pro salute domus divinae, ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii*
“ *Cogidubni regis, legati Augusti in Britannia, collegium fabrorum, et qui*
“ *in eo a sacris [or honorati] sunt, de suo dedicaverunt, donante aream Pu-*
“ *dente Pudentini filio.*

“ CHICHESTER, by this inscription found at it, must have been a town
“ of eminence very soon after the *Romans* had settled here, and in process
“ of time seems to have been much frequented, by the *Roman* roads, still visible,
“ that terminate here from *Portsmouth*, *Midhurst*, and *Arundel*, though,
“ what is very strange, we have no *Roman* name now for it. I once thought
“ it might have put in its claim for *Anderida*, which our antiquaries have not
“ yet agreed to fix any where, being situated very near, both to the *sylva*
“ *Anderida*, and the southern coast of the island, the two properties of that
“ city: *vid. Cambd. Brit. and Somner's Roman ports and forts.* But *Henry*
“ of *Huntingdon*, who lived in the time of *Henry II.* telling us, that the
“ *Saxons* so destroyed *Andredecester*, that *nunquam postea reaedificata fuit,*
“ *et locus tantum quasi nobilissimae urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus,*
“ *pag. 312. (vid. Dr. Tabor's discourse of Anderida. Philos. Transact. N° 356.)*
“ it could not be *Chichester*; for that was not only rebuilt before his time,
“ but was a place of such note, that when the bishops, soon after the con-
“ quest, *A.D. 1076.* removed their churches from small decayed towns, where
“ several of them were then seated, *in urbes celebriores, Stigand* then bishop
“ of *Selfey* settled his episcopal chair at that place.

“ I SHALL conclude with observing, that when this inscription was dug
“ up, there were also two walls of stone discovered close by it, three foot
“ thick each, one running north, the other east, and joining in an angle, as
“ the *North-street* and *St. Martin's-lane* now turn, which, in all probability,
“ were part of the foundations of the temple mentioned on the marble.

Octob. 31. 1723.

“ TO this judicious elucidation of the inscription, I have nothing to add,
“ but that it seems to me probable enough, that *Pudens* mentioned therein
“ to have given the ground upon which the temple was built, was that
“ *Aulus Pudens* who married the famous *British* lady *Claudia Rufina*, cele-
“ brated for her wit, beauty, and eloquence. There is room enough in the stone
“ to suppose the letter A at least, as his *praenomen* was, in that part which is
“ lost. *Moncaeus de incunab. regis eccles. Christ. vet. Britann.* thinks *Claudia*,
“ mentioned by *St. Paul*, *2 Tim.* was daughter of the renowned *Caratacus*,
“ converted to christianity by him, and married to this *Pudens*, a *Roman*
“ senator. But this may be judged rather too early, on account of the time
“ of *St. Paul's* death, and that wherein *Martial* lived, who wrote two elegant
“ epigrams upon her; and we may with more likelihood conclude her to be
“ the daughter of our *Cogidunus*, who lived to *Tacitus* his time, which was
“ the same as *Martial's*. And there is equal reason for the name of *Claudia*
“ to

“ to be given her in honour of *Claudius* the emperor, as for the king her father
 “ taking the same upon himself, as appears in this inscription. *Martial's* first
 “ epigram upon her is the 13th in his iv. *L.* thus,

*Claudia, Rufe, meo nupsit peregrina Pudenti :
 Maſte eſto tediſ, o Hymenæe, tuiſ. &c.*

“ We may well imagine this was wrote in the reign of *Domitian*, by the
 “ first epigram in that book being in honour of that emperor's birth-day,
 “ and sixteen years at least must have passed between that and the time of
 “ *St. Paul's* death, which happened in the last year of *Nero*. The other epigram
 “ is the 54th of xi. *L.*

*Claudia caeruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis
 Edita, cur Latiae peſtora gentis habet ?
 Quale decus formae ! Romanam credere matres
 Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam.
 Dî bene, quod ſancto peperit foecunda marito,
 Quod ſperat generos, quodque puella nurus.
 Sic placeat ſuperis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
 Et ſemper natiſ gaudeat illa tribus.*

“ We may conclude that if ſhe had been of age ſufficient to be converted
 “ by *St. Paul*, ſhe would about this time have been too old to have children,
 “ and be accounted beautiful. But times and all circumſtances conſpire ſuf-
 “ ficiently to make her the daughter of *Cogidunus*.”

I SHALL ſubjoin Mr. *Ward's* remarks on the ſame inſcription.

“ Mr. *Gale's* account of this inſcription is ſo accurate and judicious, that one
 “ cannot but wiſh it was attended with no difficulties. But there are two things
 “ particularly, which to me appear very doubtful in that reading; tho perhaps
 “ it may be no eaſy matter to offer another explication, which upon the whole may
 “ appear more agreeable. However, I ſhall take leave to mention my ſcruples,
 “ and how, as I think, they may be removed. The difficulties then with me
 “ are the name *Claudius*, together with the title *legatus Auguſti*, here ſaid to
 “ be given to king *Cogidubnus*. The name *Claudius* he is ſuppoſed to have
 “ taken upon his being *Romaniſed*, and adopted into the *Claudian* family. But
 “ this was not a complement ſuitable for foreign princes, nor do I apprehend
 “ how it could conſiſtently be made them; for a *Roman* citizen could not be
 “ free of any other foreign ſtate at one and the ſame time, but was obliged to
 “ relinquish one or the other*. The mark of reſpect therefore, which at that
 “ time, and for ſeveral ages afterwards, was uſually paid to other princes, even
 “ thoſe who were dependent and tributary, was to ſtile them *amici*.^b *Herod* the
 “ great was one of theſe, who having diſpleaſed *Auguſtus*, was told by him, “ that
 “ before he had treated him as a friend, but now he ſhould uſe him like a ſubject^c.”
 “ Nor does the title of *legatus Auguſti* appear to me more ſuitable to the character
 “ of a ſovereign prince, of which I believe no inſtance can be given in the *Ro-*
 “ *man* hiſtory. Beſides he could only have the name, as is here acknowledged,
 “ and muſt have been ſubject to another, who preſided with the ſame character
 “ at that time in *Britain*. This ſeems too low a ſtoop for a ſovereign, and
 “ particularly for the haughty ſpirit of an antient *Briton*. That he was a ſo-
 “ vereign prince is evident from the words of *Tacitus*: “ Some ſtates were
 “ given to king *Cogidunus*.” Over theſe he had doubtleſs a ſovereign authority;
 “ tho at the ſame time he might be a tributary to the *Romans*, which was no
 “ uncommon

* Cic. pro Caecin. cap. 34. Nep. in vit. Attic. cap. 3.

^b Οπ πάλαι χρώμιος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπικώῳ χροῖται. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 9. §. 3. And Eutropius, ſpeaking of Veſpaſian, ſaith: Thraciam, Caliciam, Commagenen, quae ſub regibus amicis

erant, in provinciarum formam redegit. l. vii. c. 13. See likewiſe Suet. in Auguſt. c. 60. and Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. c. 28.

^c Quaedam civitates Cogiduno regi donatae. Vit. Agric. c. 14.

“ uncommon case. A sovereign prince therefore and a sublegate are titles, that
 “ to me seem scarce compatible. Nor can this, as I apprehend, be infered
 “ from those words of *Tacitus*, where he saith, this treatment of king *Cogidunus*
 “ was agreeable to “ an old and long received custom of the *Roman* state, to
 “ make kings their instruments of slavery ^a.” The meaning of which, as Sir
 “ *H. Savile* has observed upon the place, is well explained by *Livy*, where he
 “ introduces king *Perseus* saying : “ The *Roman* people oppose kings by the
 “ power of kings ; his father was oppressed by the assistance of *Attalus* ; *Antiochus*
 “ was attacked by the help of *Eumenes*, and in some measure by his
 “ father *Philip* ; now both *Eumenes* and *Prusias* were armed against him ^b.”
 “ These were the *Roman* arts refered to by *Tacitus*, and this was the service
 “ they expected from *Cogidunus*, to molest his neighbours, and favour their
 “ designs against them. They did not want him for a legate, they had ano-
 “ ther. There were indeed honorary legates among the *Romans* ; but these
 “ were meerly titular, and invested with no power ^c. Had *Cogidunus* therefore
 “ submitted to this, the temple could not upon that account be said to have
 “ been built *ex auctoritate ejus*. But now in order to remove these difficul-
 “ ties, I would observe, what *Tacitus* here tells us, that *Cogidunus* even within
 “ his memory continued very faithful to the *Romans* ^d. From whence it may
 “ probably be supposed, that *Cogidunus* might live several years at least after
 “ *Vespasian* came to the empire. And tho I can’t think he was himself ever
 “ made a *Roman* ; yet a son of him might afterwards think it his interest to
 “ change his country for the privilege of being a *Roman* citizen, and get him-
 “ self adopted into the *Claudian* family, and perhaps be admitted into the se-
 “ nate upon his father’s merit, which was no unusual thing for foreigners to
 “ do after the dissolution of the republic. And considering how long *Cogi-*
 “ *dunus* might live, his grandson might be appointed *legatus Augusti* in *Brit-*
 “ *tain*, under *Hadrian*, or possibly as low as *Antoninus Pius*. I would sup-
 “ pose therefore, that as there is room for three letters at the begining of the
 “ fifth line, some *praenomen* being put before *Claudius* at the end of the
 “ fourth line, the fifth might begin with N (the common note) for *nepotis*,
 “ before *Cogidubni*. This reading I imagine would not only remove the diffi-
 “ culties above mentioned, but any others, that may seem to arise from the use
 “ of the phrase *domus divina*, or of the complex characters, so high as the
 “ time of the emperour *Claudius*. I am sensible the same learned gentleman
 “ has elsewhere observed, that “ we never meet with *legatus Augustalis* in
 “ any inscription in this island, without the joint title of *propraetor* ^e :” which
 “ objection may seem to lie against this reading, tho not against his ; because
 “ in that the title is taken to be only a complement, another *Roman* le-
 “ gate being allowed to reside here at the same time. But then it may be said
 “ on the other hand, that neither is *propraetor* found without *legatus Aug.* ex-
 “ cept in one instance, as I should read it ^f. And why might not this title be
 “ put singly for once, as well as the other ? Besides the words *in Britannia*
 “ after *legatus Aug.* are no less peculiar to this inscription. So that, I think,
 “ this can be no sufficient objection to the reading I have offered.”

^a Vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Ro-
 mani consuetudine, ut haberent instrumenta ser-
 vitutis et reges. Ibid.

^b Populum Rom. regum viribus reges oppug-
 nare. Attalo adjutore patrem suum oppressum ;
 Eumene adjuvante, et quadam ex parte Philippo
 patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum ; in se nunc et
 Eumenem et Prusiam armatos esse. Lib. XLIV.
 c. 24.

^c Qui libera legatione abest, non videtur rei-
 pub. causa abesse ; hic enim non publici com-
 modi causa, sed sua abest. L. 14. ff. de legation.
 See likewise Suet. in Tiber. c. 12.

^d Is ad nostram usque memoriam fidelissimus man-
 sit. Ubi supr.

^e Philosoph. Transact. N. 357.

^f Cumberland, xxxiv.

O X F O R D S H I R E.

THIS county, according to the method I have hitherto followed, should have been set before some of those other counties, that now precede it. But the only inscription it furnishes, is upon an altar so lately discovered at *Dorchester*, that the foregoing sheets were printed off, before it came to my knowledge. I am indebted to Mr. *Gale* for the first account and copy of this inscription, which having received from a friend, he was so obliging as to communicate to me. But since that, Mr. *Ward* having an opportunity to see the original, took a draught both of the inscription and stone, which the engraver has followed. There is nothing in the inscription, but what I have explained on other occasions, except the last part, *aram cum cancellis de suo posuit*. The *cancelli* seem to have been some sort of lattices or rails, within which this altar was placed by *M. Val. Severus*, at whose expence the whole was erected. The name and *Roman* coins dug up at *Dorchester* had before procured the general opinion of antiquaries, that the place was *Roman*, which is farther confirmed by this new discovery; tho' I cannot certainly tell what *Roman* name to assign it. It was however formerly a bishop's see, and a place of great note, tho' now very much reduced. The particular place where this altar was found, with the manner in which it was discovered, and some other circumstances relating to it, may be seen in Mr. *Ward's* letter, subjoined to the end of this second book, to which I shall refer.

S C O T L A N D.

TO what has been said of the inscriptions and sculptures that belong to *Scotland*, I must here add some account of two new discoveries, scarce inferior to any of the former, which were found too late to insert the observations upon them in their proper place. Tho' the plates, which contain these inscriptions and sculptures, are placed in the collection at the end of those which relate to *Scotland*, and numbered 7 *a*, 7 *b*.

XXXIII. THIS inscription with the three sculptures were lately found in a curious *tumulus*, or sepulchral monument, in the fosse of the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*, not far from *Kilsyth*. The reverend Mr. *Robe*, minister there, was so kind as to transmit the following account of them. "At the west end was a
" semicircular building, and from each end of the diameter there run out east-
" ward a wall of about seven or eight tire of hewn stones, many of them of
" diamond work". There are here several pillars and pedestals, but it is un-
" certain how and where they have been situated. In the south wall near the
" bottom was found a large stone, with the image of a man cut upon it, reclining on his left arm, and in a *Roman* dress; a dog is standing on his *toga*
" near his feet. In the north wall, and directly opposite to this stone, was found
" another of much the same dimensions, with a man also, and some kind of a
" *quadrupes* upon it. A little farther out is a large flint stone five feet and an half
" long, reaching like a lintel from one wall to the other. Here also was found
" a stone with an inscription upon it." The second account, which came from the same hand, added some other particulars; namely, "a stone on the ground
" within the semicircular building, brown with ashes, and as if fire had been much
" upon it; a wall discovered four or five years ago, running out to the north from
" the east end of the northern wall; the bordering of the stone, with the image
" of the man upon it, raised as high as the image itself:" to which is also added,
" that the *quadrupes* on the stone in the northern wall is at the back of the
" image, and that the face of the sculpture in the southern wall was toward
" the inward part of the building, with another stone placed before, which
" covered

* See Northumberland, N. xvi.

“ covered it, but the back of the other stone was turned to the inward part of the building.” The third figure, which stands in an upright posture, and of which no mention is made in this account, has nothing in it that is remarkable. The inscription likewise is easy, and requires no explanation. And perhaps the sculpture on the stone in the northern wall has never been finished. This I conjecture from its being turned inward. Such monuments were often prepared while the persons were living, and the inscriptions and effigies left to be added or finished by the surviving relations^a. But if the family was obliged to retire from the place before the death of the party, these must continue unfinished. *Camden* takes notice of a funeral monument found on or near the *Roman* wall in *Northumberland*, the sculpture of which seems not unlike this. “ Near this place, (i. e. *Adon*) says he, was digged up a piece of “ an old stone, wherein was drawn the pourtraiture of a man lying on his bed, “ leaning upon his left hand, and touching his right knee with his right^b.” But perhaps the figure of a dog on such a funeral monument will be esteemed very curious. The custom is generally known of throwing favourite animals into the funeral pile, two dogs were thrown into that of *Patroclus*.

Ἐννέα τῶ γε ἀνακτι τραπέζης κύνες ἦσαν,
Καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας^c.

Somewhat of the same custom obtained among the *Gauls* and the *Germans*, as appears from *Caesar*^d and *Tacitus*^e. Sometimes such animals are represented on funeral monuments, and sometimes even funeral monuments have been erected for favourite dogs and other animals. I believe my Lord *Oxford* has in his unvaluable collection some instances of the former kind: and as to the latter, I shall only transcribe a passage from a letter, which my learned friend Mr. *Ward* has been pleased to favour me with. “ *Aelian* (says he) tells us of one *Poliarchus* an *Athenian*, who used to bury dogs and cocks, and invite his friends “ to their funerals, and after that erect monuments to their memory with inscriptions upon them^f. And the emperor *Hadrian* shewed the like regard to “ his horse *Borysthenes*, as we learn from *Dio*^g. And *Raphael Fabretti* “ mentions two monuments, one of which was then lately found in the *Appian* “ way, and upon the stone were the following words and sculptures, as he has “ described them:

Venator cum cassibus.	Vir eque- stris cum jaculo.	Canis, sub qua	Aper ja- culo con- fossus.	DIDIO THREMMATIO ALVINO EDVCATORES	Cervus et Iupus.	Canis, sub qua	Venator cum jaculo.
		AVRA				CHRYSIS	

“ This, as he informs us, is *in fronte sarcophagi penes nobb. de Cinciis*. The “ other he copied *ex schedis Vaticanis*, and is thus represented:

AVIENVS

Venator jaculum protendens. Canis ad pedes, sub qua

AVIENAE

“ In the former inscription, as he explains it, *Aura* and *Chrysis* are the names “ of two bitches; and in the latter *Aviena*, so called from her master's name “ *Avienus*^h.” I shall conclude my remarks upon these sculptures with observing, that one of the recumbent figures in the draught, which was sent me, seems plainly to represent a woman. But whether all these sculptures with the inscription might belong to persons of the same family, or this might be a public burying place of the *Romans*, I cannot pretend to determine.

XXXIV.

^a See before, p. 287, 288.

^b Pag. 875. ed. 1695.

^c Flom. II. 4. v. 173.

^d Omnia, quae vivis corda fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inforunt, etiam animalia. B. G. L. VI. c. 18.

^e Sua cuique anima, quorundam igni et equo w adjicitur. De Mor. Germ. cap. 6.

^f Var. Hist. Lib. VIII. c. 4.

^g Lib. LXIX. p. 792.

^h R. Fabrett. Inscript. Ant. p. 330, 331.

XXXIV. THIS and the two following are very curious, and have been lately discovered in the ruins of the *Roman* station at *Middleby*, called the *Bearnes*. Baron *Clerk*, who first took any care or notice of them, has farther enriched with them his curious and valuable collection of *Roman* antiquities; and by sending an accurate drawing of them has added one obligation more to the many, the learned world and myself are under to this great antiquary. At the first view I had of the figure, I was struck with the thought of a *Pallas*. But I shall first describe the image and the several symbols, and then it will be more easy to form a judgment about it. The *hæsta* in the right hand, and the globe in the left, together with the shield by the left side, are plain. And if that on the right side near the foot of the *hæsta* be not a cap of liberty, I know not what to make of it; for it cannot well be an helmet, since, I think, that must be an helmet on the head, the form of which is not unlike some helmets, that may be seen in *Montfaucon* and others. What hangs on the breast, I take to be the *Gorgon's* head, agreeably to *Virgil's* description of *Pallas* in this particular:

Ipsamque in pectore divæ

Gorgona, desecto vertentem lumina collo.*

The leaves or branches at the top of the helmet led me to think of *Minerva pacifera*. For tho the olive branch is usually carried in the hand:

Paciferaeque manu ramum prætendit olivæ†:

yet it is said sometimes to be inserted in her helmet. This with the cap of liberty and globe might signify universal peace and plenty. The quantity and dress of the hair likewise seem further to confirm this conjecture, that it is the image of *Pallas*. But since I wrote this, some curious observations of *Roger Gale Esq;* upon this image and the following inscriptions have been sent me by Mr. *Ward*, which will be found in his Letter at the end of this book. Among other things which are there said agreeably to Mr. *Gale's* usual penetration and sagacity, he supposes this image “ to be either a *Victory* from the resemblance “ of wings; or a sort of *Panthea*, adorned with the attributes of *Victory* and “ *Pallas*. And indeed if those things, which appear on each side the image rising above the shoulders, were designed for wings, no one can doubt of the truth of this opinion. Before I leave the image, I must not omit here a passage in a letter of Baron *Clerk*, with which he was pleased to honour me. “ Some “ gentlemen (says he) assured me, when these stones were first found, that “ some gold leaf was apparent in many places of the statue of *Brigantia*, from “ which they concluded very justly, that it had been gilded all over. I observe “ none of this gilding at present, for the country people washed it off with “ sand and water.” The Baron has also been pleased to acquaint me, that there was found in this same place about seven years ago a gold medal of *Constantius* coined on one side only, and altogether plain on the other; in which there was a round hole at the edge, by which it seems to have hung by way of *bullæ*‡. It is now in the possession of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Pembroke*.

As for the inscription beneath the figure, I cannot but agree with Mr. *Gale* in supposing *Brigantia* to be the name of the deity here represented; the *S* I would suppose to stand for *sacrum*; and *AMANDVS* is a proper name, not unfrequent in inscriptions. *ARCITECTVS* may either be for *architectus*, as Baron *Clerk* supposes, observing that *architects* are often mentioned in the *Codex*, as necessary persons in the provinces; or it may denote some other name or names of the same *AMANDVS*. If the last single stroke be an *i*, of which I find Baron *Clerk* cannot be certain, Mr. *Gale's* reading, *ex imperio imperatoris Juliani*, seems highly probable; otherwise *IMP.* may perhaps stand for *impedit*, or some such word; and *EX IMPERIO*, that precede, signify the same as *ex jussu*

* *Aen.* viii. v. 437.

† *Ibid.* v. 116.

‡ See *Pantheon*, p. 97.

§ See *Gordon's* *Itin.* Sept. p. 18.

jussu or *jussus*, whether this command was supposed to be received by a divine impulse, or might be given by some superior.

XXXV. THIS is an altar, on the right side of which is the *Roman* eagle of a remarkable form, and on the left a *patera* and *simpulum*, which in the plate for conveniency are set over it. I think the two last words in the second line may be read *Julius Cereus* or *Cerealis*, and suppose them to be the names of the person who erected the altar; who also on this supposition must be farther described by the following words CENS. SIGILL. which I read at first *censor*, or *cenfitor*, or *cenfualis sigillarium* or *sigillarium*. *Sigillum* is sometimes taken for a little image, as *signum* is for a statue. And *sigillaria* or *sigillaria opera* were also little images, great numbers of which were made use of, and a street in *Rome*, as well as some festival days (added as is supposed to the *Saturnalia*) bore also the name *sigillaria* from the sale or use of such images. And from hence doubtless the makers of those images, whether of wax, metal, or wood, received the names *sigillarius* and *sigillarius*. Agreeably to this reading we may suppose there were several *sigillarii* in this college; and that the business of the *censor* was to tax, or inspect them and their work, or to give an account of it. But still there seemed a difficulty what name to give the persons, who constituted this *collegium*. I thought of *lignatorum*, *lignariorum*, and remembered *dendrophororum* in *Goltzius*; but was at a loss how to accommodate *dendrophororum* to either of the former, till I met with that ingenious conjecture of Mr. Gale, who reads *ligniferorum*, supposing nothing more to be designed by it, than the *Latin* interpretation of the *Greek* word *dendrophororum*; and the two abbreviated words CENS. SIGILL. which precede, *censor sigillorum*. But I perceive Mr. Ward conjectures the word CENS. may stand for *Censor* or *Censorinus*, a third name of the person who erected the altar, and so reads the following words *sigillarius collegii ligniferorum*. The reasons by which he supports this reading may be seen in his letter. The *focus* at the top of this altar has something in it that is observable, as to the form.

XXXVI. BARON Clerk has observed, that this stone has the appearance of a pedestal, on which he supposes a statue of *Mercury*, to whom the inscription is addressed, has antiently stood. And he has given directions to have the ground thereabouts searched into, if possibly that statue may yet be found; in which generous undertaking all lovers of antiquity must heartily with him success.^{a)} The words *signum posuerunt* render this supposition of the Baron very rational and just. I shall add nothing more with respect to the reading, to what Mr. Gale has observed already, except that the words *numini Augusti* here stand before *Deo Mercurio*.

^a Suet. in Neron. c. 28.

(a) The Baron was not wholly disappointed in this search, for the remains of a statue were found there, but miserably damaged, the head, hands, and feet being all broken off and lost, so that nothing was left to determine, for whom it was designed, nor the place where it was found, which being so near the stone on which the inscription is cut, may render it probable to have been a *Mercury*. He has since published a Latin Discourse upon these three inscriptions, in which he has given a more particular account of this figure, as also a drawing of it.

1) Description de monumentis quibusdam Romanis, in locis Magnae Britanniae partibus, anno 1731. Edinburgi, et Lond. M. Rudolphi.

A LETTER

A LETTER to the AUTHOR.

S I R,

I HAVE according to your desire enquired after the large head with two faces, that belonged to the late Dr. *Woodward*, and was sold with the rest of his antiquities after his decease; but have not been able to inform myself, upon the strictest search I could make, into whose hands it has since fallen. All that I could do therefore, was to desire your engraver, Mr. *Mynde*, to take a draught of it from the copy published by Dr. *Harris*^a, according to your scale of one eighth, which he was enabled to do from Mr. *Ainsworth*'s description of the original in Dr. *Woodward*'s catalogue, where the height of it is given^b. What has occurred to my thoughts relating to this antient monument, I shall endeavour to represent to you as briefly as I can.

I. DR. *Harris* having observed, that 'tis probable all the land lying on the north side of the road from *Newcross* to *Peckham*, and so to *Lambeth* ferry, was antiently within the county of *Kent*, soon after speaking of this *caput bifrons* sais: "The learned and curious Dr. *Woodward* in his rare and useful collection hath a noble *Janus* (as it is usually called) in stone, which was dug up by a gardener in this tract of land [between *Lambeth* and *Southwark*]. The figure of which I thought proper to insert for its apparently great antiquity, and for that I am apt to fancy it to have been the very *Deus Terminus*, which was placed near the ferry at *Lambeth*, where the *Roman* ways parted^c." These twofaced deities of the *Romans* are so variously represented, that to me at least it appears difficult to give a probable account of some of them. Those upon the different sizes of the *as*, and the several parts of it, have generally both male faces, and bearded; but, as *Vaillant* observes, those on the silver and gold coins have more commonly juvenile faces, without beards^d. And he gives this reason for the difference; that the former were suited to the antient custom of the *Romans*, when they wore beards; and the latter to the after usage of cutting them off^e. Both these have in common the name *Janus* given to them. But on a coin of the *Rubrian* family *Hercules* and *Mercury* are thus conjoined^f. And *Montfaucon* gives us several images of *Bacchus bifrons*, in which one face is male, and the other female^g; unless they ought rather to be called *Liber* and *Libera*. Nor are those the only *Dei bifrontes* we meet with among the antients^h. That *Janus* among other names was called *geminus*, and that he was worshiped as *custos viarum*, we learn from *Macrobius*ⁱ; tho indeed *Mercury* and some others were likewise *Dei viales*. And further, that it was customary to erect the head of *Janus* upon a pillar at the boundaries of the high ways, seems very probable from some inscriptions, that are yet extant upon the fragments of such pillars. *Gruter* has two of these inscriptions preserved at *Corduba* in *Spain*, which were dug up near the town, as we may gather from *Surita*^k. One of them ends in this manner: A. BAETE. ET. IANO. AVG. AD. OCEANVM. LXIII. *Surita* reads LXIIII, and supposes this character I to be a double I. and stand for *centum*. The other concludes thus: AB. IANO. AVGVSTO.

a "Not far from Thomas Norton's garden was the site of Bagford's old mill, where, put by the latter in of his notice to Colwell's, Vol.

^a Nat. Hist. of Kent, p. 371.

^b Caput bifrons, cujus altera facies est virilis, cum cornibus et auriculis arietinis, infula utrinque juxta illas pendula; frons et tempora lauream ostendunt: altera autem muliebris, cujus fronti diadema, qua simul caput obteggit, praetenditur: opus integerrimum, olim columnae quadratae, vel, ut alii volunt, termino adfixum; sculped. alt. Musci Woodward. par. poster. p. 256.

^c Ubi sup. p. 2, 3.

^d Fam. Veturia, n. 2.

^e Fam. Alesia, n. 4.

^f Num. 2. ibid.

^g Antiq. Tom. 1. par. 1. liv. 1. c. 6.

^h See M. de Boze, Dissert. sur le Janus des anciens.

ⁱ Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 9.

^k Comm. in Lun. Anton. p. 100.

AVGVSTO. QVI. EST AD. BAETEM. VSQVE. AD OCEANVM LXIIII^a. 'Tis great pity the heads were not preserved, that we might have seen the form of them. For I am inclin'd to think, that which I am now considering, might have been set up on a like account; tho I am at a loss how to reconcile it to a *Janus*. Indeed *Macrobius* talks of *Janus* and *Jana*, which were nothing but different names of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and the latter only by prefixing the letter D^b. These were, tis true, both *Dei viales*; and *Lucian* says, that there was an image of *Apollo* with a beard in the temple of *Dea Syria*, tho he tells us likewise, that he was represented so no where else^c. But could this be supposed to be another instance of it, yet still there is a difficulty how to account for the horns and long ears. I cannot therefore but be inclin'd to fancy this image a sort of *Pantheus*; and that the attributes of several deities are conjoin'd in it; the bearded face may represent *Janus*, the opposite female face *Jana*, the horns and long ears *Pan* or *Silvanus*, or perhaps both. I find in *Montfaucon* a head not much unlike this, but on the side of the bearded face instead of ears there are wings, which seem to be a symbol of *Mercury*. He calls it a *Janus*^d. I am sensible how dubious and uncertain a thing it often is, to offer conjectures in such cases, where, as *Cicero* says upon another occasion, *Difficile est plus intelligere, quam quantum ex monumentis suspicari licet*^e; and therefore I should be pleas'd to hear any more certain account of these figures, and others of the like kind, than what I have here given. Tho, as you have somewhere remarked, the proposing different sentiments in such enquiries as these, often proves at last the most effectual method of coming at the truth.^f And therefore as this opportunity now offers, give me leave to communicate to you some further thoughts, which have occurred to me, upon other sculptures and inscriptions, that are found in your collection.

NORTHUMBER-
LAND.

I. WHAT you observe upon this inscription is certainly very just, that the title "*centurio cohortis*" does not necessarily imply, that the whole command of the cohort was in a single centurion.^g But on the contrary, when we find in some writers *tribunus cohortis* spoken of as a legionary officer, it must, I think, signify that in those times each *Roman* cohort was commanded by a tribune; because no officer's title can be justly applied to a body of men less than he commands, as it would be an impropriety with us to say in common, a *colonel* of a company. It seems very evident from historians, as well as from inscriptions, that an alteration was made under the emperours with respect to commissions in the *Roman* army. *Polybius* informs us, that in his time six tribunes were appointed to a legion, two of which commanded the whole for two months by turns^h; and accordingly *Caesar* speaks of the *legionis septimae tribuni*ⁱ. This number might probably induce the *Greek* writers, when speaking of the *Roman* affairs, to call them *χαλιάρχοι* and *χαλιάρχη*, as if each tribune commanded separately a sixth part of the legion; because they had such an officer among them, who commanded a thousand men. But further; in the time of the republic a *Roman* legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three *manipuli*, and each *manipulus* into two centuries; which centuries being each of them commanded by a particular centurion, there were at that time sixty centurions in a legion; of whom the *primipilus*, or first captain, had some peculiar privileges and authority above the rest^k. The legates were then general officers, superior to the tribunes, and commanded any number of legions, more or less, by order of the general, as appears by *Caesar's* legates in *Gaul*.^l Under the emperours the centurions office continued the same,

as

^a Pag. CLIII. n. 1, 4.

^b Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 9.

^c Oper. pag. 1071. ed. Bourdel.

^d Antiq. Tom. 1. par. 1. l. 1. c. 6.

^e In Brut. cap. 13.

^f Ill. vi. p. 466, etc. ed. Casaub.

^g B. G. vii. 62.

^h Gell. L. xvi. c. 4. Polyb. ubi supra. Dionys. Halicarn. Lib. ix. c. 10.

order of the legion, as appears from the inscription of the *primipilus* of the *legio septima*, who was the first captain of the legion, and commanded the *manipulus* of the *legio septima*, ann. M. C. 805, in the war with the *Volsci*.

as it was before, one to each century, and sixty in a legion. So *Tacitus*, mentioning a sedition of the army in *Germany* in the reign of *Tiberius*; sais, the soldiers “ drawing their swords fall upon the centurions, sixty upon one, “ that they might equal the number of centurions^a.” But the commission both of the tribunes and legates seems then to have been lessened in such a manner, that each particular cohort was commanded by a tribune, and the whole legion by a legate. Hence we often meet with *χλῖαρχος τῆς σπείρης*, the tribune of the cohort, in the Evangelical history^b. And therefore when *Cornelius* is called, *ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλυμένης Ἰταλικῆς*, the meaning must be, a centurion in a cohort of the legion called *Italica*^c; and the like must be said of *Julius*, who is called *ἑκατοντάρχης σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*, that is, a centurion in a cohort of the *legio Augusta*^d: for we find elsewhere in the same history, that a centurion was appointed to each century^e. Agreeably to this notion of a tribune the old scholiast upon that verse of *Juvenal*,

Cum fas esse putat curam sperare cohortis^f,

interprets *curam cohortis* by *tribunatum*. And *Tacitus* likewise seems to use the words *tribuni cohortium* in the same sense^g. When therefore in one inscription we meet with *tribunus militum legionis*^h (an expression found more than once in *Gruter*) the words must, I presume, be understood in the lower sense of them, like *centurio cohortis*, and not as if this officer commanded the whole legion, which under the emperours was the post of a legate. Thus *Suetonius* takes notice of a *legatus legionis*, who was punished by *Tiberius*ⁱ. And *Tertius Julianus* is by *Tacitus* called *legatus septimae legionis* in the reign of *Vitellius*^k. The title *praefectus cohortis legionis*, instead of *tribunus*, appears in two *British* inscriptions^l. But in another you read *primipilus* [vel *praefectus*] *legionis*^m; which latter title is often found in *Gruter*, and must I suppose (for a reason I shall shew presently) signify the same as *legatus*. Indeed *Lipsius* thinks *primipilus* and *praefectus legionis* were terms equivalentⁿ. But I cannot so readily come into that sentiment, because I find in one of *Gruter's* inscriptions^o the same person called *praefectus* of one legion, *primipilus* of another, and *centurio* of a third; which several titles seem to intimate his having served so many different offices in a gradation. The usual distribution of the allies and auxiliaries was into cohorts of foot, and *alae* or wings of horse^p. But *Polybius* intimates that in his time the number of forces, which were furnished by the allies in proportion to two *Roman* legions, was commanded by twelve Officers whom he calls *πραιφίλοι*^q, answering to the like number of *Roman* tribunes. Tho in our *British* inscriptions the titles *praefecti* and *tribuni* are promiscuously given to the commanders of the auxiliary cohorts, as well as to the legionary. The praetorians likewise, and city guards under the emperours, were formed only into cohorts, and not legions, each commanded by a tribune. There is another military title, which tho it does not appear, as I remember, with certainty in any *British* inscription; yet frequently occurs both in *Roman* writers, and also in *Gruter*: and that is *praepositus*. Some have thought this officer inferior to a tribune^r from a passage in *Vegetius*, where he sais, the first cohort, which was largest, and contained the best soldiers, was commanded by a tribune of the most eminent abilities; and the rest as the emperour pleased, by tribunes or *praepositi*.

^a Districtis gladiis in centuriones invadunt, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent. *Annal.* I. 1. c. 32.

^b *Acts* XXI. 31. etc.

^c *Ibid.* x. 1.

^d *Ibid.* xxviii. 1.

^e *Ibid.* xxxiii. 23.

^f *Sat.* I. v. 68.

^g *Hist.* III. c. 68.

^h *Chesh.* N. 11.

ⁱ Legato legionis, qui paucos milites cum li-

berto suo trans ripam venatum misisset, ignominia notato. *In vit.* c. 19.

^k *Hist.* II. c. 85.

^l *Durh.* XI, XII.

^m *Chesh.* 111.

ⁿ *De mil. Rom. Lib.* II. c. 8.

^o *Pag.* cccxcii. 5.

^p Cohortium, alarum, legionum, hyberna subversa cremataque. *Tacit. Hist.* IV. 61.

^q *Lib.* VI. p. 472.

^r *Valef. in Amm. Marcell. Lib.* xxvi. c. 6.

positi^a. The sense of which passage I apprehend may be this: That the tribune of the first cohort having a larger command, and more authority, than the rest of his brethren, like the *primipilus* with regard to the other centurions, an able and experienced officer was chosen for that post; but the same difference was not made with respect to the other cohorts, the emperor appointing what tribunes or *praepositi* he pleased, without that strict regard to experience or seniority. According to this explication of the words, *Vegetius* does not distinguish the *praepositi* from the tribunes, as a different sort of officers; but uses the two names as equivalent, when applied to the command of a cohort. But *Tacitus* seems to include both tribunes and centurions under the title of *praepositi*, when speaking of the soldiers flocking about *Otho* he says: "Nor could the tribunes or centurions get access to him: "may the common soldiers bid their *praepositos* keep off". And when *Suetonius* tells us, that *Otho* put to death some of the soldiers, who had murdered *praepositos suos*, for drawing them into a revolt with *Camillus* against the emperor *Claudius*^c; as this revolt was not made by a few particular cohorts, but several legions^d, the word *praepositos* must here, I think, either more especially denote the chief officers, who commanded those legions, or at least include them. In *Gruter's* inscriptions, the *Notitia*, and writers under the lower empire, we find both *praefectus* and *praepositus legionis, alae, cohortis, numerorum, equitum, and militum*; so that in those times at least they seem to have been general titles for any commissioned officer, and not limited to any particular order. Such were the alterations of military names and offices under the emperours, from what they had been in the time of the republic.

IX. MY reading of this inscription is not, I think, disagreeable to the use of the language; for *Gellius* mentions a book with this title: M. CATONIS NEPOTIS^e. But then 'tis usual indeed, if any character of the ancestor be given, to put his name before it. So *Gellius* presently after describing this *Cato* says: *Hic est M. Cato, M. Catonis censorii ex filio nepos*. But as this was not always necessary, so it was not always attended to; for there follows in the same chapter: *Ex altero autem viro, censorii filio, duo nati sunt, L. Cato et M. Cato*. And with respect to the case before us, as *Senecio* the grandfather had been four times consul, and there was no other consul of the same name after him; he must then have been so well known and remembered by that title, as to make the repetition of his name entirely needless. I cannot but think *Goltzius's* reading of NS for *Numerius* must be a mistake; unless when he says NS *Numerius similiter*, we may suppose him to mean that N is put for *Numerius*, and s for *similiter*. *Vaillant* gives us a great many coins with N only for *Numerius*^f, but never NS. Nor do I apprehend it was usual to confound in that manner the first and last letter of the *praenomen* with the two first letters of the *praenomen* and *nomen*, which must often have perplexed the reading by an unavoidable ambiguity. And therefore CS does not stand for *Caius*, but *Caius Sulpitius*; nor PS for *Publius*, but *Publius Sextius*; and the same method, I believe, was observed in other like cases. I was the more inclined to give that reading, which I did, to this inscription; because I am always unwilling to suppose any mistake, either as to the matter or form of an inscription, where it does not appear absolutely necessary.

LVIII. THE learned *Velfer* has published the draught of a stone, that was dug out of the ground at *Augsburg*, of much the same figure with this, which he

^a Decem cohortes habere legionem diximus, sed prima erat miliaria, in qua censu, genere, literi, forma, virtute, pollentes milites mittebantur. Huic tribunus praerat armorum scientia, virtute corporis, morum honestate, praecipuus. Reliquae cohortes, prout principi placuisset, a tribunis vel a praepositis regebantur. Lib. II. c. 12.

^b Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper praepositos jubebat Hist. I. I. c. 36.

^c In vit. Otho. c. 1.

^d Id. in vit. Claud. c. 13.

^e Lib. XIII. c. 19.

^f Numm. Fam. Rom.

animals to the deity, whom they addressed to for relief, appears to have been very antient from the instance of the *Philistines*, who, when they sent back the ark of the *Israelites*, were advised by their priests to send with it images of their *emerods*, and likewise of the *mice*, that *mar'd the land*^a. The mention of emerods in this passage naturally reminds one of a practise, that seems to have prevailed afterwards pretty generally among the *Romans*; which was to fix up the image of some part of the body, that had been distempered, as a votive offering, in the temple of that deity, from whom they imagined they had received a cure. The emerods of the *Philistines*, which the *Septuagint* very decently expresses by the word *ἰσπας*, were plainly of this sort, only with this difference, that they were designed to obtain a cure. *Montfaucon* has given us the figures of several of these gifts; such as feet, legs, hands, and other parts of the body^b. And 'tis very probable the *phallus* found at *Westerwood* in *Scotland*, as you observe, was of this kind, by the words EX VOTO.

LXXXIV. By the situation of the ox's head on the base of this altar, it seems as if a considerable part was broken off on the right side of the stone; the distance from the head to the edge of the stone being so much larger on the other side, than on that. I cannot but suspect therefore, that the letters PVBLI stand here for *Pubilia*, the name of one of the *Roman* tribes, as I have supposed PVBL may do in the following inscription; and that both these inscriptions were erected by the same tribune. *Publius* is usually a *praenomen*; and tho, as we read in *Val. Maximus*, some *praenomina* were in process of time converted into *cognomina*^c; yet I believe the name *Publius* is not often to be met with in that sense. I do not find it ever made a family name, which one would think it must have done, if it had obtained as a *cognomen*.

XCVI. THE famous temple at *Rome* called *Pantheon*, built by *Agrippa*^d, was adorned with the images of all the deities, from whence it took its name. But, as you have remarked, "in some inscriptions *Pantheus* is spoken of as "a particular god." And give me leave to add, that this title or character is sometimes given to particular deities, and subjoined to their name, as here SILVANO PANTHEO; and in one of *Gruter's* inscriptions, FORTVNAE. PRIMIGENIAE SIGNVM. LIBERI. PATRIS PANTHEI^e. Another gives us the meaning of the title, instead of the word, as: TE. TIBI VNA. QVAE ES. OMNIA DEA. ISIS ARRIVS. BALBINVS. V. C.^f. From this last example it appears, that to address to any certain deity under the character of *Pantheus* was sometimes the same, as to ascribe to that one all those properties, which according to the heathen theology were separately lodged in all their deities. And as it was very common for persons to be more peculiarly devoted to one particular deity, so that regard was usually founded upon some benefits supposed to be received from that deity. Thus *Nero* is said for a great while to have despised all other deities, but *Dea Syria*; 'till at length having received the image of a boy, given him as a remedy against conspiracies, by an unknown person, and finding, as he imagined, the good success of it, by the discovery of a plot soon after, he continued ever after to regard it as the supreme deity^g. *Lucian* gives a remarkable description of an image of *Juno* with the attributes of a *Panthea*, which was placed in the temple of *Dea Syria*. "It appears (says he) upon viewing it to contain various forms; for "tho upon the whole it is plainly *Juno*, yet it has something of *Mi-* " *nerva*, and *Venus*, and *Luna*, and *Rhea*, and *Diana*, and *Nemesis*, and " the

^a 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5.

^b Antiq. Tom. ii. par. i. l. 4. c. 6.

^c Quae olim praenomina fuerunt, nunc cognomina sunt: ut, Postumus, Agrippa, Proculus, Caesar. Lib. x. De nom. rat.

^d Plin. H. N. Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

^e Pag. lxxxvii. 3.

^f Pag. lxxxii. 2.

^g Sueton. in vit. c. 56.

"the *Parcae*." All the deities here mentioned by this writer were goddesses; so that the attributes, which this image contained, must have been only such as belonged to females. But in some other figures of this kind, which are yet extant, the attributes both of males and females are conjoined^b. Tho' as none of them express the symbols of all the deities, it is plain this title of *Pantheus*, when thus applied, must be taken in a limited sense for what relates to several deities, and not precisely all. I will only add, that it seems to me not improbable *Lucian* had some view to this custom, and designed to expose it in his humorous way, when he represents *Momus* in a decree offered by him to an assembly of the gods for regulating their several pretensions, as proposing among other things, which wanted to be reformed, that all should confine themselves to their own particular business, and not invade the province of others: that *Minerva* should not concern herself with the art of medicine; nor *Aesculapius* give out oracles; nor *Apollo* pretend to so many arts, but fixing upon one, should profess either divination, music, or medicine^c.

CXIII. I took notice of a difficulty in the words of this inscription, relating to *Caracalla*, where he is called *adnepos* both to *Trajan* and *Nerva*. As one of these emperours was the immediate successor to the other, *Caracalla* could not stand in the same degree to both of them; and as by the series of the following emperours he appears to have been *adnepos* to *Trajan*, he must consequently have been *trinepos* to *Nerva*. I imagined therefore that in this clause, DIVI TRAIANI PARTH. ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEP. the word ET might be a mistake for FIL. that is, *Trajani, filii Nervae, adnepoti*. But I have since observed in *Gruter* two or three other inscriptions to *Caracalla* in the same strain, and all with the word ET in them. This indeed does not solve the difficulty, nor remove the seeming impropriety; but it may render the matter worthy of some further enquiry. And that I may set it in as clear a light as I can, I shall here transcribe so much of one of those inscriptions from *Gruter*, as is necessary for that purpose.

IMP. CAES. DIVI. M. ANTONINI
GERM. SARM. FIL. DIVI. COMMODI
FRATER. DIVI. ANTONINI. PII. NEPOS. DIVI
HADRIANI PRONEPOS DIVI TRAIANI PART AB
NEPOS DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS
L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS PIVS
et cetera.

IMP. CAES. IMP. L. SEPTIMI SEVERI PII
PERTINACIS AVG. ARAB. ADIAB. PART. MAX. FIL. DIVI
M. ANTONINI GERM. SARM. NEPOS DIVI ANTO
NINI PII. PRONEPOS. DIVI HADRIANI ABNEPOS DIVI TRAIANI
PART. ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS
M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS PIVS AVG
et cetera^d.

This inscription was found at *Rome*, and erected jointly to *Severus* and *Caracalla*, upon their rebuilding something, which is not there mentioned. But I produce it to shew, that the same difference is made between the succession of *Trajan* to *Nerva*, as in the other emperours, till the fifth degree; for *Severus* is called *Trajani abnepos*, and *Nervae adnepos*. There are two others, which I have observed, in the same form with respect to *Caracalla*, to whom only they were erected^e. Now it is not probable the same error should happen in each of them; unless we may suppose all the rest to have been copies from the first, which

^a Ἡ δὲ Ἡρὴ σκοπιότητι τοῖς πολυαῖδέα μορῶν ἐκ-
φανέας καὶ τὰ μὲν ξύμπαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρὴ ἐστὶ
ἔχει δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ Σεληνάης, καὶ
Ῥέης, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Νεμέσης, καὶ Μοῖρας. De
Dea Syr. p. 1070, ed. Bourdel.

^b See Montfaucon. Par. II. c. 7. pl. 221.

^c Oper. p. 1100. ed. Bourdel.

^d Pag. cxc. 5.

^e P. cclxxviii. 4. cclxix. 1.

which had that mistake. For it cannot seem incredible for artists to propagate such an error one from another, when one sees an instance not altogether unlike it in men of very great learning. *Brissonus*, in order to prove that *adnepos* is *abnepotis filius*, refers to an inscription, which we have in *Gruter*, where, as he says, *L. Aurelius Verus* is called *Nervae adnepos*. Which he proves thus: *A Nerva Trajanum, a Trajano Hadrianum, ab Hadriano Antoninum Pium, a Pio Verum adoptatum, ex historicis notum est*^a. Now here are but four degrees of descent, which reach to *abnepos* (not *adnepos* which makes the fifth) as he is expressly called in the inscription^b. And yet *Calvin* has transcribed this error of *Brissonus* into his *Lexicon Juridicum*. But whether a mistake be supposed here, or not, it may still be asked: Why was not *trinepos*, the proper word for the sixth degree of descent, made use of in these inscriptions with regard to *Nerva*? This, I must confess, is a difficulty, in the solution of which as I cannot please myself, so neither can I expect to satisfy others. All that offers itself to me at present is this: That I am not certain, whether the word *trinepos* was at that time commonly known, and made use of, or not. The lawyers indeed of that age sometimes use it, as *Caius*: *Sexto gradu sunt supra, triavus, triavia; infra, trinepos, trineptis*^c. So *Ulpian*: *Liberos secundum Cassium, ut in parentibus, et ultra trinepotem accipimus*^d. But *Paul* his contemporary differs from him in this: *Parentes usque ad tritavum apud Romanos proprio vocabulo nominantur: ulteriores, qui non habent speciale nomen, majores appellantur. Item liberi usque ad trinepotem, ultra hos posteriores vocantur*^e. 'Tis remarkable that he says the *Romans* had proper names for the six degrees of ascendants, by which, I suppose, he means names well known and in common use; as 'tis plain they had from *Plautus*, who enumerates them in order: *Pater, avos, proavos, abavos, atavos, tritavos*^f. But it is not certain that he affirmed the same of the descendants; for the words, *Item liberi etc.* did not in *Paul* immediately follow, what here precedes them, tho *Tribonian* has tacked these two sentences together. These three lawyers all lived in the reign of *Severus*, and the two last a good while after; and *trinepos* might be introduced by them into genealogies, to answer *tritavus* in the ascending line, tho it was not then ordinarily known, or made use of. If this was really the case, I cannot see how the persons, who drew up these inscriptions, could well do otherwise than they have done; for to have put *Nervae ex liberis*, or any such more general and loose expression, might have been displeasing to a prince of so quick resentment as *Caracalla*. But if this conjecture should not hold, the thing however seems very well to deserve the consideration of the learned, and especially of those who are conversant in the *Roman* law, with whom I shall leave it.

CUMBERLAND.

XLIV. THO both *Augustus* and *Tiberius* refused the title of *Dominus*^a, it was soon after assumed by *Caligula*^b. And *Nero* is called *Kύερος* by *Iestus* the governour of *Judaea*^c. And not to mention the impious folly of *Domitian*, who affected to be called *Dominus et Deus noster*^d; the usual title given to *Trajan* by *Pliny* in his letters to him is *Dominus*. From the early use therefore of this complement paid to the *Roman* emperours, even those of the best as well as worst character, it may seem strange, that it should not sooner get into inscriptions, than it did, so far as now appears. You doubt its being so old as *Caracalla*, and seem to question, whether the inscription published by *Dr. Holland* be genuine, in which this title is given him. But there is another inscription published by *Manutius*^e, and since by *Gruter*^f, which ends thus: DD. NN. IMP. ANTONINO. PIO. AVG. III. ET GETA. NOBILISSIMO. CAES. II. COS. Indeed it was found in a suspicious place, as *Manutius* tells us, in *Quirinali*,

^a De verb. signif. in voce *Atnepos*.^b P. ccl.viii. 2.^c L. 3. pr. ff. de gradib. etc.^d L. 10. §. 9. ff. de in jus vocand.^e L. 10. §. 7. ff. de gradib. etc.^f Pers. l. 2. 5.^a Suet. in vitt. c. 53. 27.^b Aurel. Vict. in vit.^c Act. xxv. 26.^d Suet. in vit. c. 13.^e Orthogr. p. 67.^f Pag. xlv. 13.

Quirinali, in aedibus Pomponii Laeti, who was remarkable for his forgeries of this kind^a; but as these authors produce it among their genuine inscriptions, I thought it not amiss to mention it, that you may give it what reception you think proper.^b Tho' however that be, there is an inscription in *Gruter*, that is indubitable, which gives the title of *Dominus* to *Gordian* the third^c, which is higher than *Aemilian*, from whom some deduce its rise.

α See p. 197.

LI. IF *Bremetenracum* was at *Old Penreth*, I imagine the imperfect letters at the end of this inscription may be read, *vexillatio militum Bremetenraci*. My reason for it is this; that I do not apprehend, how *militēs Romanorum* could at that time be opposed to any others, than *barbarorum*. At the building of the wall indeed, in *Severus's* time, the *Roman* soldiers might be distinguished from the auxiliaries in the provinces; but after that remarkable constitution of *Caracalla*, which made all the subjects of the *Roman* empire, who were free born, *Roman* citizens^c, this difference, as I take it, must of course cease. The *Germans*, *Britons*, *Gauls*, and others, might yet for distinction sake be called each by the name of their own country; but as now they were all *Romans*, I do not see how that name could be applied to any particular nation, or, as I have said, opposed to any others, but such mercenaries, as they hired from the barbarous nations, who were not subject to the *Roman* government, but often employed in their armies, as we learn from the later historians^d. Hence so many odd and foreign names, especially among the soldiery, are found in inscriptions, who notwithstanding might be *Romans*. And therefore the name of the country, which is often expressed, must, I presume, be a much better evidence who were *Romans*, than the names of persons.

LIX. IT is observed in ~~the late edition of~~ *Camden*, that a mint was settled at *London* in the time of *Constantine* the Great, and that the coins, which were struck there, have on them these letters: P. LON. S. that is, *pecunia Londini signata*^a. I have a small brass coin of this *Crispus*, and another of *Constantinus junior*, which, as I have been told, were found at *Verulam*; they have both an altar on the reverse, and under it only the letters P. LON. which, I suppose, may be read, *percussus Londini*, that is *nummus*. To this sense of the word *percussus*, *Seneca* plainly alludes, when he says: *Omnia facta dictaque tua inter se congruant, ac respondeant sibi, et una forma percussa sint*^c.

II. DR. *Lister*, who first wrote out this inscription, and from whose copy the others have since been taken, tells us, that it contained nine lines^b. And therefore he has left a space between his fifth and sixth line, sufficient to contain two others. In this space the names of the person, who erected the altar, might probably be inserted. And as it appears by the doctor's draught, that the inscription filled up the whole face of the altar, it is scarce credible to me so great a chasm should be left between LV and NENS. I cannot but think therefore, that a letter or two are wanting here, which may have been LI in LIBENS; and that so might have been at the end of the preceding line, which joined to L at the beginning of this would stand for *solvit*, as v that follows may for *votum*. This is agreeable to the usual form, *solvit votum libens merito*, suits the space, and renders the inscription compleat.

DURIAM.

I. BOTH the inscriptions here taken from *Camden* refer, as you observe, to centurions, and I am inclined to think are both sepulchral. But as a centurion commanded but a sixth part of a cohort, I can scarce think the whole cohort concerned in this monument, and therefore should choose to read the first line in the genitive case: *Cohortis primae Fris. centurioni etc.*

LANCASHIRE.

I. I

^a See Voss. De histor. Lat. Lib. III. c. 8.

^b Pag. cclxxii. 5.

^c L. 17. ff. de stat. hom.

^d See Spanhem. Orb. Rom. Exerc. II. c. 21.

^a Pag. 374. 05. 224. 1007.

^b Epist. 34.

^c Phil. Transl. N. 145.

YORKSHIRE.

I. I suppose this is an altar, and that the words *DEAE FORTVNAE* at the top refer to it, and not to the building, as if *Virius Lupus* dedicated this bath to the goddess *Fortuna*. For tho civil things are said to be dedicated by *Latin* writers, as *theatrum, domum, bibliothecam dedicare*; yet no more seems to be intended by this sense of the word, than applying the thing to its proper use, and not devoting it to any deity, as in the dedication of things sacred^a. And therefore, as this inscription is read, I am in doubt what verb to supply to *Virius Lupus*, whether *fuit, jussit*, or some other. Tho I suppose, whatever it be, the same will do in another inscription, which runs in the like form: *Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Pertinax etc. cohortium vexillationes fecerunt*^b.

X. *REINESIUS* thought (as you observe of *B. Fleetwood*) that the *sevir* *Augustales* in the colonies were not only priests, but also civil magistrates^c. But Cardinal *Noris* has offered such reasons against that opinion, which appear to me highly probable. He observes, that the *Roman* law expressly says: *Is, qui non sit decurio, decemviratu vel aliis honoribus fungi non potest*^d. Now it is plain from inscriptions, that the *sevir* were not only a distinct order from the *decuriones*, but also inferior to them. For thus they are often mentioned: *Ordo decurionum, et Augustalium, et plebs universa*^e; and the same person is sometimes called both *sevir* and *decturio*^f. This shews both that their offices were different, and that the *seviratus* was inferior to the other, by its being put first. And as the *seviratus* was commonly for a limited time, persons might often be advanced from one of these offices to the other. Thus we have in *Gruter* more than once, *sevir Augustalis iterum*, and *quinquennalis*; and sometimes indeed *perpetuus*. However it is not improbable, that these two offices being in some inscriptions attributed to the same person might be one reason, which led those learned men to suppose the *sevir* were magistrates as well as priests, by not considering that they were held in succession, and not at the same time. It is true, that some of these *sevir* are said *ornari ornamentis decurionalibus*^g; but, as the Cardinal well observes, this was only titular, and no more impowered them to officiate as magistrates, like the *decuriones* in the colonies; than if a person received the honour of consular ornaments from the emperor, as was sometimes done, it entitled him to act as consul at *Rome*^h. I am inclined to think therefore, that this *Diogenes* in your inscription was only a priest of the order of the *sevir* *Augustales*; since had he been a *decturio*, or any other magistrate, it would have been expressed upon the stone.

OXFORDSHIRE.

I. IN coming some time since from *Oxford* I went to *Dorchester* to see the *Roman* altar, which was found there this last summer.^a It is now at the seat of *Sir George Oxenden* Baronet, at *Little Wittenham*, scarce a mile from the place where it was dug up. The reverend Mr. *Thomas Lancaster*, Minister of *Dorchester*, who was so kind as to go with me, and procure me a sight of the altar, gave me this further account concerning it. He said, it was discovered in *May* last, in digging a sawpit behind the *Lion inn*, on the west side of *Dorchester*, and lay about five foot under ground. I both copied the inscription, and took a draught of the altar according to your scale of one eighth, which I now send you. I know not whether it may be worth observing, that *beneficiarius* in our *British* inscriptions, where we have several instances of the word, is always called *beneficiarius consulis*. And therefore when *Vegetius* says, that name was given to persons in the army,

^a See *Casaub.* ad *Suet. Ner. c. 31.*^b *Northumb. N. cix.*^c *Synt. Inscript. Class. i. 99. and Epist. 31.*^d *Leg. 7. §. 2. ff. de decur.*^e *Grut. Pag. CCCCLXXV. 3. etc.*^f *Id. XLIX. 2.*^g *Gruter. Pag. LXXXI. 7. cx. 1.*^h *Coenot. Pisan. p. 79, etc.*

army, who were promoted *beneficio tribuni*^a, he can, I suppose, mean no more, than that it was usually so; especially since *Gruter* has not only *beneficiarius tribuni*, but also *consulis, praetoris, legati, praefecti*, and some others. There is no *focus* on the top of this altar; so that it could neither be designed for sacrifices, nor incense.^b *Tacitus* tells us, that the altar of *Paphian Venus* was not suffered to be stained with blood; and that nothing was offered up there, but prayers and pure fire^b. However there must, I presume, have been a *focus* to contain the fire. But *Macrobius* mentions an altar of *Apollo* at *Delos*, at which, as he says, no beast was slain, and the deity was addressed to only by solemn prayer^c. And *Pausanias* takes notice of an altar at *Athens*, consecrated to *Jupiter ὐπαίος*, the same as our *optimus maximus*, on which no animal was offered, nor wine, but only cakes^d. These two last altars might probably have no *focus*, since the use for which they were appointed seems not to require any. And there might possibly be another altar of this sort in the temple of *Jupiter Urius*, at the entrance of the *Euxine* sea. For one verse of the inscription on the basis of his statue, which stood in that temple, as it has lately been published by the reverend and learned Mr. *Chisbull*, runs thus:

Νεῖδω, τῶδε ἑλάνων ψαυτὰ παρὰ ἑοάνῳ^e.

The mentioning cakes only seems to suit very well with *Pausanias's* account, relating to the altar of *Jupiter* at *Athens*. But this *Dorchester* altar, like that of *Apollo* at *Delos*, was very probably erected only for addresses by prayer; which might occasion its being railed in. For in this kind of worship there was not that necessity to approach so near to the altar, as when they offered sacrifices, or any other kind of oblations. I do not remember to have met with the word *cancelli* applied to any other heathen altar, which makes the inscription upon this the more remarkable. But that they did sometimes inclose or fence in their altars, may, I think, be gathered from a passage in *Cornel. Nepos*, where he mentions a young man, who taking sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* at *Taenarus*, *in ara consedit*^f; by which, I suppose, must be meant, that he sat within some inclosure that encompassed the altar.^g And some have understood *Virgil* in the same sense, when speaking of *Helenæ* he says:

Trojae et patriae communis Erinmys,
Abdiderat sese, atque aris invisæ sedebat^h.

But *Servius* joins *aris* here to *invisæ*, and not to *sedebat*, making the sense to be, *hateful to the altars*, or the deities to whom they were consecrated.

XXXIV. BEING lately to wait upon *Roger Gale Esq*; he did me the honour to communicate to me some observations he had made upon the statue, and three inscriptions, found not long since at *Middleby*, and which are now in the possession of Baron *Clerk*. What he was pleased to say upon that occasion appeared to me so curious and accurate, that I cannot omit to acquaint you with it. The statue he supposes to be either a *Victory*, from the resemblance of wings; or a sort of *Panthea*, adorned with the attributes of *Victory* and *Pallas*; there being hitherto no statue discovered, nor any mention made by writers, so far as he remembers, of a winged *Pallas*.

BRIGANTIE, the first word of the inscription under the image, he takes to be the name of the deity represented by the image, and thinks that in the inscription published in the edition of *Camden* 1695, which begins with DEAE NYMPHAE

α C V. xxxii, xxxiii
umberland has
no focus. Mr. S.
takes notice of
altar found it
without a focus
seems doubtful
that reason
it should be
about. S. P. C.

We have also a lot
in Scotland, where
iniquum, fuisse;
nam. Ad. cl.

SCOTLAND.

^a Lib. ii. c. 7.

^b Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum; precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur. Hist. Lib. ii. c. 2.

^c Constat Deli esse aram, apud quam hostia non caeditur, sed tantum solemnem deum prece venerantur. Saturn. Lib. iii. c. 6.

^d Διὶ ἑστὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπάτω, ἔσθ' αὖ ἐμψυχον δύνασιν ἑλάνων πύματα δὲ θύγεις, ἔσθ' ἔπ' ἄνω χροσσεύει νομίζουσιν. Αἴτιον. p. 24. edit. 1583.

^e Antiquit. Asiat. p. 61.

^f In vit. Pausan. c. 4.

^g Aen. ii. v. 573.

NYMPHAE BRIG^a. the abbreviated name BRIG. may be read *Brigantiae*, and probably refer to the same goddess. Which part of the inscription, or another in the same form, is given us by Mr. *Selden*, and said by him to have been taken from the *Collectanea* of *Camden*, that were left by him for the improvement of his *Britannia*^b. From the last words of the inscription EX IMPERIO IMP. I. if it be an I, Mr. *Gale* conjectures, that this statue was erected by the command of some emperor, and not improbably *Julian*.

XXXV. THE words CENS. SIGILL. COL LIGN. in the inscription upon the altar this learned gentleman chooses to read, *censor sigillorum collegii ligniferorum*, and supposes *censor sigillorum* to have been an officer appointed to examine such images, as were erected by this college. *Ligniferi* he takes to be the *Latin* word for the same sort of persons, who in other inscriptions are called by the *Greek* name *dendrophori*,^c whose business, as some have thought, was to carry boughs at the festivals of the deities^d. But Mr. *Gale* thinks they might also be employed to provide firewood for sacrifices; for he takes them to have been instituted upon a religious account, as it is plain from inscriptions, that several other colleges were appointed for such purposes. This reading of *collegium ligniferorum* seems to me more probable, than *lignatorum* or *lignariorum*; because we meet with *collegium dendrophorum* in several inscriptions, but never, that I can find, either of *lignatorum* or *lignariorum*. Besides *lignator* is usually a military term, and denotes one, who provides wood for the army. And as for *lignarius*, tho *faber lignarius* is commonly supposed to be *Latin* for a *carpenter*; yet the places referred to for this, in authors of any considerable authority, all read *tignarius* in the best copies^e. So we meet with *collegium tignariorum* in *Gruter*^f, and *collegium tignuariorum* in *Spon*^g. And *tignum* in the *Pandects* is said to be, *omne genus materiae, ex qua aedificia constant*^h. Whereas *lignum* according to *Varro* signifies wood for firing, and not for buildingⁱ. And *Ulpian* says: *Ligni appellatio nomen generale est; sed sic separatur, ut sit aliquid materia, aliquid lignum: materia est quae ad aedificandum, fulciendum necessaria est; lignum, quicquid comburendi causa paratum est*^j. But the abbreviated word CENS. I am inclined to think may be a third name of the person, who erected the altar, and stand either for *Censor* or *Censorinus*, both which are in *Gruter*; and SIGILL. that follows, for *sigillarius*. So that I would suppose this person to have been employed in making images of the deities both for the common use of the college, and its several members; it being an usual practice among the *Romans* for persons to have small images, which they worshiped in private, and often carried about with them. I am the rather inclined to this reading, because I do not meet with the word *censor* properly used in any other sense, than as a public officer of the state. As to *sigillarius*, it is a word that does not often occur, but I find in the ancient *Glossaries*, ἀγαλματῶν, *fiCTOR simulacri, sigillarius*. And there is an inscription in *Gruter*, that begins, D. M. C. TVDICELIO. FEL. AFRO. . . IGILLARIO^k, for *sigillario*. Tho I cannot indeed but imagine this inscription is the same, which has since been more correctly published by *Labretti*, who reads SIGILLARIARIO^l; in another of whose inscriptions we likewise meet with FABRO FLATVARIO. SIGILLIARIARIO^m. As I take *faber flatuarius* in this last inscription to signify a *founder*, *sigilliarius* must here denote one who casts such images in metal. And perhaps *Demetrius* with the rest of his associates, who raised the disturbance at *Ephesus*ⁿ, may not improperly come under this denomination; for it was usual to place the images of the deities in those little shrines^o.

XXXVI.

^a Pag. 896.^b Oper. Vol. II. p. 1477.^c Spon, Miscell. erud. p. 56.^d Cic. De clar. orat. c. 73. V. S. leg. 235. Paul. Lib. III. Sent. t. 6. etc.^e Pag. xcix. 9. etc.^f Miscell. erud. ant. p. 59.^g V. S. leg. 62.^h L. I. lib. v.ⁱ Leg. 55. ff. de legat. 3.^j Pag. Mxxxv. 3.^k Inscip. ant. p. 243.^l Ibid. p. 720.^m Acts XIX. 24.ⁿ Monum. Kemp. Par. I. p. 6.

XXXVI. THE same gentleman was pleased further to observe to me, that he thought the construction of the words, CVLTORES COL. LIGNI in the inscription on the pedestal would appear more easy, if they were read, *cultores collegium ligniferorum ejusdem dei*, by apposition, rather than by the genitive case *collegii*. And the four last letters v. s. l. m. may either be read *votum solverunt libentes merito*; or, as we sometimes find them explained, *voto soluto libenter merito*.

I HAVE, as you desired, drawn up a short *Essay* upon *Peutinger's Table*. But understanding by Mr. *Osborn* that the printer would want it, before it could be sent down to you and returned, I gave it directly to him. I wish, when you see it, it may prove to your mind; and that your whole work may meet with a reception from the public, suitable to the great labour and study it has cost you in composing it. The usefulness, as well as the pleasure and entertainment, of such enquiries, has been always acknowledged by persons of the most polite and refined taste; who have never thought it disagreeable to their character to engage in them, and communicate to the world the antiquities of their country. But I fear I have already tired you by so long an epistle, and therefore shall add no more, than to assure you, I am,

S I R,

G. C. 2 Dec. 1731.

Your most humble Servant

John Ward.

BRITANNIA

BRITANNIA ROMANA.

BOOK THE THIRD:

Containing an account of the *Roman* geography
of *Britain*.

The Introduction.

SEVERAL methods have been used for fixing the situation of those places or stations, whose names occur in ancient authors; as also for finding out the names of such places, as appear by visible remains, and evident marks, to have formerly been *Roman* cities or forts, though now in a ruinous state, or quite demolished.

AFFINITY in sound has been much used by the best antiquaries, tho' by none, I think, so much as by our learned *Cambden*: but it is evident that this method (especially when a loose is given to the imagination) is very uncertain, and has actually led this excellent author into many errors. Yet I do not say that it is to be altogether neglected, but only that it ought to be used with caution, and rather as a collateral evidence; except in some particular cases, where the resemblance is so manifest, as to render the argument drawn from it conclusive: as *London*, *Verulam*, *Cataraet*; *Londinium*, *Verulamium*, *Cataraeto*. Indeed where no better evidence can be had than a much less affinity of sound, we must take up with such as we have, but ought then to remember, that this sort of evidence should weigh more or less in proportion to the real affinity, and not that which is only imaginary. And I would in most cases rather choose to trust to the sense, than the sound; and think the same meaning of the ancient and modern name deserves chiefly to be regarded, when this is apparent and real. Thus I have in my enquiry about the stations *per lineam valli*, shewn that *Tunnocelum* does signify a promontory on the river or frith of *Ituna*, and thereby proved or confirmed it to be *Boulness*. So the names compounded with *dwr* or *dunum* and the like, signify their

X x x x

situation

situation near a river, or on a hill, of which there are various instances in the following chapters. Under this head it may also be worthy of a remark, that the ancient name is more frequently retained in the modern name of the river, on which the *Roman* towns have stood, than in the present name of the places themselves. The names of towns may depend on the pleasure of the inhabitants, or other people near to them; but rivers (which might be distinguished by the names of those towns) run through large tracts of ground, and are not so liable to a variation in their names; nor are there such frequent occasions for changing the name in the one case, as in the other. The truth and justice of this remark will fully appear from numerous instances in this book.

ANTIENT inscriptions have been used, and are often of real use to this purpose. For it seems most probable, that inscriptions are first found at the places where they were erected; and that the names of places mentioned in any inscriptions are the names of those places, where they at first were set up. I would not affirm that this rule is general, or that in all instances of such a nature this *criterion* is to be admitted; but in most cases I look on it as pretty certain. I see no reason to believe that the *Romans*, as they marched or retreated, removed these monuments with them. It is more probable that in some instances the soldiers, who stately quartered at one place, might be on some occasion at another, either on duty or other affairs, and might erect monuments at the place where they were, with the name of the place (not where they then were occasionally, but where they stately quartered) inscribed on them. But I know not of any reason to think that this did frequently happen. It is true indeed that of late such monuments have been removed into the *musæa* of the *virtuosi*, or to the houses of curious gentlemen. But in this case the distance to which they have been removed is either not very great, or else usually an account is kept of the places from whence they were brought. The most remarkable instance of this sort is that of *Riechester*, which (as will be shewn) appears by this method of reasoning to be *Bremenium*; or at least receives much confirmation from it. Besides it may sometimes so happen, that the name of a place may be in an inscription, which we meet with nowhere else. And of this there is in fact an instance or two in *Britain*; namely *Bracchium* at *Brugh* in *Richmondshire*, and *Habitancum* at *Risingham* in *Northumberland*. To these, perhaps, may be added *Apiatorium* in the inscription now in the library at *Durham*^a, which is probably *Beaucaastle*, if the altar was found there, and also *Alaterva* for *Cramond* in *Scotland*^b. It is well known how much service has been done by comparing inscriptions with the *Notitia*, of which many instances are given in this collection. In my opinion some light may also be got by comparing inscriptions with the *Itinerary*. Thus for instance, when we are assured from the *Itinerary*, that the *legio secunda Augusta* was at *Isca* (*Silurum*) and the *legio xx. v.v.* at *Deva*; we may conclude that the former is *Caerleon*, and the latter *West Chester*, from the inscriptions which have been found there, mentioning the respective legions, and some of them in all probability not differing much in date from the time of writing the *Itinerary*.

THE accounts and descriptions of ancient authors must be of great use, and have been in many cases justly appealed to. It must be owned that the descriptions of these authors are often confused and obscure, and sometimes inconsistent with one another, which may lessen their authority; but yet they are in many cases our best guides. These ancient authors are the *classics* and *Roman* historians, the ancient geographers, *Antonine's Itinerary*, and the *Notitia dignitatum*

^a Northumberland N. LXXVII.

^b N. XXIX. There are two other, but more doubtful names of places, which occur in inscriptions: I mean *Brexarum* and *Braciaca*; the former for *Brugh* on the

Humber in *Yorkshire*, and the latter for a *Roman* place in *Derbyshire*. But I must refer to the observations, page 314, 318.

dignitatum utriusque imperii. Instances of the usefulness of the *classics*, and *Roman* historians, have been given in the first book. But as for the ancient geographers, and what I may call geographical historians, I see little to our purpose in *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, or *Pliny*; *Ptolemy* is the principal. This third book therefore will consist of five *Essays* or *Discourses*, founded on the accounts of so many ancient writers relating to *Britain*. The first of these is *Ptolemy*, to whom I have given the preference for order's sake, as being the most ancient. The next is *Antonine*, whose *Itinerary* appears to me the most useful of all, and must be our surest guide with relation to the places mentioned in it, and therefore I have treated most largely upon it. This is followed by the account in the *Notitia*, which justly succeeds the former, as being next to it in usefulness. To these I have subjoined the anonymous *Ravennas*; though some perhaps may think the principal use of this author is to shew, how strangely the names of places may be altered or corrupted. And that nothing might be omitted, which could be thought to have any tendency either to confirm or illustrate this part of the work, there is added in the last place so much of the *Tabulae Peutingerianae* as relates to our subject, with an account of the antiquity, nature, and use of those tables, which I have been favoured with by Mr. *Ward*. But I would farther observe with relation to the *Itinerary*, that besides its principal use, it also assists us to determine the situation and limits of the countries possessed by the several people in the time of the *Romans*; because from it we may learn, what were the capital cities of several countries, and where they were situated. Thus we have *Isu* (for *Isurium*) *Brigantum* in the fifth *iter*; from whence we may gather, that *Isurium* was probably the capital of the *Brigantes*, before *York* became so great. We have also *Venta Belgarum*, and *Calleva Atrebatum*, in the seventh *iter*; *Venta Icenorum* in the ninth; *Venta Silurum* in the fourteenth; and *Isca Dumnoniorum* in the twelfth and fifteenth.

IF in the course of these enquiries I shall often find occasion to differ from those learned antiquaries, who have engaged in this province before me, as I desire my sentiments may be no farther regarded, than they appear to be supported by sufficient evidence, so I hope I need make no farther apology for such dissent. Though indeed after all the light which can be collected from these ancient writers, and other helps, we still find ourselves too often left in the dark. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the distance of time, the imperfect accounts left us of these matters, and the great alterations which have been made in this island, since those ages into which we are now enquiring. And perhaps it will be no disagreeable reflection to consider, while we are searching after *Roman* stations and military ways, how many fine towns, and fruitful fields, now stand in their place, and stop us in our pursuit. The exchange is doubtless very happy, and though it may afford an agreeable pleasure to an inquisitive mind to view those marks and traces of slavery and subjection to a foreign power; yet it is certainly a more substantial happiness to feel ourselves a free people, and to find our country in most parts a pleasant garden, instead of a series of *Roman* garrisons. But I must proceed to my account of *Ptolemy*.

CHAPTER I.

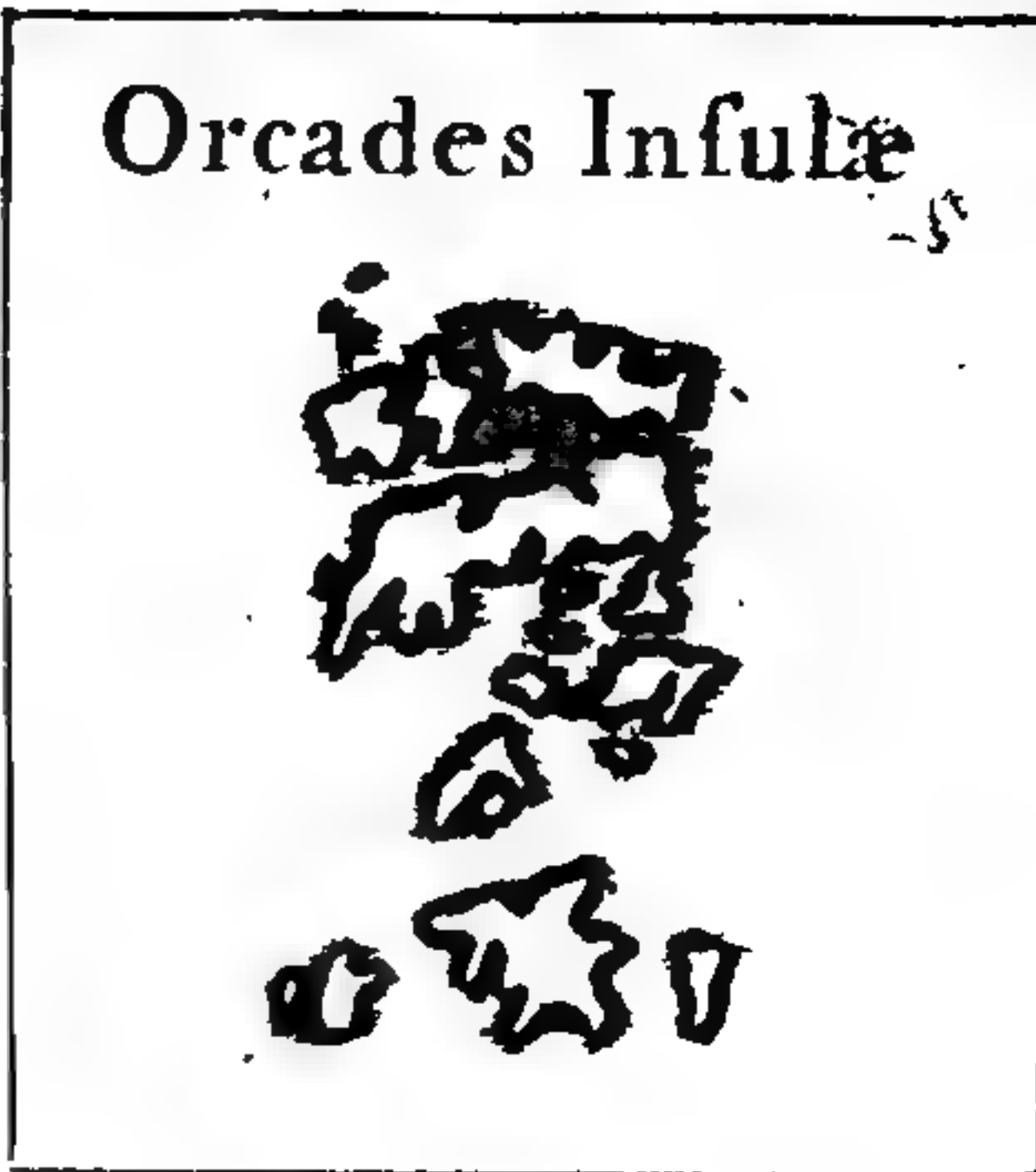
An Essay on Ptolemy's Geography, so far as it relates to Britain.

Containing, I. Some account of the author and his work. II. The Greek text with an English translation adjoined to it. III. Remarks on some of Ptolemy's mistakes. IV. A method to find out the places designed by the names in Ptolemy. V. An alphabetical list of all the places in Britain mentioned by Ptolemy, with a short comment upon them.

I. **A**S my design is not to write the life of *Ptolemy*, so I shall not attempt a critical enquiry into the time and place of his birth or writing. That he was of *Alexandria* appears from the title of his book, though he is supposed by some to have been a native of *Pelusium*; and that he lived and wrote under *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, is generally agreed. The work I am now concerned with, though very incorrect, yet is of great service. The order in which *Ptolemy* disposes his towns, rivers, and other places, especially those on the coast, almost equals for usefulness the distances in the *Itinerary*, and the order in the *Notitia*: and the same method pursued here, as I shall use with respect to them, will have, I hope, equal success. When the coast is once settled, which I presume may be done with certainty and ease, it will be of good service to consider the relative situation of the towns with respect to it, in order to fix these likewise. And when we are sure of any one or two counties, which belong to a people, from the towns mentioned as being among them; we may guess what other neighbouring counties have most probably belonged to the same people; either by observing what were most likely to be the boundaries, or from some other collateral evidences, as will appear more clearly from the sequel. 'Tis true that *Ptolemy's* numerous and manifest errors are very discouraging; and we may suppose the work to be far from being very accurate, when a person of so much learning and candor as Baron *Clerk* says, that "he has always considered *Ptolemy* amongst the most "uncorrect of all antient authors". Several things might justly be pleaded to excuse his inaccuracies, and great allowance must be made for the time in which he wrote; but my business at present is only to make the best use I can of him, for settling the antient *Roman* geography of *Britain*.

II. AND to this end I shall here insert all that our author has said concerning *Britain* in the original *Greek*, with an *English* version, in two opposite columns. The *Greek* is taken from the edition of *Peter Bertius*. I shall only premise a short account of the method he uses to distinguish the several parts of a degree both of longitude or latitude. The usual numeral letters are applied by him to this purpose, but not in an usual or obvious manner. For each letter signifies such a part of a degree as is its value, or must be looked on as the denominator of a fraction (with unity for a numerator) whose integer is a degree. Thus for instance, γ and δ 3 and 4 express $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a degree, or $20'$ and $15'$; and if they stand together thus, $\gamma\delta$ (after the number of integers or whole degrees) they denote $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a degree added together, that is $20' + 15' = 35'$. The same must be applied to the other numerals used in this case. But $\gamma\circ$ are double the value of γ , or equal to $40'$. He uses likewise this character [\mathcal{L}] for half a degree. But in order to render the reading and meaning more easy, I have in the translation changed this method of noting the parts of a degree into the more usual one of doing it by the number of minutes, sixty of which make up a degree.

PTOLEMY'S



A
Corrected MAP of
BRITAIN
according to PTOLEMY.
or Ptolemy's Britain
RECTIFIED.

OCEANVS
VERGINIVS

PTOLEMY'S Geography, Book II.

Κ Ε Φ. γ.

CHAPTER III.

ΑΛΟΥΙΩΝΟΣ νήσος Βρεττανικής
Θέσις.

The position of the *British* island
ALBION.

Ευρώπης πινάξι α.

Europe, TABLE I.

Ἀρχὴ τῆς νήσου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δευκαλιωνίδος.

THE description of the northern side,
beyond which is the ocean called
Deucalionian.

Peninsula *Novantium*, with a promontory of
the same name

<i>Rerigonian</i> bay	20.30	60.50
Bay of <i>Vidutara</i>	21.20	60.30
Estuary of <i>Clota</i>	22.15	59.40
<i>Lelannian</i> bay	24.00	60.40
Promontory of <i>Epidium</i>	23.00	60.40
Mouth of the river <i>Langus</i>	24.00	60.40
Mouth of the river <i>Eys</i>	27.00	60.00
Bay <i>Velfis</i>	29.00	60.30
Mouth of the river <i>Nabacus</i>	30.00	60.30
Promontories <i>Tarvidum</i> and <i>Orcas</i>	31.20	60.15

The description of the western side, which
lies along the *Irish* and *Vergivian* seas,
after the peninsula *Novantium* which hath
(as above)

Mouth of the river <i>Abravannus</i>	19.20	61.00
Estuary <i>Jena</i>	19.00	60.30
Mouth of the river <i>Deva</i>	18.00	60.00
Mouth of the river <i>Novius</i>	18.20	59.30
Estuary <i>Iuma</i>	18.30	58.45
Estuary <i>Moricambi</i>	17.30	58.20
Haven of the <i>Setani</i>	17.20	57.45
Estuary <i>Belisama</i>	17.30	57.20
Estuary <i>Seteia</i>	17.00	57.00
Mouth of the river <i>Torsobius</i>	15.40	56.20
Promontory of the <i>Canani</i>	15.00	56.00
Mouth of the river <i>Simeta</i>	15.20	55.30
Mouth of the river <i>Tuerobius</i>	15.00	55.00
Promontory of <i>Oslapitarum</i>	14.20	54.30
Mouth of the river <i>Tobius</i>	15.30	54.30
Mouth of the river <i>Ratofla-</i> <i>thybius</i>	16.30	54.30
Estuary <i>Sabriana</i>	17.20	54.30
Estuary <i>Lexala</i>	16.00	53.30
Promontory of <i>Hercules</i>	14.00	53.00
Promontory <i>Antiveflaenum</i> , sometimes called <i>Bolerium</i>	11.00	52.30

Promontory

two near together, but promiscuously called by one
name either *Tarvidum* or *Orcas*.

After, i.e. next on the other side, or after we
pass it.

- ^m Pal. Ἀβραβάνου.
- ⁿ P. Ἰουαίς χύσις.
- ^o P. Ἰουαίς χύσις.
- ^p Pal. Μορικαμβίης χύσις.
- ^q Palat. Σιγανθίων.
- ^r Pal. Βελισαμαίς χύσις.
- ^s P. Σιγνιατάτις χύσις.
- ^t Palat. Γασγανών.
- ^u P. Τερσίον.
- ^v Pal. Σαβριανάτις χύσις.
- ^w Pal. Οὐξάματις χύσις.

Y y y y

^a Pal. habet αλ.
^b N B ὑπόκειμαι with Ptolemy signifies a more
southern situation, ὑπέκειμαι a more northern.

^c Pal. Νονάντων.
^d Νονάντων or Νονάντων χερσόνησος must, I think,
be the peninsula of the *Novantae* (a people named
afterwards) but yet I see it usually called *Novan-*
tum, and I have complied with the custom.

^e P. Οὐιδόγαρα.
^f P. Χλαδία χύσις.
^g Palat. Λεμααννίνι.

^h P. Νακάμα.
ⁱ Palat. Ταρβιδίου.
^k " *Tarvidum* which is also called *Orcas* promon-
tories." So Ptolemy. I suppose they have been

Ἀλαῦνα κβ λδ νθ γ
 Λίνδον κγ νθ λ
 Οὐικτορία^α κγ λ νθ
 ΓΑΔΗΝΟΙ^β δὲ ἀρκτικώτεροι.

ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ δὲ μεσημβρινώτεροι, ἐν οἷς πό-
 λεις^γ,

Κερία^δ κ σ νθ
 Βρεμίνιον^ε κα νη λδ
 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Δαμνονίους πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ἀρκτι-
 κώτεροι μὲν, ὑπὸ τῇ Ἐπιδίῳ ἄκρῃ ὡς πρὸς
 ἀνατολὰς, ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ.
 Μεθ' οὗς ΚΕΡΩΝΕΣ^ς.

Εἴτα ΚΑΡΝΟΝΑΚΑΙ.

Εἴτα ΚΑΡΗΝΟΙ.

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι καὶ τελευτάῳι ΚΟΡΝΑ-
 ΒΤΟΙ.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῇ Λαλαμνονίᾳ κόλπῳ μέχρι τῆς
 οὐάρας εἰσχύσεως ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ.
 Καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ὁ Καληδόνι^ζ δρυμός.
 Ὡν ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΚΑΝΤΑΙ.

Μεθ' οὗς ΛΟΓΟΙ, (νωάπλιοντες τοῖς ΚΟΡ-
 ΝΑΤΙΟΙΣ.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς Λόγους ΜΕΡΤΑΙ.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς Καληδονίους ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ,
 παρ' οἷς πόλεις,

Βανατία κδ νθ λ
 Τάμεια κε νθ γ
 Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον κζ δ νθ γ

Τέσις κς λδ νθ σ

ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς δυσμικώτεροι μὲν ΟΥΕΝΙ-
 ΚΟΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Ὀρρεα κδ νη λδ

Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις,
 Δεβανα κς δ νθ λδ

Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τὰς Ἐλγούας, καὶ τὰς Ὀτα-
 δινοὺς δὴκοντες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πελάγη,
 ΒΡΙΓΑΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Ἐπείακον ιη λ νη λ
 Οὐιννοκίον ιζ λ νη
 Κατερράκλιονιον κ νη
 Κάλατον ιθ νζ λ
 Ἰσέρμον κ νζ γο
 Ριγόδουμον ιη νζ λ
 Ολίκανα ιθ νζ λ
 Ἐβόρακον κ νζ γ

ΛΕΓΙΩΝ ΕΚΤΗ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΟΣ

Καμουλδόνιον ιη δ νζ

Πρὸς οἷς, ὑπὲρ τῇ ἀλίμῳ κόλπον, ΠΑΡΙΣΟΙ,
 καὶ πόλεις,

Πεττουαρία κ γο νς γο

ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς καὶ τὰς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι
 δυσμικώτατα μὲν ΟΥΔΟΤΙΚΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πό-
 λεις,

Μεδιολάνιον ις λδ νς γο
 Βραννογένιον ις νς δ

Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙ, ἐν
 οἷς πόλεις,

Δηούνα ιη λ νι

Καὶ ΛΕΓΙΩΝ Κ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΟΣ.

Οὐιροκόνιον ις λδ νι λδ

Μεθ' οὗς ΚΟΡΙΤΑΤΟΙ ἐν οἷς πόλεις

Λίνδον ιη γο νι λδ

Alauna 22.45 59.20
 Lindum 23.00 59.30
 Victoria 23.30 59.00

The GADENI of a more northern situation
 [i.e. than the Otadeni.]

The OTADENI more to the south, among
 whom are these towns,

Curia 20.10 59.00
 Bremenium 21.00 58.45

After the Damni eastward, but more
 northerly, and inclining to the east from
 the promontory Epidium, are the EPIDI.
 Next to them the CERONES, [and then east
 from them the CREONES^ς.]

Then the CARNONACAE.

Next the CAREN.

The last and more easterly are the CORNABYI.

From the Laelamnonian bay to the estuary of
 Varar are the CALEDONII.

And north of them the Caledonian wood.

But more to the east than they are the
 CANTAE.

Next to them are the LOGI, adjoining to
 the CORNAVII.

And north from the Logi lie the MERTAE.

South from the Caledonii are the VACOMAGI,
 whose towns are these,

Banatia 24.00 59.30
 Tamea 25.00 59.20

The winged camp, Ala- } 27.15 59.20
 tu castra

Tuesis 26.45 59.10

South from them are the VENICONTES to
 the west, and their town

Orrea 24.00 58.45

To the east the TEXALI, and the town
 Devana 26.15 59.45

Again, south from the Elgovae^η and the
 Otadeni, and reaching from sea to sea,
 are the BRIGANTES, whose towns are,

Epiacum 18.30 58.30
 Vinnovium 17.30 58.00
 Caturvaetonium 20.00 58.00
 Calatum 19.00 57.30
 Isurium 20.00 57.40
 Rigodunum 18.00 57.30
 Olivana 19.00 57.30
 Eboracum. 20.00 57.20

LEGIO SEKTA VICTRIX.

Camunlodunum 18.15 57.00

Beside these, about the well-havened bay, are
 the PARISI, and the town

Petuaria 20.40 56.40

South from these and the Brigantes, but the
 most western, are situated the ORNOVICES;
 among whom are the following towns,

Mediolanium 16.45 56.40
 Brannogenium 16.00 56.15

More to the east than these are the CORNA-
 VII, and their towns,

Deuna 18.30 55.00

LEGIO VICESIMA VICTRIX.

Viroconium. 16.45 55.45

Next these are the CORITANI, and their towns,

Lindum 18.40 55.45

Rago

^α Pal. Οὐικτορία.

^β P. Γαδανοί.

^γ Pal. addit, λιλ.

^δ P. Κέρια.

^α P. Ἀρεμίνιον.

^β P. inf. ἤτοι ἀναπλ. ΚΡΕΟΝΕΣ.

^γ This is taken from the Palatine copy.

^δ Selgovae before.

<i>Rage</i>	18.00	55.30
Then the CATYEVCHLANI, whose towns are,		
<i>Salenae</i>	20.10	55.40
<i>Urolanium</i>	19.20	55.30
Next these are the SIMENI, their town is		
<i>Venta</i>	20.30	55.20
And more easterly, beside the estuary <i>Jamen-</i> <i>sa</i> , are the TRINOANTIS, whose town is		
<i>Camudolanum</i>	21.00	55.00
Again, south from the countries before men- tioned, but in the most western part, are the		
DEMETAE, among whom are these towns,		
<i>Luentinum</i>	15.45	55.10
<i>Maridunum</i>	15.30	55.40
More easterly than these are the SILYRES, whose town is		
<i>Bullaeum</i>	16.20	55.00
Next them are the DOBVNI, and the town		
<i>Corinium</i>	18.00	54.10
Then the ATREBATHI, and the town		
<i>Nalium</i>	19.00	54.15
Next these and in the most eastern part are the CANTII, and among them these towns,		
<i>Londinium</i>	20.00	54.00
<i>Daruenum</i>	21.00	53.40
<i>Rutupiae</i>	21.45	54.00
Again, the REGNI lie south from the <i>Atreba-</i> <i>thi</i> and the <i>Canti</i> , and the town		
<i>Neomagus</i>	19.45	53.25
Also the BELGAE lie south from the <i>Dunum</i> , and the towns,		
<i>Ischalis</i>	16.40	53.30
<i>Aquae calidae</i>	17.20	53.40
<i>Venta</i>	18.40	53.30
South-west from these are the DVROTRIENS, and their town		
<i>Dunium</i>	18.50	52.05
Next to them, in the most western part are the DVMNONII, among whom are these towns,		
<i>Voliba</i>	14.45	52.20
<i>Uxela</i>	15.00	52.45
<i>Tamare</i>	15.00	52.15
<i>Illa</i>	17.30	52.45
LEGIO SECUNDA AVGVSTA	17.30	52.35
The islands adjacent to <i>Albion</i> near the promontory <i>Orcas</i> are these,		
The island <i>Ocetis</i>	32.40	60.45
The island <i>Dumna</i>	30.00	61.00
Beyond which are the ORCADES, about thirty in number, the middle one of which has degrees	30.00	61.40
And again beyond these is <i>Tinnis</i> , the most western part of which has degrees	29.00	63.00
the most eastern	31.40	63.00
the most northern	30.20	63.15
the most southern	30.20	62.40
the middle	30.20	63.00
Beside the <i>Trinoantes</i> are these islands,		
<i>Toliapis</i>	23.00	54.15
The island <i>Comus</i>	24.00	54.30
South from the <i>Great-haven</i> is the island <i>Vuctis</i> , the middle of which has degrees	19.20	52.20

* Pal. Περσας.
 * Pal. Σαλιδας.
 * Pal. Ιμ.

Ράγε ^a	ιη	νε	Λ
Εἴτα KATTEYXΛΑΝΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις, Σαλιδά ^b	κ	ς	νε γο
Ὀυρελιάνιον	ιθ	γ	νε Λ
Μετ' οὗς ΣΙΜΕΝΟΙ ^c , ἐν οἷς πόλεις, Οὐέντα	κ	Λ	νε γ
Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι, παρὰ τὴν Ἰμωζαντίαν ^d (ιν ^e), ΤΡΙΝΟΑΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Καμυδολάνον	κα	νε	
Πάλιν δ' ὡς τὰ ἀρημύα ἔθνη, δυσμικώτατοι μὲν, ΔΗΜΗΤΑΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,			
Λεέντινον	ιε	Λ δ	νε ς
Μαρίδουμον	ιε	Λ	νε γο
Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι ΣΙΛΥΡΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Βούλλαιον	ις	γ	νε
Μετ' οὗς ΔΟΒΟΥΝΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις Κορίνιον	ιη	ν δ	ς
Εἴτα ΑΤΡΕΒΑΤΙΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις Ναλικά ^f ,	ιθ	ν δ	δ
Μετ' οὗς ἀνατολικώτατοι ΚΑΝΤΙΟΙ ἐν οἷς πόλεις, Λονδίνιον	κ	ν δ	
Δαρουνιον ^g ,	κα	ν γ	γο
Ρουτέπιον	κα	Λ δ	ν δ
Πάλιν τοῖς μὲν Ἀτρεβατίαις καὶ τοῖς Καντίαις ἐσθικαντὰ ΡΗΓΙΝΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις Νεομάγ(ον)	ιβ	Λ δ	ν γ γιβ
Τοῖς δὲ Δοβουνοῖς, ΒΕΛΑΤΑΙ, καὶ πόλεις, Ἰσχάλια	ις	γο	ν γ Λ
Ἰτάτα Φερμά	ις	γ	ν γ γο
Οὐέλια	ιη	γο	ν γ Λ
Τούτων δ' ἐπὶ δυσμῶν καὶ μεσημέρια ΔΟΥ- ΡΟΤΡΙΠΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Δουμῖον	ιη	Λ γ	ν β ιβ
Μετ' οὗς δυσμικώτατοι ΔΟΥΜ ΝΟΝΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις, Οουολίβα	ιθ	Λ δ	ν β γ
Οὐξίλια	ιε	ν β	Λ δ
Ταμαρή	ιε	ν β	δ
Ἰσκα	ις	Λ	ν β Λ δ
ΛΕΓΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ^h	ις	Λ	ν β Λ ιβ
Νῆσοι δὲ παρακείμεναι τῇ Ἀλβιων(ον), καὶ μὲν τῇ Ὀρκαίᾳ ἄλλαν, Ὀκρητι νήσ(ον)	ιβ	γο	ξ Λ δ
Δουμνα νήσ(ον)	κ	ξ	α
Ἐπὲρ αὖ αἱ ΟΡΚΑΔΕΣ, πρὸς τρυμνοῦς τοῦ ἄριθμον, ὧν τὸ μεταξὺ ἐπέχει μόλις καὶ ἔτι ὥσπερ αὐταῖς ἡ ΘΟΥΤΗ, ἥτις τὰ μὲν δυσμικώτατα ἐπέχει μόλις	κθ	ξ γ	
Τὰ δὲ ἀνατολικώτατα	κα	γο	ξ γ
Τὰ δὲ ἀρκτικώτατα	ι	γ	ξ γ δ
Τὰ δὲ νοτιώτατα	κ	γ	ξ γ γο
Τὰ δὲ μετὰξὺ	ι	γ	ξ γ
Κατὰ δὲ τὰς Τρυμνανίας νήσους ἵσιν αἱ δὲ, Τολιάπι:	κ γ	ν δ	δ
Κωουμ(ον) νήσ(ον)	κ δ	ν δ	Λ
Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μέγαν λιμῶνα νήσ(ον) ΟΥΗΚΤΙΣ, ἥς τὸ μέ(ον) ἐπέχει μόλις	ιθ	γ	ν β γ

* P. Ἰμωζανίς λιμὴν.
 * Pal. Καλικά.
 * Pal. Δαρύσπον.

III. A VERY ingenious friend ^a conjectures, that the occasion of *Ptolemy's* error with respect to the position of *Scotland* might be as follows. The *Romans* entered *Scotland* on the west side, and afterwards crossed to the east. This might lead the soldiers into an error, and make them mistake the breadth for the length. And as they marched from west to east, so they might conclude that the length of the country lay this way. And *Ptolemy's* account might be received from the conquering soldiers. But whatever be the reason, it is evident that there are some general errors, which run through the whole of what *Ptolemy* has said with relation to *Britain*; and these must be observed, in order to our using him with more safety and to better advantage. Thus he has made all *England* decline from the true position as to the length of it; so as that the northern part inclines more to the east, and the places there have a few degrees of longitude more than they ought. And as for *Scotland*, he has quite altered the position of it, by making the length of it to lie almost directly east and west, when in reality it lies almost directly north and south ^b. I know not whether *Caesar*, *Strabo*, and *Tacitus's* accounts of this island can have led him into this error. *Tacitus* gives it the figure of the *Roman bipennis*, and both *Strabo* and *Caesar* in their descriptions make it a triangle^c, but such a one as might probably deceive this geographer into the notion he had, though the figure he has given the island is far from being exactly triangular. The grand turn *Ptolemy* has given to the northern part of the island begins near the *isthmus* between *Tine* and *Solway* frith, which I suppose to be *Vedra* and *Ituna* with our geographer. There is also a constant error through all *England* with respect to latitude, which is all along made too much, from 2° 30' to 3° 30', the error being greatest in the north. And after the grand turn beyond *Newcastle*, all is confounded, and the degrees of latitude turned into longitude. As for the degrees of longitude, what I would most wish for is, to know with exactness and certainty what space or number of miles he allowed to a degree in the several parts of *Britain*. One would think that the common well known property of the sphere, that at 60° latitude the space answering to a degree of latitude, or of the great circle, is double the space of a degree of longitude, could not possibly escape *Ptolemy's* notice. And this would adjust the proportion of the one to the other. If a degree of longitude in any part of *Britain* be, according to *Ptolemy*, 40 Miles (as some affirm) it must be in the south of *England*, where the latitude is least. Nor must we here allow them the usual length of the *English* computed miles ^d. A degree of latitude, or a degree in the great circle, seems to me, according to *Ptolemy*, to be near enough our usual reckoning 60 computed miles.

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^a Mr M. Laun, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh.

^b These general errors of *Ptolemy* are very surprising, and truly unaccountable; especially considering that his account of *Scotland* is reckoned in other respects just and true. See Dr. Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 6, 7. Some have been inclined to think, that there must have happened a change in the poles of the earth: and if a supposition so strange could be admitted; it were easy to advance a scheme, which would both lessen these general errors, and reduce them nearer to a consistency with each other. But besides that it would be inconsistent with our geographer's account of some other countries, the reasons that are given against this notion in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N. 190, 241, 255, are too strong to admit of our building any thing upon it. They who approve of the hint, may try the experiment by drawing lines

through the places that lie in the same meridians, and through those in the same parallels, by *Ptolemy's* table, in the map of *Britain* according to *Ptolemy* rectified. By *Caesar's* relation, the northern islands must have had a much more northerly situation attributed to them in his time, than is given them by our geographer. Complures praeterea minores objectae insulae existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli ceperunt, dies continuos xxx sub bruma esse noctem. nos nihil de eo percontationibus repenebamus. *Bello Gallico* lib. v. cap. 13.

^c Insula natura triquetra. *Caes. Bell. Gall.* lib. v. cap. eod. See *Strabo*. lib. iv. But *Tacitus* gives it a more peculiar figure, Formam totius *Britanniae* Latius veterum, *Fabius Rusticus* recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni assimilavere. *Vit. Agric.* c. 10.

^d See Dr. Halley's discourse of *Caesar's* descent in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N. 191.

I THOUGHT it would not be amiss to compare *Ptolemy's* degrees of longitude and latitude with the distances in *Antonine's Itinerary*. It seems as likely that *Ptolemy* was guided by the number of miles, as by any observations he could have an opportunity of making or knowing. Now in order to examine and compare these together, it is proper to observe, what parts of this island were best known to *Ptolemy* and the *Romans*, and were the most frequented by them; which may in a good measure be judged of by the remains of stations, and military ways. Thus the eastern coast of *England*, excepting *Essex*, between *Thames* and *Tine* seems not to have been so much frequented, as the western coast, particularly in the northern counties. Those parts which were most frequented and known (especially in or before his time) one would expect *Ptolemy* should be the most exact in. But when I compared *Ptolemy's* map and the *Itinerary* together, I found that *Ptolemy* had set so many towns out of their true position and order, that I received little satisfaction by this comparison.

I SHALL content myself at present with giving a few other instances of the errors and mistakes of this ancient geographer, besides these general ones I have hinted at already. *Vinnovium* and *Calatum* in the northern counties, which are so well fixed and determined by the *Itinerary*, are so placed by *Ptolemy*, as if he had in this case mistaken the west (if not the south-west) for the north. Again, according to *Ptolemy's* map, or account, there is a great *hiatus* or *vacuum* in the very heart of *England*; and several places, which should be thereabout, are removed from their proper situation, and set at a distance. This has sometimes made me suspect, that there has been another general error here, either in *Ptolemy* himself, or in his transcribers. I know not whether the country of the *Cangi* (which is perhaps the same with *Pausanias's Genunia*) should fill up this space. 'Tis odd too, that *Ptolemy* should mistake *Isca Dumnoniorum*, for *Isca Silurum*, as it is plain he has done. For he places the *legio secunda Augusta* at *Isca Dumnoniorum*, and has no *Isca Silurum*, where it is certain from inscriptions that this legion lay. *Ptolemy* seems also to make *legio secunda Augusta* to be the name of a place distinct from the other; and *Cambden* says, that *Caerleon* was called *Isca* and *legio secunda*^a, which to me appears very strange. There is just the same reason to say, that *York* was called *Eboracum* and *legio sexta victrix*. This may make us wonder less at a pleasant, though egregious mistake in the great *Historical Dictionary*, in which we are told (under the word *Caerleon*) that the *legio* called *Isca* lay there. The places in the middle of *Yorkshire* are well enough situated according to *Ptolemy*, as *Eboracum*, *Isurium*, *Caturactonium*, and *Olicana*, which is set by *Ptolemy* near to where *Ilkley* now is. They are most of them placed too much to the east, though in this they only partake of the general error. But several of those towns which (I should think) we are sure of, are strangely misplaced, as *Lindum*, *Urolanium*, *Devana*, and many places in the north; and yet some others seem to be tolerably exact.

I BELIEVE there are some military ways, which have been for the use of such places as are now only mentioned in *Ptolemy*. The *Roman* ways which lead to and from *Ilkley*, *Ptolemy's Olicana*, are alone a sufficient proof of this; and I take the way to *South Shields* to be another instance.

IV. IT would be of great service to know where there are any certain or very probable proofs of ancient *Roman* towns, and such too as appear not to be mentioned either in the *Itinerary*, or the *Notitia*. By this means we might find places for some of *Ptolemy's* names, and names for some (as yet) nameless ancient places. This would be of particular use with relation to *Scotland*; because

^a See *Cambd.* p. 717.

because *Ptolemy* has names for several places there; whereas, excepting *Middleby*, which I take to be *Blatum Bulgium*, neither the *Itinerary*, nor the *Notitia*, have so much as one. Wherever therefore we have good reason to believe that a place has been *Roman*, or as antient at least as the *Roman* conquest of *Caledonia*, or as *Ptolemy's* time; I would give it that name, which in *Ptolemy* comes nearest in situation. If affinity in sound or sense, or any other collateral evidence offer, I would also make use of that. Thus for instance it is certain from remains, and other evidences, that there has been an old *Roman*, or *British* town, not far from *Falkirk*, and just on the *Roman* wall. The small village which remains, is called *Camelon*. This I find answers with much exactness to *Ptolemy's Alauna*. The name *Camelon* might easily arise from *Caer-Alaun*. I therefore conclude (though perhaps I am singular in my opinion) that *Camelon* is the *Alauna* of *Ptolemy*. Sir *James Dalrymple*, in his second edition of *Cambden's* account of *Scotland*, has these words: "About *Stirling* *Ptolemy* places *Alauna*, which is either near the "little river *Allon*, that here emptieth itself into the *Forth*, or else by *Al-* "loway^a." But if *Alauna* must be placed hereabouts, I would rather chuse to fix it where we are sure of an antient place. *Abernethy*, four miles from *Perth*, is said to be an antient *Pictish* place^b. To this therefore would I join some name from *Ptolemy*, according as the situation and other circumstances, may be thought to answer best.

P T O L E M Y has several places, which no doubt are the same with what are mentioned in the *Itinerary*, or the *Notitia*, though not without some variation in the names. Several of these have been taken notice of both by others and myself. But there is one place more, with respect to which I imagine this may have been the case, though not attended to by others, I mean *Ptolemy's Bullaeum*, which possibly is the same with *Burrium* in the *Itinerary*. *Bullaeum* is the only place mentioned among the *Silures*, and it is certain that *Burrium* belonged to that people. Nor is the change very great of *Βερεαιον* into *Βέλλαον*, as it now is in *Ptolemy*. *Bullaeum* has been placed in *Brecknockshire* at *Bualht* and *Kaereu*^c, but on no foundation that is certain. Another conjecture is, that *Bullaeum* might be at *Caer-phyly-castle* in *Glamorganshire*^d; but here also I see no certain proof of a *Roman* station or town. Nor can I see any reason why we should look for it any where else, than at *Usk* (if that be the antient *Burrium* in the *Itinerary*) especially if it be farther considered, that *Ptolemy's* situation of *Bullaeum* appears to be agreeable enough to that of *Usk*.

V. B U T in order to give the best and plainest account of the several places mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and expressed in the map of *Britain* according to him, I shall set down the names of them all alphabetically; and add in a few words the opinion of others about them, and what has occurred to my self. The promontories and mouths of the rivers are, I think, best known from inspection, and comparing *Ptolemy's* map of *Britain* with some modern ones. The same in a good measure may be said of the several people or countries, which *Ptolemy* mentions. I shall therefore chiefly speak to the towns, and where I believe the places to be very well ascertained, and there is a general agreement among antiquaries with relation to them, I shall add no notes; and endeavour to be as brief as I can, where I think them necessary. I have followed the same spelling here in the alphabet, as I have before used in my version of *Ptolemy*, and the corrected map; which will be found to differ in some names from the other map, which accompanies it, and was taken from *Mercator's* edition. But as the two maps are placed together, and may be so easily compared, I think no inconvenience can arise from a small difference in writing the same name. In the corrected map I have ventured

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^a Pag. 106.

^b Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 164.

^c Camb. Brit. p. 703.

^d Ibid. p. 732.

to distinguish by pricked lines the boundaries of the several people mentioned by this geographer. To divide countries by rivers is very common, these are a kind of natural boundaries. I have therefore had a principal regard to them in settling the limits, and chiefly to such as *Ptolemy* himself has taken notice of. The towns he allots to each people are the surest guide for determining the main of their country; but would have been much surer, if we were not oft uncertain even about these. I shall only repeat here, what I have hinted before, that it was no uncommon thing for the principal towns, or even capitals of a people, to be situated in the very borders of their country. Whether this was designedly done, or accidental, I know not; but the matter of fact cannot well be called into question.

ABRAVANNUS must be the river, which runs into the bay of *Glenluce*, near the mul of *Galloway*; but I see no name for it in the maps of *Scotland*. The former part of the *Latin* name is no doubt the *British aber*, signifying the mouth of a river.

ABUS is the river *Humber*, with good evidence, and the universal consent of antiquaries.

ALAENUS river seems to be *Ax* in *Devonshire*; and *Alaeni ostia*, *Axmouth*.

ALAENUS or *Alaunus* river, must be *Tweed*, which flows by *Berwick*^a.

ALATA CASTRA has generally been taken for *Edinburgh*. The situation is imagined to have somewhat in it resembling a wing, which I believe is the principal ground of the common opinion. But *Ptolemy's* situation of *Alata castra* carries us much farther north. For this in reality is the most northern town taken notice of by this geographer, as appears very evidently, when his general error is corrected. *Tayne* in *Scotland* answers to *Ptolemy's* situation very exactly. According to the account in *Cambden*, "it is a royal burgh" and gives name to the shire, and the frith on which it is situated is about "twenty miles long^b." And I know not but the obvious and usual exposition of the name may agree as well to the situation of *Tayne*, as to that of *Edinburgh*.

ALAUNA I have already^c endeavoured to prove to be *Camelon*, on the *Roman* wall near *Falkirk* in *Scotland*.

ANTIVESTAEUM, see *Bolerium*.

AQUAE calidae, the *Bath*.

ATREBATII, a people chiefly of *Berkshire*; and I think their claim to *Middlesex* to be also better, than that of the *Trinobantes*. See *Regni*.

BANATIA is placed by some at *Beancastle*^d not far from *Nairn* in *Murray*, a royal burgh, where a marble vessel is said to have been found in the year 1460, full of *Roman* coins: but this is too far north and east for *Banatia*, and better suits *Tuesis*, as I shall shew under that name. *Banatia* is indeed north from the river *Clyde*, yet not so far north as *Tay*. It is difficult to assign the very spot with any great probability. *Innerlochy* and *Dumbarton* are places of antiquity; but the former is too far to the north-west, and the latter too much to the south-west. I think *Ptolemy's* situation will

^a See Book I. c. VII. p. 103.

^b Pag. 1273.

^c See p. 363.

^d See *Camb.* p. 1268

will bring us near that part of the *Grampian* hills, where, according to Mr. Gordon^a, *Galgacus* the *Caledonian* king drew up his army, when he engaged with *Agricola*. The *Roman* fortifications, which are still visible in this part of *Strathern*, make this more probable. *Banatia* is the most northern place *Ptolemy* has on the western side of *Scotland*, and these seem to be the most northern *Roman* works, which appear on the same side. Somewhere then not far from *Comrie* or *Ross*, or about four or five miles west from *Dru-mond*, would I incline to settle *Banatia*; but I leave the particular town or spot to be determined by those, who are better acquainted with the country.

BELGAE must be the people of *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Somersetshire*. I scarce think that the whole of each of these counties belonged to them; but it is plain that the main of them must, because *Winchester* and *Bath* [*Venta* and *Aquae calidae*] appertained to these people.

BELISAMA must by the situation be the estuary near *Liverpool*, at the mouth of the river *Mersey*.

BERUBIUM promontorium is plainly *Dungsby-head*, in the north of *Scotland*.

BODERIA estuary is, by the consent of all, the frith of *Forth* in *Scotland*, near *Edinburgh*.

BOLERIUM promontorium, *Lands end*, or rather *Cape Cornwall*.

BRANNOGENIUM by *Cambden* is taken for *Worcester*, and the same with *Branonium*, or *Bravinium* in the *XII iter*. But *Ptolemy* places it among the *Ordovices*, and *Worcester* can scarce be assigned to this people. I shall in my essay on the *Itinerary* prove *Bravinium* to be near *Ludlow*, which is more likely than *Worcester*, to have been in the borders, or within the country, of the *Ordovices*. And this may help us perhaps to settle the boundary of that people with more certainty.

BREMENIUM is undoubtedly *Riecheester* in *Northumberland*, as I have fully shewn in another place^b.

BRIGANTES, these people seem to have inhabited *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Lancashire*, and almost all *Yorkshire*; being bounded on the north by a line drawn from *Tine* to *Solway* frith, and on the south by one drawn from *Mersey* to *Humber*. Their country is much the largest of any in *Britain*, as appears from a bare inspection of the map, and by the number of its towns it seems also to have been very well peopled. 'Tis curious to compare this with *Tacitus's* account: *Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima totius provinciae perhibetur*^c.

BULLAEUM I have spoken to before, and am most inclined to think it the same with *Burrium* in the *Itinerary*, which is now generally thought to be *Usk* in *Monmouthshire*. It is the only place *Ptolemy* mentions among the *Silures*, for he has neither *Venta* nor *Isca Silurum*.

CALATUM no doubt is the same with *Galacum* in the *Itinerary*, though much misplaced by *Ptolemy*. I suppose it to be *Appleby* in *Westmorland*.

CALC.

^a It. Sept. p. 38.

^b Book 11. p. 243.

^c Vit. Agric. c. 17.

CALEDONII, the inland people of *Scotland* about *Braidalbin*, part of *Badenoch*, and the north-west or middle part of *Murray*; reaching from sea to sea, or at least from *Loch Finn* to the frith of *Tayne*, that is from the *Lelannonian* bay to the estuary of *Varar*, as *Ptolemy* says expressly.

CALEDONIA silva was west of the *Caledonii*, and seems to have included part of the shires of *Argyle*, *Lochaber*, and *Murray*.

CALCUA (in some copies *Nalcua*) is no doubt the same with *Calleva*, which I shall discourse of, in my essay on the *Itinerary*, and it still appears most probable to me, that *Silchester* (about six miles south-west from *Reading*) must be it.

CAMUNLODUNUM and *CAMUDOLANUM*. The former of these must by the situation be designed in all probability for the same with *Cambodunum* in the *Itinerary*, which I shall shew to be near *Gretland* in *Yorkshire*. The other must be the celebrated *Roman* colony, which *Ptolemy* (I believe rightly) places about *Malden*.

CANCANORUM promontorium is evidently in *Wales*, and therefore seems to be the same which is called *Brauchipult-point*, or *Lbyn* promontory, in the map of *Carnarvonshire*. This and *St. David's head* are the only two remarkable heads of land in all *Wales*, which would be most in sight of the *Romans*, as they sailed through the *Irish* sea. I therefore believe these to be the two promontories, which are all *Ptolemy* mentions in *Wales*, namely, this and *Oſtapitarum*.

CANTAE, these seem to have inhabited the greatest part of *Sutherland* in *Scotland*, bounded on the north by the river *Loth*, and on the south by the frith of *Cromartie*.

CANTII, the people of *Kent*, and possibly of a part of *Middlesex* too, for *Londinium* belongs to them according to *Ptolemy*; unless *Ptolemy's Londinium* stood on the south side of the *Thames*^a.

CANTIUM promontorium, the *North foreland* in *Kent*.

CARBANTORIGUM is placed by some at *Caerlaverock* near *Dumfries* in *Scotland*^b. The name *Caer*, and an old castle, with some other circumstances, make it probable that this has been a place of antiquity. But the situation of *Caerlaverock* answers much better to the *Uxelum*, than to the *Carbantorigum* of our geographer, so that we must look farther north for this. If *Dumfries* be too near, we must move farther up the river. *Drumlanrig*, where the Duke of *Queensberry* has a very fine seat, is rather too far. *Bardanna* or *Kier* seem to answer better, and carry between them somewhat like the sound of the antient name.

CARENI, a people on the western coast of the more northern part of *Scotland*. They are next to the *Cornavii*, and seem to have been seated north of that part which is called by some *Assen-shire*.

CARNONACAE, a people on the western coast of *Scotland*, south from the *Careni*. They seem to have inhabited the north-west part of *Ross*, or *Assen-shire*, supposed in *Cambden* to be the seat of the *Cerones*^c.

CA-

^a See Dr. Gale's *Itin. Ant.*

^b *Cam. Brit.* p. 1197.

^c *Cam. Brit.* p. 1274.

CATYEUHLANI appear by their town *Urglanium* to have inhabited *Hertfordshire*. *Cambden* also ascribes to them *Buckinghamshire* and *Bedfordshire*. Perhaps a part of the next northern county of *Northamptonshire* and all *Huntingtonshire* may be also their due, but this is uncertain.

CELNIUS must be the river *Spay* in *Elgin* of *Murray* in *Scotland*. It is a considerable river, and the situation *Ptolemy* gives to *Celnus* seems to suit it very well.

CENIONIS ostia is justly supposed to be *Falmouth* haven.

CERONES are plainly a people of part of *Lochaber*, and perhaps of a great part of *Rosse* on the western coast of *Scotland*.

CLOTA or *GLOTA aestuarium*, is the frith of *Clyde* in *Scotland*.

COLANIA in *Scotland* is guessed by some to be *Coldingham*, not far from *Berwick*^a. But neither remains nor situation is favourable to this conjecture, and the affinity of name is little more than imaginary. *Ptolemy* seems rather to direct us towards *Lanerk*, the first part of which name has much the same letters with the middle part of the other. And there is a large square encampment at *Carstairs* near *Lanerk*, where the ruins of the buildings are to be seen, and urns and coins have been found. It is a very large fort and the ruins very considerable, and a grand military way passes close by it. But there is some difficulty to know how to rectify *Ptolemy* hereabout, because he seems to be near the limit of his grand and general error with relation to *Scotland*.

CORDA is also in *Scotland*, and according to *Ptolemy* north (that is in reality west) from *Colania*, and next to it on that side. It is conjectured in *Cambden* to have stood on the lake *Lough-cure*, near the head of the river *Nid*. If we are guided by affinity of name only, we should rather seek for *Curia* near *Lough-cure*. But the situation is in favour of *Corda*, which name I would therefore rather attribute to any place of antiquity hereabout. *Cumnock* seems to be the nearest and properest for situation.

CORIA or *CURIA Otadenorum* has been generally supposed to be the same with *Corstopitum* in the *Itinerary*, which no doubt is *Corbridge* near *Hexham* in *Northumberland*. But according to *Ptolemy* it is evident that it should be thirty or forty miles from *Corbridge*, and fifteen or twenty from *Riechester*, [*Bremenium*.] This position and distance will bring us nearly to *Jedburgh*, which is an ancient town, and near which is a place called *Chester*. Nor do I know any considerable reason, why this *Coria* or *Curia* should not be settled here. There is a *Roman* way (as is generally supposed) called the *Wheel-causeway*, which runs into this part of the country, and it appears probable to me, that this *Roman* place has stood on it, or near it. I have given it the usual name of *Coria Otadenorum*, for it has been universally ascribed to the *Otadeni*, though it is a question with me whether it may not rather have belonged to the *Gadeni*. See the word *Gadeni*.

CORIA or *CURIA Damniorum* is according to *Ptolemy* (rectified) about twenty miles north-west from the former *Coria*. This distance and course will bring us beyond *Peebles*; and not far from this town there are some *Roman* works, and encampments. There is a *Roman* fort and a visible military way near *Linekirk*, half way between *Peebles* and *Kirkurd*. In the parish of *Kirkurd* there are great remains and evidences of *Roman*, and other antiquities. And almost all
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^a See *Camb. Brit.* p. 1179.

the villages in the parish go by the name of *Urd*, as *Lady Urd*, *Nether Urd*, &c. This has raised a suspicion in me, that the name may have been formed from *Curia Damniorum*, by dropping the first letter in *Curia*, and retaining the first of *Damniorum*; or *Kirk-curia* might easily pass into *Kirk-ure* or *Kirk-urde*. *Lough-cure* I have mentioned under *Corda*^a. I am strongly inclined to place our *Coria Damniorum* somewhere hereabout. The distance on the other side from the frith of *Clyde* seems not unsuitable to the distance of *Clota* from *Coria* according to *Ptolemy*, but the relative situation and distance of *Lanerk*, where I have fixed *Colania*, suits not so well. But every thing cannot answer exactly to an erroneous author; and hereabout *Ptolemy* makes his grand false step, which, as I have already observed, renders it more difficult either to judge of matters or reconcile them.

CORINIUM is the same with *Durocornovium* in the XIII *iter*, and that I shall shew to be *Cirencester* in *Glocestershire*.

CORITANI must be the people of *Lincolnshire* and *Leicestershire*, because *Lincoln* and *Leicester* [*Lindum* and *Rage*] are ascribed to them by *Ptolemy*. And there is no doubt but some of the neighbouring counties were also possessed by them. *Cambden* gives them *Northamptonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Derbyshire*, which is rather too much. I am a little doubtful whether the river *Trent*, or *Derwent* has been here designed for and used as a boundary; the former is the principal river, the latter would make the division more beautiful and regular.

CORNAVII must be the people of *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*; for *Chester*, and *Wroxeter* near *Shrewsbury*, appear from *Ptolemy* to have been in their country. *Cambden* gives them besides these, *Warwickshire*, *Worcestershire* and *Staffordshire*. And to these a part of *Derbyshire* should be added, I think, if not more. See *Coritani*. *CORNAVII* in *Scotland* inhabited the northern part of the island.

COUNUS is generally supposed to be the river-island *Canvey* within the *Thames*. Somewhat of affinity of name favours the conjecture, but *Ptolemy* places both this and *Toliapis* a good way off at sea. *Guernsey* and *Jersey* lie quite another way, and would be supposed by the antient geographer to belong to *Gaul* rather than *Britain*; and I see no islands off at sea, which answer to *Counus* and *Toliapis* of *Ptolemy*. The isle of *Thanet* seems to look liker one of them, than either *Canvey* or *Shepye*, but all is uncertain.

CREONES, a people on the west coast of *Scotland* over against the island of *Skye*. They seem to have inhabited a part of *Rosse*, between *Loch-Breyn* and *Loch-Ew*.

DAMNII, a considerable people about *Clydesdale* in *Scotland*.

DARUENUM or *DARVERNUM*, *Canterbury*. It is *Durovernum* in the *Itinerary*.

DEMETAE, a people of *Caermarthenshire*, and the neighbouring counties of *Cardiganshire* and *Pembrokeshire*, in *Wales*.

DEONNA or *DEVANA* appears plainly by the addition of *legio vicesima victrix* to be the same with *Deva* in the *Itinerary*, which is justly agreed by all antiquaries to be *West-Chester*.

DEVA

^a See *Camb.* p. 1198.

DEVA is the river *Dee* in the shire of *Kirkubright* in *Scotland*, at the mouth of which is the town of *Kirkubright*. The ancient name is still preserved in the modern.

DEVANA Texalorum must be *Aberdeen*, near which is also a river of the name *Dee*.

DIVA is the river *Dee*, just now mentioned, near *Aberdeen*.

DOBUNI by the situation assigned them, and by their town *Corinium* [*Cirencester*] must be the people of *Glocestershire*. *Cambden* adds also *Oxfordshire*. They are bounded on the south by the *Belgae*.

DUMNA is an island in the north of *Scotland* on the west side. If it be not designed by *Ptolemy* for the island of *Skye*, I know not what else could be intended.

DUMNONII, the people of *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, and I think of a part of *Somersetshire*.

DUNIUM I take to be the same with *Muridunum* in the *xii iter*. It has generally been placed at *Seaton* in *Devonshire*, I have rather chose to fix it near *Eggerton* in *Dorsetshire*, and my reasons for doing so may be seen in my essay on the *Itinerary*. *Ptolemy* makes it the town of the *Durotriges*, or the people of *Dorsetshire*.

DUNUM is the bay at the mouth of the river *Tees*, which parts the county of *Durham* from *Yorkshire*.

DUROTRIGES are agreed to be the people chiefly of *Dorsetshire*. Perhaps a small part of *Hampshire* did also belong to them.

EBORACUM, *York*.

EPIACUM. There is an intimation in *Cambden*^a, that this may be *Ebchester* in the county of *Durham*, which I have shewn to be *Vindomora* in the *Itinerary*. Some affinity of sound between the first syllable of the two names has been the foundation of the conjecture. But the derivation of the name *Ebchester* from *Ebba* and *Chester*, mentioned in the same place, is much more probable, and so destroys the other. It is hard to suppose that *Epiacum* should be the same with *Olenacum* in the *Notitia*, though the situation of *Epiacum*, according to *Ptolemy*, falls in very nearly with *Old Carlisle*. If this be not admitted, I would chuse to fix *Epiacum* at *Hexham*; for it is highly probable from the antiquity of the place, and the *Roman* inscriptions found at it^b, that *Hexham* has been a *Roman* town. And I know no name suits it so well as *Epiacum*. It is evident that *Calatum* and *Vinnovium* are set a great deal too far west, as well as too much south, by *Ptolemy*. And if we suppose the same of *Epiacum* too, I see not but that *Hexham* will answer well enough as to relative position and distance, so that we need only suppose it to share in the common error. The names of *Calatum* and *Vinnovium* seem also to be transposed or interchanged, perhaps through mistake of the copiers.

EPIDII, the people of *Cantyr* and *Argyleshire* in *Scotland*, and perhaps also of *Lorn*.

EPIDIUM

^a Pag. 955

^b See *Observat.* Northumberland, N. ex.

EPIDIUM promontorium is the head of the *mul* of *Cantyr*, near *Danavorty*.

EXTENSIO should by its situation with respect to the river *Idumania*, or *Black-water*, be about *Gun-fleet*, or *the Elbow* on the coast of *Essex*; which for this reason I would prefer either to *Eastness*, or the point near *Aldborough* in *Suffolk*. These counties seem to be too much contracted by *Ptolemy*.

GABRANTUICORUM sinus portuosus is *Burlington bay*, on the coast of *Yorkshire*.

GADENI. I suppose this people inhabited chiefly about *Lidsdale* in *Scotland*, where there are remains of *Roman* and other antiquities. If *Coria* be placed about *Jedburgh*, and belonged not to the *Otadeni*, but the *Gadeni*; then part of *Teviotdale* must also be allotted to this people. And if *Coria* be given to the *Otadeni*, there is no town for the *Gadeni*, nor indeed much room for them, as far as I can judge: for the *Otadeni* must almost have reached the very borders of the *Damnii*, and nearly excluded the *Gadeni*; whom *Ptolemy* places expressly and directly between them. It is true that *Ptolemy* having mentioned the *Gadeni* first, and then the *Otadeni*, adds, "among whom," "in ois," are the towns *Curia* and *Bremenium*; and the relative *ois* is usually confined by him to the next antecedent people: but perhaps in this instance it may be otherwise, and the relative be extended to both the *Gadeni* and *Otadeni*; so as that *Curia* which is first named may belong to the former, and *Bremenium* which is last named belong to the latter. I know not but some of the western part of *Northumberland* may also have been possessed by this people. Two altars have been found at *Risingham* dedicated to the topical deities of the *Cadeni* or *Gadeni*^a, which may furnish a plausible argument to prove that *Risingham* was either in the country of the *Gadeni*, or near its borders. For it was customary for the *Romans*, and other heathens, not only to adopt the gods of other countries, and to endeavour to engage them in their favour, but also to sacrifice to them at their first entrance into the countries, to which they were more especially related. Thus *Cyrus* and his company pray to the *Persian* deities when they were leaving the borders of *Persia*, and to the gods of the *Medes* as soon as they entered into their country^b. And *Virgil* introduces *Aeneas* doing the same when he came to the *Tiber*^c. As rivers are the most convenient boundaries of countries, and perhaps frequently used as such; so the river *Read* may have been the eastern boundary of the *Gadeni*. The other altars mentioning *Mogon* the local deity of the *Gadeni* found at *Old Penreth* and *Netherby* in *Cumberland*^d, may help us to guess at the other boundary, and be an inducement to think that part of *Cumberland* (especially beyond the wall) has also belonged to this people.

GANGANORUM promontorium, see *Cancanorum*.

GARRUENUM, the river *Tare*, which runs by *Tarmouth*.

HERCULIS promontorium, *Hartland* point in the borders of *Devonshire*.

HYBERNIUS oceanus, the *Irish* sea.

IAMISSA or *JAMESA aestuarium*, the estuary of the *Thames*.

IDUMANIA or *JUMANIUS*, the river *Black-water* in *Essex*.

IENA aestuarium must by the situation be the bay, or gulf, near *Wigtown* in *Galloway* in *Scotland*.

ILA

^a See *Northumberland*, N. LXXX.

^b *Xenoph.* *Cyropæd.* Lib. II. in init.

^c *Aen.* VII. v. 136.

^d N. XLVII, LIII.

ILA or *ILEA* seems to be the river which flows near *Castle-Sinclair*, or that near *Wick* on the east side, and not far from *Dungsby-head*, the north point of *Scotland*. This river is near *Nose-head*, and forms a small estuary as it runs into the sea; and I observe *Ptolemy* generally takes notice of such rivers, as have bays or estuaries at their mouths.

ISACA is universally supposed to be the river *Ex* in *Devonshire*, which runs by *Exeter*. *Isacae ostia* must therefore be *Exmouth*.

ISCA Dumnoniorum has been universally taken for *Exeter*. I have placed it near *Chiselborough* and *South Petherton* near the borders of *Somersetshire*; and shall give my reasons in my essay on the *Itinerary*.

ISCHALIS is supposed by all to be *Ilchester* in *Somersetshire*. It is placed by *Ptolemy* among the *Belgae*, and therefore cannot be the same either with *Isca Silurum*, or *Isca Dumnoniorum* in the *Itinerary*.

ISURIUM, *Aldborough* near *Boroughbridge* in *Yorkshire*, called *Isu* (for *Isurium*) *Brigantum* in the *Itinerary*.

ITUNA aestuarium, *Solway frith* near *Carlisle*.

ITRS must be one of the rivers which are over against the island of *Skye* on the west side of *Scotland*, perhaps *Loch-Ew*.

LEGIO secunda Augusta is, I think, a plain mistake in our ancient author. If the former *Isca* be designed for *Isca Dumnoniorum*, and this for *Isca Silurum* where the *legio secunda Augusta* was quartered, and is called *Isca legio secunda* in the *Itinerary*, this latter *Isca* is strangely misplaced; for *Ptolemy* sets both *Isca* and *Legio secunda Augusta* among the *Dumnonii*.

LELANNONIUS sinus is the bay formed by the *mul* of *Cantyr*, and a part of *Argyleshire*, now called *Loch-Finn*.

LEUCOPIBIA as it is usually written, or *Lucopibia*, is rightly supposed to be somewhere in *Galloway* in *Scotland*. *Wigtown* seems to answer for situation, but others from a fancied etymology place it at *Whithern*^a, which is somewhat nearer the sea than *Wigtown*. I find *Broughton* near *Whithern*, which name may seem to carry antiquity in it.

LINDUM (Coritanorum) *Lincoln*.

LINDUM (Damniorum) is supposed by some to be *Linlithgow*, twelve miles west from *Edinburgh*. But the likeness of the two first syllables is I believe all the foundation for the opinion. *Ptolemy* places *Lindum* among the *Damnii*, and north a little from the river *Clyde*. I was thinking of *Dumbar-ton* and *Glasgow*, but *Kirkintilloch*, an ancient *Roman* place on the wall in *Scotland*, suits *Ptolemy's* situation with greater exactness. The ancient name of this town is said to have begun with *Caer*^b, which farther confirms this conjecture.

LOGI, a people on the eastern coast of *Scotland*, and near the most northern part. They seem to have possessed the south-east part of *Strathnaver*, and the north-east part of *Sutherland*.

LONDINIUM, *London*.

L O N.

^a See Camb. Brit. p. 1200.

^b See Gordon. It. Sept. p. 54. See before p. 168.

LONGUS seems to be the river, which goes up to *Innerlochy* in *Lochaber*, and almost reaches the river which comes from the east side flowing by *Inverness*.

LOXA, by the name and situation, must be the river *Loth* in *Sutherland* in *Scotland*.

LUCOPIBIA, see *Leucopibia*.

LUENTIUM or *LUENTINUM* is placed by *Cambden*^a at *Lhan-Dewi-Brevi*, where coins and inscriptions have been found. This place is in *Cardiganshire*. *Cardigan*, the principal town in the county, seems to suit *Ptolemy's* situation rather better than the other; but the antiquities found in the other justly merit the preference.

MARIDUNUM is rightly placed at *Caer-marthen*, or *Caer-mardhin*, to which the name and situation agree.

MEDIOLANUM has been generally supposed to be the same with *Mediolanum* in the *Itinerary*, and both to be *Meywood* in *Montgomeryshire* in *Wales*. But according to my scheme the *Mediolanum* of the *Itinerary* must belong to the *Cornavii*, whereas *Ptolemy* places his *Mediolanum* among the *Ordovices*; so that they must be supposed to mean two different places. It is not uncommon to have two places bear nearly or exactly the same *Roman* name: and *Ravennas* has both *Mediomamum* and *Mediolanum*, the former of which is set just before *Seguntio* and *Conubio* the stations of *North-Wales*^b; and therefore I think must be the same with *Ptolemy's* *Mediolanum*, which the anonymous geographer supposed to be different from the other *Mediolanum*. There are some ruins at *Meywood*, though no certain proof of their being *Roman*; but if they are *British*, this may be *Ptolemy's* *Mediolanum*. *Ptolemy* is very much out as to his situation of places hereabout, so that it is less strange if in this particular instance it should not answer exactly.

MERTAE are an inland people about the northern part of *Sutherland* in *Scotland*.

METARIS aestuarium is the *Wash* between *Norfolk* and *Lincolnshire*, called *Boston-deep*.

MONA in *Tacitus* is no doubt the island of *Anglesey*, though by *Ptolemy's* situation, and his ascribing it to *Ireland*, as well as from *Caesar's* account, one would think it should be the *Isle of Man*. I have inserted it here, though it belongs not properly to *Ptolemy's* *Albion*. The name *Man* is possibly from *Mona*.

MORICAMBE estuary must be that in the northern part of *Lancashire*, into which the rivers from *Kendal* and *Ambleside* empty themselves.

NABAEUS must by its situation be the river *Tralligir* on the west of *Scotland*, not far from the most northern part of it. I find a place near this river, which is called *Unnaboll*, and this may seem to retain some part of the ancient name.

NALCUA, see *Calcua*.

NEOMAGUS in *Ptolemy* is probably the same in fact, as well as sense, with *Noviomagus* in the *Itinerary*. According to both, it is not far from *London*,

London, and to the south of it. There have been several conjectures about it. I have in my *Essay on the Itinerary* concurred with Dr. *Gale* and *Cambden*, who place it at *Woodcote* not far from *Croydon*.

NOVANTAE the people of *Galloway* in *Scotland*.

NOVANTUM chersonesus, the *mul* of *Galloway*.

NOVANTUM promontorium is near *Dunskey*, not far from *Port Patrick* in the *mul* of *Galloway*.

NOVIUS, according to some *Nodius*, is the river *Nid* or *Nith*, which gives name to *Niddisdale* or *Nithesdale* in *Scotland*. Near the mouth of this river is the town of *Dumfries*.

OCELLUM promontorium is *Spurnhead*, rather than *Flamborough-head* in *Yorkshire*; though it is odd that either of these should be omitted by *Ptolemy*. Perhaps the neighbourhood of *Burlington* bay, *Ptolemy's Gabrantuicorum sinus*, may have occasioned the omission of *Flamborough-head*.

OCETIS is one of the islands on the north of *Scotland*, perhaps *Schetland*, if this be not *Thule*.

OCRINUM promontorium is agreed to be the *Lizard-point* in *Cornwall*.

OCTAPITARUM promontorium is *St. David's-head* in *Wales*.

OLICANA, *Ilkley* in *Yorkshire*, to which *Ptolemy's* situation agrees with exactness enough. There is a military way from *Aldborough* to *Ilkley*; and another from *Ilkley* going southward, which passes on the west of *Hallifax*, and joins the *Roman* road from *Tadcaster* to *Manchester*. This latter way is paved, but I think not much raised, and there are some *tumuli* near it. The *Roman* monuments and remains at *Ilkley* I have described in the second book, in my observations on the *Yorkshire* inscriptions, and therefore pass over them now.

ORCADES, the islands of *Orkney*. See *Tarvidum*.

ORCAS, see *Tarvidum*.

ORDOVICES are supposed by all to be the people of *North Wales*.

ORREA is placed by *Ptolemy* about half way between *Tay* and *Forth*, and consequently must be in *Fife*. We are told in *Cambden**, "that near the water of *Ore* (in *Fife*) they find lead, as also many fine crystals of several colours at the *Bin* and at *Orrock*." I think we may settle *Orrea* here, and *Victoria* at *Abernethy*.

OTADENI did, as I believe, inhabit all the way between *Tine* and *Forth*; so as to comprehend not only the greatest part of *Northumberland*, but also the *Mers* and *East Lothian* in *Scotland*: for *Ptolemy* places no other people but them (at least on the coast) between *Vedra* and *Boderia*, that is between *Tine* and *Forth*. See *Gadeni*.

PARISI are situated on the north side of the *Humber*, and so must have inhabited the east-riding of *Yorkshire*. Perhaps they were generally reckoned a part of the *Brigantes*.

PETU-

* Pag. 1232.

* Ant. It. p. 25.

PETUARIA. Dr. Gale seems to think that this may be the same with *Derventio* in the *Itinerary*^b. I should rather guess *Delgovitia*; for *Ptolemy's* situation agrees better to *Wighton* [*Delgovitia*] which is the nearest station in the *Itinerary* to the passage over the *Humber*. But if great stress be laid on the termination *varia*, as signifying a passage over a river, I should be much inclined to pitch on *Brugh* on the north side of the *Humber*, from whence has been the antient passage over the river (as appears by the course of the *Roman* way) and where they still continue to pass it. I took a slight view of *Brugh* when I was in that country, and crossed the *Humber* at this very passage, and I have received a farther account of it in a letter from a friend; which account, together with the name *Brugh*, shew it to be antient, and probably *Roman*. "I have (says my friend) been twice at *Brugh*, and
 " both I, and the gentleman who was with me, thought it very probable
 " that it had been *Roman*, though now much defaced. It is but a very
 " little town, and stands pretty near north and south, and about the length
 " of one side of a common station. The one side of the town, which con-
 " sists but of two or three scattered houses, seems to stand on the west ram-
 " part; and for about fifty or sixty yards there is somewhat very like the
 " foundation of a rampart appears. Behind the other side of the town are
 " gardens and orchards; but yet in several places there appears some uneven
 " ground like little foundations, and I actually saw a little square foundation
 " (the first time I was there) just dug up, which is now covered with earth
 " and made fit for a garden. The ground is pretty high and firm, and seems
 " proper for such a place. The *Humber* (they say) formerly came just up to
 " it, and it still does at high spring-tides; but it has now fallen more to the
 " *Lincolnshire* side, and left considerable quantities of ground dry on this.
 " It does not seem likely that the military way has gone by *Melham*, for
 " then it must have made a vast and needless turn." If *Ptolemy's Ostia Abi*
 was designed to express the mouth as it were of the estuary of the *Humber*, it is plain then that his *Petuaria* might answer to *Brugh* as to the situation. And I think whoever compares his *Ocellum promontorium*, *Abi ostia*, and *Petuaria* one with another, will find that *Spurnhead*, the lower part of the estuary of *Humber*, and *Brugh*, are not very disagreeable as to their relative position and distance; especially if we do not take the very point of *Spurnhead* for *Ocellum*, but some part a little more to the north. The principal objection, I know of, against this conjecture may be taken from the inscription in *Yorkshire* N. XIX. for though it was found here, and so farther confirms the place to be *Roman*; yet I guessed it might be the name of the place, *Brexarum*, which was inscribed. But my learned friend Mr. *Ward* has given another reading to that inscription, so that every one may chuse which they like best.

PORTUS magnus has been conjectured to be the same with *Portus Adurnus* in the *Notitia*, which I take to be *Portsmouth* or *Portchester* near it. *Vectis*, or the *isle of Wight*, lies south from *Portus magnus*, but this cannot be strictly true if we place it at *Portsmouth*. It is indeed farther from truth, if we settle it in the large bay (or what else you please to call it) where the river *Froom* coming from *Dorchester* empties it self near *Pool* and *Warham*. But yet I am most inclined on second thoughts to fix it here; because then the situation of the other neighbouring places seems to answer exactly enough, and the title *magnus* may suit the haven here.

PORTUS novus must have been at the mouth of the river *Rother* (which runs along the borders of *Kent* and *Suffex*) near *Rye*. This situation answers, and there is no other river or haven thereabout excepting this, which seems large enough for *Ptolemy's* notice. Dr. *Tabor* has observed^a, that the *Saxon* name of the river *Rother* was *Limen* or *Limene*; which I suppose has

^a Philol. Transf. N. 356.

come from λιμήν, and confirms the conjecture that *Ptolemy's* καινός λιμήν, *Portus novus*, must be at the mouth of this river.

RAGE is no doubt the same with *Ratae* in the *Itinerary*, which is justly agreed to be *Leicester*. *PATE* or *PATAI* might easily be changed into *PARE* or *PATAI*, if part of the transverse stroke of the *τ* happened to be obliterated. I observe the relative position of *Rage* and *Lindum* in *Ptolemy* to be pretty exact, though both of them are more than a little misplaced.

RATOSTATHYBIUS must, I think, be the large river *Wye* which runs into the *Severn* near *Chepstow*. Though I wonder that *Usk* should be omitted.

REGNI the people of *Surrey* and *Suffolk*. If we suppose the river *Itchin* to be the boundary, we must assign them a part of *Hampshire* too; but if we confine them within *Wye*, we need not. *Ptolemy* says, that they lie south from the *Atrebatii*, as well as the *Cantii*. This would incline one either to assign a part of *Hampshire* to the *Regni*, or *Middlesex* to the *Atrebatii*.

RERIGONIUS, or *RETIGONIUS sinus*, *Loch-Rain* formed by the *mul* of *Galloway*.

RETIGONIUM is among the *Novantae*, and so must be somewhere in *Galloway*. I like not the conjecture in *Cambden*^a concerning *Bargeny*, which is quite out of the way. *Barlun* or *Strathnaver* seem to answer best as to the situation.

RIGODUNUM. *Cambden*^b conjectures the true original reading might be *Ribodunum*, and that the place is *Ribchester* in *Lancashire*, the *Coccium* of the *Itinerary*. But this seems too far-fetched. Some coins are said to have been found at *Coln*, and according to Mr. *Thoresby* there has been a *Roman* town near *Leeds*; but neither of these seem to suit the *Rigodunum* of our geographer. The situation he assigns it would direct us rather to *Manchester* or *Warrington*, the former is undoubtedly *Roman*, and bears the name of *Man-cunium* in the *Itinerary*. I have also been told of a military way near *Warrington*; if this intelligence be right, I would give my suffrage for it.

RIPA alta I take to be *Ordbill* or *Ordhead* (as I see it written) on the east side of the north part of *Scotland*. Mr. *Gordon* has told us from Mr. *Mackenzie*, that *Ardhè* signifies a *high place*^c. Perhaps *Ordbill* has been *Ardhill* or *Ardhe* originally, and so just the same in sense with the *Ripa alta* of our geographer.

RUTUPIAE, *Richborough* in *Kent*.

SABRIANA, the river *Severn*.

SALENÆ is thought by many to be *Salndy* near *Biggleswade* in *Bedfordshire*. If we should place it here, the position of it with respect to *Urolanium* would do well enough according to *Ptolemy*; but then we must suppose both of them to be set a good deal out of their proper places, as it is indeed certain *Urolanium* must be. Dr. *Stukely*^d has given us an account of this place, and observes, that on the bank of the river *Ivel*, not far from *Salndy* or *Sandy*, is a camp called *Chesterton*, and that many antiquities have been found hereabout. It stands on a sandy hill, which made me suspect that the town might rather have its present name from this, than from *Ptolemy's Salenæ*. But I leave every one to their own judgment.

SEI. GO.

^a Pag. 1203.

^b Pag. 974.

^c It. sept. p. 31.

^d It. curios. p. 74.

SELGOVAE, the people of *Nithsdale* and *Anandale* in *Scotland*.

SETANTIORUM PORTUS, if we have any regard to *Ptolemy's* situation, must be near the mouth of the river *Ribble*.

SETEIA estuary at the mouth of the river *Dee*, which flows up to *Chester*.

SILURES people of *Monmouthshire*, and the neighbouring counties in *South-Wales*, to which *Cambden* adds *Herefordshire*.

SIMENI, the same with the *Iceni*, people of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Cambridgeshire* and *Huntingtonshire* are added by *Cambden*, but this last county is perhaps too much.

STUCIA from the situation I conclude to be the river *Dowie*, near the northern boundary of *Cardiganshire* in *Wales*.

TAIZALUM promontorium is plainly *Kynairdhead* near *Frazerburgh* in *Buchan* in *Scotland*. *Peterhead* is not far enough north to answer *Ptolemy's* situation, with respect to the neighbouring river and estuary.

TAMARE is preserved almost intire in the present name of the river *Tamar*, which separates *Devonshire* from *Cornwal*. And as near as I can judge, the situation of *Saltafb* on the river *Tamar* agrees very well to the situation of the town *Tamare*, according to *Ptolemy*.

TAMARUS river is no doubt *Tamar*, and *Tamari ostia*, *Plymouth* haven.

TAMIA is very uncertain. According to *Ptolemy's* situation of it with respect to the mouth of *Clyde*, *Tay*, and *Dee*, I think it should be about *Dunkeld* or *Blair*.

TARVIDUM or *Orcas* is *Faro-head*, at the northwest point of *Scotland*.

TAVA estuary, the frith of *Tay*.

TEXALI, people of *Buchan* in *Scotland*.

THULE, by its size, situation, and being joined to the *Orcades* and the account of *Britain*, should be the island of *Schetland*; but the shape of it looks liker *Island*. But they who would enquire further into this matter, may consult the large disquisition near the end of *Cambden's Britannia* ^a.

TINNA river is certainly *Edin* in *Fife*. Its situation between *Boderia* and *Tava* proves this sufficiently; and the latter part of *Edin* seems to retain some of the ancient name, for *D* and *T* are oft interchanged.

TOBIUS river is *Towy* in *Caermarthenshire*, both name and situation are favourable.

TOISOBIUS, *Conway*. *Ptolemy*, when describing this side of the island, proceeds from north to south along the coast, and therefore by naming *Toisobii fluminis ostia* before *Cancanorum promontorium*, shews that the mouth of this river lies between that promontory and *Seteia aestuarium*, or the mouth of the river *Dee* near *Chester*. This seems to point to the river *Conway*, which is the most considerable of any in this interval. And from the station *Conovium*

OD

^a Page 1482, &c.

on this river, it is probably supposed, that the *Roman* name of the river has been much the same; between which therefore and *Ptolemy's* name there is some affinity as to the latter part, whatever may have occasioned the difference as to the former part of it.

TOLIAPIS is generally supposed to be the island *Shepye* in the *Thames*. See *Counus*.

TRIMONTIUM, according to *Ptolemy*, is not very far from the estuary of *Ituna* or *Solway* frith. I think the situation brings us near to *Annand*, or perhaps to *Burnswark*, or *Middleby*, which I take to be the *Blatum Belgium* of the *Itinerary*.

TRINOANTES or *Trinobantes*, a people of *Essex*.

TRISANTON is no doubt the river now called *Test*, which empties it self into *Southampton* bay. *Cambden* and others have conjectured, that the antient name of the river may have been *Ant* or *Anton*, and observe that *Traith Anton* is in *British* the bay of *Anton*.

TUA estuary in *Scotland* is plainly the frith of *Cromartie* or *Murray*.

TUEROBIS is generally agreed to be the river *Tyvi* in *Cardiganshire*, and might well enough arise from *Dûr Tyvi* the water of *Tyvi*.

TUAESIS I have had occasion to mention before, and think the situation of *Nairne* to be exactly suitable to it. See *Banatia*.

VACOMAGI, a people which seem to have inhabited a part of *Murray*, and *Athol*, and perhaps a part of *Elgin* too.

VANDUARA has generally been taken for *Aire* in *Scotland*; but as *Pasley* is an antient town, and there are yet some visible *Roman* remains at it, as well as a military way leading to it, I would prefer this for *Vanduara*. And if *Vidotara* be the bay at *Aire*, or *Irwyn*, it is evident that *Vanduara* cannot be *Aire*, and that the situation of *Pasley* will answer much better.

VARA must be the frith of *Tayne* in *Sutherland*, on the east side of *Scotland*.

VECTIS is agreed by all to be the *Isle of Wight*.

VEDRA must be the river *Tine*, on which stands the town of *Newcastle*. And I know no other name for the *Roman* station and town at the mouth of this river near *South Shields*, but *Ostia Vedrae*. If we consider the station it self, the altar inscribed to one of the *Antonines**, and the nearness of the place to the *Roman* wall; one can scarce suppose that the river and station should be wholly unknown to *Ptolemy*; and yet unless these be their names, they are nameless in this geographer. I own the force of this argument is abated, when we consider, that neither *Newcastle*, nor any other of the *Roman* places on the wall, are mentioned by this antient author; but it is true that towns, rather than forts, came under *Ptolemy's* notice, as I have hinted before.

VENICONTES, the people of *Fife* in *Scotland*. I observe that this country, or the space between *Tay* and *Forth*, is too much enlarged by this author.

VENTA

* Durham, N. II.

VENTA Simenorum is no doubt the same with *Venta Icenorum* in the *Itinerary*, which is rightly placed at *Caister* near *Norwich*. See the *Essay* on the *Itinerary*.

VENTA Belgarum, Winchester.

VERUEDRUM promontorium must by the situation be *Strathy head*, between *Faro-head* and *Dungsby-head*, in the north of *Scotland*.

VERUVIUM. See Berubium.

VEXALA is with good reason supposed to be the estuary at the mouth of the river *Brent*, in the middle of *Somersetshire*.

VICTORIA. There is a hint in *Cambden* ^a, that this may be *Bede's* *Caer Guidi*, and that it stood on *Inchkeith* island in the midst of the frith of *Forth*; tho' I cannot help looking on this as an unlikely conjecture. The antiquity of *Abernethy* (which I have spoken to before ^b) and the situation of it so suitable to what *Ptolemy* gives to *Victoria*, leave no great room to doubt but that this must be the place.

VIDOTARA or *VIDOGARA*, appears by the situation to be the bay near the mouth of the river, which runs by *Aire*, or perhaps near *Irwyn*.

VINNOVIUM, Binchester near *Bishop-Aukland*, in the county of *Durham*. See *Epiacum*.

VIROCONIUM, Wroxeter near *Shrewsbury*.

VOLIBA I take by the situation to be *Lestwithiell* in *Cornwal*. There are some marks of antiquity about this town, which therefore has been supposed to be *Ptolemy's Uxela*. But I think the situation favours not this so much as the other, and I rather incline to think *Uxela* is *Exeter*.

VOLSAS bay must by the situation be what is now called in the map *Loch-Brey*, on the west coast of *Scotland* in *Rosse*.

UROLANIUM, St. Albans. No doubt it is the same with *Verulamium* in the *Itinerary*, though much misplaced by our antient geographer.

UXELA, is by some authors supposed to be *Exeter*, and to those I assent; though its relative position, with respect to *Tamare*, is not exact.

UXELUM must have been by the situation at or near *Dumfries*, perhaps at *Caer-laverock*, which is favoured by the name *Caer*, and by the remains or marks of antiquity said to be there. See *Carbantorigum*. I incline to think this and the foregoing name to be derived from the *British Uchel*, signifying *high* or *lofty*, rather than from *Ocelum* a promontory; unless we join them both together, and suppose it to be *Uchel-Ocelum*, the *high promontory*.

^a Pag. 1190.

^b Pag. 363.

CHAPTER II.

An Essay on Antonine's Itinerary, so far as it relates to Britain.

Containing I. *Some account of the author and his work.* II. *The Latin text of the Itinerary.* III. *The length and proportion of the Roman miles in the Itinerary.* IV. *Remarks on the number of miles, as there expressed.* V. *An account of the grand Roman military ways in Britain.* VI. *Of the stations, and the evidences of them.* VII. *Of the general order of the Itinerary.* VIII. *Of the several itinera.*

I. **A**S this work passes under the name of *Antonini Itinerarium*; so, I think, most are agreed in ascribing the main of it to some one of the *Roman* emperors (or at least to his order and direction) who bore the name of *Antonine*, though they are not so well agreed as to the particular emperor. *Antoninus Pius* and *Caracalla* are the two principal candidates, and I should chuse to give my vote for the latter. *Caracalla* was some years in *Britain* himself, and seems to have had the best opportunity of any of the *Roman* emperors of knowing this island. The limits that are settled in the *Itinerary* suit better the reign of *Caracalla*, and the peace made by him, than that of *Antoninus Pius*. For this latter built the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*, and yet we have no stations mentioned in the *Itinerary*, which are within forty miles of that wall. The wall that was built by *Severus*, father of *Caracalla*, is in the north of *England*; and there are not above two or three stations in the *Itinerary* advanced beyond this wall, and these too at no great distance from it. But these things have been fully considered in the fourth chapter of the first book. There is indeed good ground to suspect with Dr. Gale *, that it has not all been composed by one hand, at least not by any one of the *Antonines*, because *Constantinople* and some other places are mentioned in this work, which were not founded 'till long after the last of the *Antonines*. It might be begun by some one, and carried on by others; and if any of the *Antonines* composed that part which relates to *Britain*, I should, as I have said already, incline most to *Caracalla*. It cannot however be denied, but that the work is antient and genuine, and that we owe more discoveries of the names of *Roman* places in *Britain* to it, than to all other authors put together.

II. I SHALL now proceed to give the original of so much of this work, as relates to *Britain*; in which I have followed the edition published, by Dr. Gale.

* Anton. Itin. p. 1.

ANTONINI ITER BRITANNIARVM.

A GESSORIIACO DE GALLIIS, RITVPIS IN PORTV BRITANNI-
ARVM. STAD. NVMERO. CCCCL.

I T E R I.

A LIMITE I. E. A VALLO PRAETORIVM VSQVE. M. P. CLVI.

A BRAMENIO CORSTOPITVM	M. P. XX	EBVRACVM. LEG. VI. VICTRIX	M. P. XVII
VINDOMORA	M. P. IX	DERVENTIONE	M. P. VII
VINOVIA	M. P. XIX	DELGOVITIA	M. P. XIII
CATARACTONI	M. P. XXII	PRAETORIO	M. P. XXV
ISVRIVM	M. P. XXIV		

I T E R II.

A VALLO AD PORTVM RITVPAS. M. P. CCCCLXXXI.

A BLATO BVLGIO CASTRA		VXACONA	M. P. XI
EXPLORATORVM	M. P. XII	PENNOCRVCIO	M. P. XII
LVGVVALLIO	M. P. XII	ETOCETO	M. P. XII
VOREDA	M. P. XIV	MANDVESSEDO	M. P. XVI
BROVONACIS	M. P. XIII	VENONIS	M. P. XII
VERTERIS	M. P. XIII	BENNAVENNA	M. P. XVII
LAVATRIS	M. P. XIV	LACTODORO	M. P. XII
CATARACTONI	M. P. XVI	MAGIOVINTO	M. P. XVII
ISVRIVM	M. P. XXIV	DVROCOBRIVIS	M. P. XII
EBVRACVM	M. P. XVII	VEROLAMIO	M. P. XII
CALCARIA	M. P. IX	SVLLONIACIS	M. P. IX
CAMBODVNO	M. P. XX	LONDINIO	M. P. XII
MANVCIO	M. P. XVIII	NOVIOMAGO	M. P. X
CONDATE	M. P. XVIII	VAGNIACIS	M. P. XVIII
DEVA LEG. XX. VICT.	M. P. XX	DVROBROVIS	M. P. IX
BOVIO	M. P. X	DVROLEVO	M. P. XVI
MEDIOLANO	M. P. XX	DVROVERNO	M. P. XII
RVTVNIO	M. P. XII	AD PORTVM RITVPIS	M. P. XII
VRIOCONIO	M. P. XI		

I T E R III.

A LONDINIO AD PORTVM DVBRIS. M. P. LXVI.

DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXVII	AD PORTVM DVBRIS	M. P. XIV
DVROVERNO	M. P. XXV		

I T E R IV.

A LONDINIO AD PORTVM LEMANIS. M. P. LXVIII.

DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXVII	AD PORTVM LEMANIS	M. P. XVI
DVROVERNO	M. P. XXV		

I T E R V.

A LONDINIO LVGVVALLIVM AD VALLVM. M. P. CCCCXLIH.

CESAROMAGO	M. P. XXVIII	DANO	M. P. XXI
COLONIA	M. P. XXIV	LEGEOLIO	M. P. XVI
VILLA FAVSTINI	M. P. XXXV	EBVRACO	M. P. XXI
ICIANOS	M. P. XVIII	ISVBRIGANTVM	M. P. XVII
CAMBORICO	M. P. XXXV	CATARACTONI	M. P. XXIV
DVRQLIPONTE	M. P. XXV	LAVATRIS	M. P. XVIII
DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXXV	VERTERIS	M. P. XIII
CAUSENNIS	M. P. XXX	BROCAVO	M. P. XX
LINDO	M. P. XXVI	LVGVVALLIO	M. P. XXII
SEGELOCI	M. P. XIV		

according to **ANTONINE'S**
ITINERARY.

ENGLISH

SEA

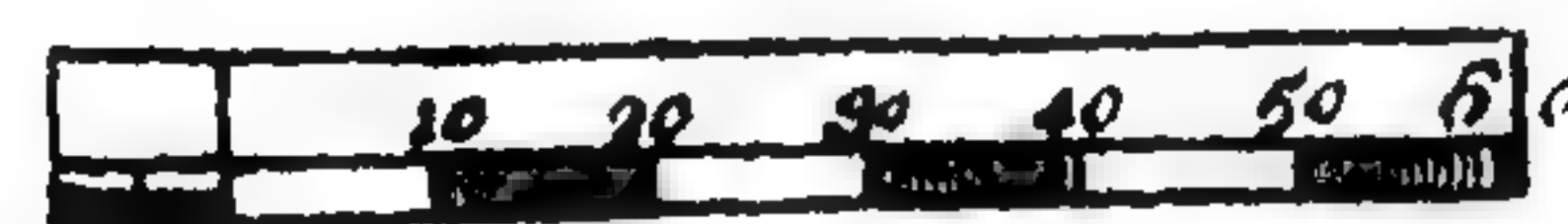
THE

I R I S H

SEA

A scale of 60 Roman miles

THE BRITISH CHANNEL



ITER VI.

A LONDINIO LINDVM. M. P. CLVI.

VEROLAMIO	M.P.XXI	RATIS	M.P.XII
DVROCOBRIO	M. P. XII	VEROMETO	M.P. XIII
MAGIOVINIO	M. P. XII	MARGIDVNO	M.P. XIII
LACTODORO	M.P.XVI	AD PONTEM	M.P.VII.
ISANAVATIA	M.P.XII	CROCOCOLANA	M.P.VII.
TRIPONTIO	M.P.XII	LINDO	M.P.XII
VENONIS	M.P.IX		

ITER VII.

A REGNO LONDINIVM. M. P. XCVI.

CLAVSENTO	M.P.XX	PONTIBVS	M.P. XXII
VENTA BELGARVM	M. P. X	LONDINIO	M.P.XXII
CALLEVA ATREBATVM	M.P.XXII		

ITER VIII.

AB EBVRACO LONDINIVM. M. P. CCXXVII.

LAGECIO	M.P.XXI	RATIS	M.P. XII
DANO	M. P. XVI	VENONIS	M. P. XII
AGELOCO	M. P. XXI	BANNAVANTO	M. P. XVIII
LINDO	M.P. XIV	MAGIOVINTO	M.P. XXVIII
CROCOCOLANA	M.P. XIV	DVROCOBRIVIS	M. P. XII
MARGIDVNO	M. P. XIV	VEROLAMIO	M. P. XII
VERNOMETO	M.P. XII	LONDINIO	M. P. XXI

ITER IX.

A VENTA ICENORVM LONDINIVM. M. P. CXXVIII.

SITOMAGO	M.P. XXXI	CANONIO	M. P. IX
COMBRETONIO	M.P. XXII	CAESAROMAGO	M. P. XII
AD ANSAM	M.P. XV	DVROLITO	M. P. XVI
CAMVLODVNO	M. P. VI	LONDINIO	M. P. XV

ITER X.

A GLANOVENTA MEDIOLANVM. M. P. CL.

GALAVA	M.P. XVIII	COCCIO	M. P. XX
ALONE	M. P. XII	MANCVNIO	M. P. XVII
GALACVM	M. P. XIX	CONDATE	M. P. XVIII
BREMETONACIS	M. P. XXVII	MEDIOLANO	M. P. XVIII

ITER XI.

A SEGONTIO DEVAM. M. P. LXXXIII.

CONOVIO	M.P. XXIV	DEVA	M. P. XXXII
VARIS	M. P. XIX		

ITER XII.

A CALLEVA MVRIDVNVM VRIOCONIVM. M. P. CLXXXVI.

VINDOMI	M. P. XV.	BOMIO	M. P. XV.
VENTA BELGARVM	M. P. XXI	NIDO	M. P. XV.
BRIGL.	M. P. XI	ISCALIGVA AVGVSTA	M. P. XV.
SORVIOVNO	M. P. IX	BVRIO	M. P. IX
VINDOCLADIA	M. P. XII	GOBANNIO	M. P. XII
DVRNOVARIA	M. P. VII.	MAGNIS	M. P. XXII
MVRIDVNO	M. P. XXXVI	BRVINIO	M. P. XXIV
SCADVNNNIORVM	M. P. XV.	VRIOCONIO	M. P. XXVII
LEVCARO	M. P. XV.		

I T E R XIII.

AB ISCA CALLEVAM. M. P. CIX.

BVRRIO
BLESTIO
ARICONIO
CLEVOM. P. IX.
M. P. XI.
M. P. XI.
M. P. XVDVROCORNIO
SPINIS
CALLEVAM. P. XIV
M. P. XV
M. P. XV

I T E R XIV.

ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB ISCA CALLEVAM. M. P. CIII.

VENTA SILVRVM
ABONE
TRAIECTVS
AQVIS SOLISM. P. IX
M. P. IX
M. P. IX
M. P. VIVERLVCIONE
CVNETIONE
SPINIS
CALLEVAM. P. XV
M. P. XX
M. P. XV
M. P. XV

I T E R XV.

A CALLEVA ISCAM DVMNONIORVM. M. P. CXXXVI.

VINDOMI
VENTA BELGARVM
BRIGE
SORBIODVNIM. P. XV
M. P. XXI
M. P. XI
M. P. VIIIVINDOCLADIA
DVNOVARIA
MORIDVNO
ISCA DVMNONIORVMM. P. XII
M. P. IX
M. P. XXXVI
M. P. XV

THESE *itineræ* contain an account of the several stations, that were situated on the *Roman* military ways; and the several *itineræ* seem to be so many marching routs for the soldiers. The routs are far from being always direct, for they sometimes fetch a very wide compass. Thus one of them goes from *Carlisle* through *York* and *West-Chester* to *London*, and another, though not so long, yet is as winding, or more so than this^a. Dr. Plot^b observes, “ that the stations or mansions seem to have been the extent of the “ daily marches of the soldiers, the length whereof as they were seldom under “ ten, so they as rarely exceeded thirty *Italian* miles.”

III. WERE we sure of our military ways, and sure of our numbers, and did we certainly know what sort of miles are used in the *Itinerary*, it would then be an infallible guide to us. But each of these have their difficulties. I will therefore, in the next place, endeavour to determine the length and proportion of the miles expressed by the numbers of the *Itinerary*; then make some remarks concerning the numbers, as they now stand in that work; and after that give some general account of the *Roman* ways in *Britain*. The method I propose to take in the first of these, shall be to consider well our *Itinerary* where we are clearest, and best agreed, and thence to raise a general rule, and fix a common proportion for the measure of the miles. And it may be necessary to premise here, that as the *Itinerary* was written by a *Roman*, and most probably for the use of *Roman* officers, and with respect to *Roman* ways; so it appears most rational, that the miles mentioned in it must be *Roman*. Computed *English* miles, every one knows, are of different lengths in different parts of the island; but yet this variety is far from being so great, as most do imagine. It would perhaps be thought impossible to lay down any proportion, that stately obtains between *English* computed miles and those in the *Itinerary*. And yet on a thorough and impartial trial, I find that through the most part of *England*, where ever we are sure, the proportion of miles in the *Itinerary* to *English* computed miles is generally as three to four, or three computed miles make four in the *Itinerary*. I find in the scale for the map prefixed to Dr. *Gale's* edition of *Antonine's Itinerary*, fifteen

English^a See It. ix. v. xii^b Dr. Plot's *natural history of Staffordshire*, p 400 §. 15.

English miles answer to twenty *Roman*; so that the *English* miles in that scale must be common computed ones. Near *Wales* and in the western part of *England* between the *Severn* and *Cheshire*, I find the proportion is as two to three, or two *English* miles make three in the *Itinerary*. And I believe it may be the same in *Scotland*, and in some cross roads. For about twenty miles round *London* one is nearly equal to the other, or not above the difference of one or two in twenty. The same seems to hold good in *Hampshire*, but I think in no other county. Sometimes the *ratio* may be as four to five, or less than this; but three to four is the mean proportion, and that which fails but seldom in the body of the kingdom. The foundation I build on appears in the following table, in which computed miles are set down according to the best intelligence I could get.

The T A B L E.

Antient names.	Itinerary miles.	$\frac{3}{4}$ of the number of <i>Roman</i> miles.	Modern names.	<i>English</i> computed miles.
From <i>Corstopitum</i>			<i>Corbridge</i>	
<i>Vindomora</i>	IX	$6\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Ebchester,</i>	7.
<i>Vinovia</i>	XIX	$14\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Binchester,</i>	14.
<i>Cataracloni</i>	XXII	$16\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Cataracl,</i>	$16\frac{1}{2}$.
<i>Isurium</i>	XXIV	18	<i>Aldborough,</i>	18.
<i>Eboracum</i>	XVII	$12\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Tork,</i>	$12\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Calcaria</i>	IX } XXVI	$6\frac{3}{4}$ } $19\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Tadcaster,</i>	8 } 20.
<i>Legeolio</i>	XII	9	<i>Castleford,</i>	9.
<i>Dano</i>	XVI	12	<i>Doncaster,</i>	12.
<i>Ageloco</i>	XXI	$15\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Littleborough,</i>	16.
<i>Lindo</i>	XIV	$10\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Lincoln.</i>	$10\frac{1}{2}$.
	CLXIII.	$122\frac{1}{4}$		123.

FOR all this space, which is above 160 *Roman* miles, we are absolutely sure of our military way, and we are no less sure of every station at the distance set down in the table. If we begin at *Carlisle*, the space will be enlarged, but the way and stations are equally certain, and the proportion between the miles exactly the same as before. For thus it is according to the fifth *iter*.

Antient names.	Itinerary miles.	Computed miles, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the <i>Itinerary</i> miles.	Modern names.
From <i>Luguvallium</i>			<i>Carlisle</i>
<i>Brocarum</i>	XXII	$16\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Brougham,</i>
<i>Verteris</i>	XX	15	<i>Brugh under Stanmore,</i>
<i>Lauvatis</i>	XIV	$10\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Bowes,</i>
<i>Cataracloni</i>	XVIII	$13\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Cataracl.</i>
	LXXIV	64	

THAT the *Itinerary* miles are sometimes to our computed miles as two to three, and that this proportion obtains in the counties which border on *Wales*, and particularly in *Monmouthshire*, appears in like manner from the distances between those places which we are most sure of.

Antient names.	Itinerary miles.	Computed miles, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Itinerary miles.	Modern names.
From <i>Venta Silurum</i>			<i>Caërgwent</i> to
<i>Isca</i>	IX	6	<i>Caerleon</i> ,
<i>Burrium</i>	IX	6	<i>Usk</i> ,
<i>Gobannium</i>	XII	8	<i>Abergavenny</i> .
	XXX	20	

WHAT I have added with relation to the country about twenty miles round *London*, is supported by the distance of *St. Albans* from *London*, which is twenty computed miles, compared with the distance of *Verulamium* from *Londinium* in the *Itinerary*, which is no more than XXI.

BUT to settle the proportion of the *Itinerary* miles to our computed, is in some measure, as I have hinted, to attempt to settle an uncertainty. It would be more to the purpose, if we could by any means determine the *ratio* of the *Roman* miles in the *Itinerary* to our *English* miles measured on the surface, which *Ogilby* calls *road miles*. *Ogilby's* mensuration includes both the crookedness of the ways, and the inequalities of the surface; but his horizontal are exclusive of both, as I have found on a careful examination. And he expressly distinguishes between the direct superficial protraction of a road, and the direct horizontal distance, where he makes the former 176 miles, and the latter not above 162; though he does not tell us what method he took to determine this matter*. I have also found, that his road miles measured by his wheel do statedly exceed the mensuration by a chain. This indeed might be reasonably presumed, because the wheel takes in several smaller inequalities, which are saved by the chain. And yet the *Itinerary* miles are almost constantly fewer in number than either the measured miles in *Ogilby*, or those which were measured with a chain on this occasion, as far as I tried them. According to the proportion of a *Roman* mile to an *English* measured one, thirteen *English* should equal fourteen *Roman*. Instead of this, I found where we measured with a chain (from *Recheſter* to *Lancaster*) that about nine such miles, as are used in the *Itinerary*, answered to ten, or rather more in our dimensionation on the surface. I can think of no way of reconciling these matters, but by supposing the miles in the *Itinerary* to be *Roman* horizontal, or such as have no allowance made for the inequalities on the surface, though I believe they had for the bends and turns in the way. This suits with great exactness almost every case, where we can be certain. Thus the miles in the *Itinerary* may be truly *Roman*, and yet a smaller number of them correspond to a greater number of *English* road miles, though with some variety too, as roads are more or less winding, or the ground uneven. This variety however is contained within certain limits, the same with those which comprehend the several proportions of horizontal to road measures in the general. And in fixing these, *Ogilby's* survey will be of great service, as will appear with great exactness to any one, who will take the same pains in comparing his measures with those in the *itinerary*, that I have done.

It appears from *Ogilby*, that the *ratio* of horizontal to road miles is very different in different places. About 4 to 5, or 5 to 6 in whole numbers, seem to be the most common; about 11 to 12, or 12 to 13, where the difference is

* See *Ogilby's Survey*, edition 1698, p. 4 in the explanation of plate v.

is the least; and 3 to 4, or 2 to 3, where it is greatest. And the intermediate numbers will express the intermediate proportions.

BUT now the *ratio* of *Roman* horizontal miles to *English* road miles is compounded of the *ratio* of a *Roman* to an *English* mile, and of a horizontal to a road mile. The first of these is constantly 13 to 14 or $\frac{13}{14}$, the latter is in all the following variety $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{4}{5}$, $\frac{5}{6}$, $\frac{6}{7}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{9}{10}$, $\frac{10}{11}$, $\frac{11}{12}$, $\frac{12}{13}$, according to the different degrees of crookedness in the roads, and of inequality in the surface. Now if these several proportions be compounded with the standing *ratio* of $\frac{13}{14}$, the result will be the true proportion between the miles in the *Itinerary* and our *English* road miles.

MR. BEIGHTON'S map of *Warwickshire* is laid down by *English* measured miles reduced to horizontal by his own, that is by a very good hand. I have with impartiality and accuracy compared the *Itinerary* miles in that county with those in this map. It is a disadvantage that *Wall* near *Litchfield* (the *Roman Eboracum*) is not in this county, and that we are not sure of the spot of ground, where the site of the *Roman* fort near *High-cross* or *Cleycester* has been. But however Mr. Beighton has laid down *Wall* in his map of *Hewlingford* hundred; and I shall give some reasons afterwards, why I believe the station at *Cleycester* to have been half a mile or a mile farther south than *High-cross*. Now between the *Roman* stations at *Wall* and at *Manchester*, I find it near fourteen miles and three quarters by Mr. Beighton's scale, and very near ten such miles between the station at *Manchester* and *High-cross*; so that it will be near eleven to the station, if we suppose this to be near a mile distant from *High-cross*. This seems to agree with a surprising exactness to the hypothesis which I have ventured to advance, and very much confirms it. For between *Eboracum* and *Mandueffedum* in the second *iter* is sixteen miles, which require not full fifteen *English* measured of the same kind; since therefore the *English* miles in this case are horizontal, this is a strong proof that the *Itinerary* miles must be so too. Again, it is twelve miles in the same *iter* between *Mandueffedum* and *Venonae*, which answer to a very little more than eleven *English* measured of the same kind; and it is near eleven *English* horizontal miles on the map between the two stations. In both instances the small excess falls on the side of the miles in the *Itinerary*. But this may easily be accounted for, as no allowance is made in the *Itinerary* for the inequalities on the surface, but only for the crookedness and turns in the way. And as the way here is in the main very straight, as is agreed by all, a small allowance on this account must be sufficient.

ON this general scheme (with relation to the length of the miles in the *Itinerary*) I believe we may proceed from the most northern limit not only to *Lincoln*, as in the foregoing table, but even to *London*, without having the least occasion to deviate from a grand *Roman* road, that is absolutely certain, all the way. We shall have no occasion to fix a mansion or station any where, but where we have strong proofs there has been one; nor yet to make any innovation as to the names or situation of those *Roman* places, which appear to be well established, and which antiquaries do generally agree in; nor shall we have occasion to make many considerable alterations in the particular numbers of the *Itinerary*: and if in two or three instances a small variation is required, this is usually supported by some other reasons, independent on this or any particular scheme. Such a journey will not coincide fully with any one *iter* in the *Itinerary*; but it is a more direct one than any there, and may all of it be taken from the first and eighth. The first *iter* may be taken from *Bremenium* to *Eboracum*, and the eighth from *Eboracum* to *Londonium*. And it may not be amiss to compare the names and numbers in these *itineraria* (particularly in the eighth) with those in others, that seem designed to express the same distance, in order to correct or confirm

Besides this, the country people near *Wroxeter* in *Shropshire* give the name of *Watlingstreet* to the military way, which goes through the middle of that county into *Herefordshire*, and (as I apprehend) toward *Kenchester*. The name of *Watlingstreet* is also given to the military way, which goes through *Wales*, and is thought to have been continued to the island of *Anglesea*; for a caufway is yet visible a good way into the sea, pointing toward this island. The same name is also given (as far as I could learn) to all the military ways that are in *Scotland*. The vulgar call the military way from *Cataract* bridge to *Carlisle* through *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*, *Mitchel Scots* caufway; as they do also that which is called *Watlingstreet* in the county of *Durham* about *Binchester*. The northern part of this way is manifestly the *basis* of the first *iter*, which, as I believe, terminates in the most northerly station of *Herminstreet*. The second, third, and fourth *itinera* have also *Watlingstreet*, or part of it for their *basis*; and so has the latter part of the fifth, sixth, and eighth *itinera*, not to mention the latter part of the twelfth.

I WOULD call *Herminstreet* the military way which leads directly from *London* to *Lincoln*, and so to *Wintringham*, in a line as streight as can be expected. It is said that the *via consularis* (termed in the *Ely* book *Ermingstreet*) goes from *Royston* towards *Huntington*. And the author of the *new survey*^a tells us of a road by *Royston*, which is called *Erminstreet*, and that some lands in *Therfield* are said to lie next *Erminstreet*, and that a *Roman* way about *Stamford* is also called *Erminstreet* in the writings of the *Monks*. But this way, he says, was erroneously so called. The same author observes^b, that the great northern road by *Royston* and *Stamford* is by some authors, and some of the oldest *Monks* called *Erminstreet*. He rejects their opinion indeed, and speaks less favourably of their authority here, than he does on another occasion. But however that be, he is mistaken, I think, when he asserts, that this military way passes by *Grantham*. The writings of *Peterborough* abbey also mention *Herminstreet*. Mr. *Gale* thinks *Ermin* is for *Earning*, a *Saxon* word for *old*. Dr. *Stukely* says, that in the *Saxon* language *Here* is an army, and *Hereman* a soldier; so that *Hermanstreet* (as he writes it) is *via militaris*. According to him it begins at *Newhaven* in *Suffex*, goes through *Radmil* and *Lewis*, and then by the *Surry Stane-street* at *Croydon* and *Streetham*, and seems to have crossed the *Thames* at the ferry called *Stane-gate* by *Lambeth*. I find no *iter* that proceeds directly on this road for any number of stations together. A part of the fifth, at least from *Durobrivae* to *Lindum*, has been directly on it, and some part I believe of the first, but little more. Some incline to give the name of *Herminstreet* to the military way from *Cataract* to *Carlisle*, or to suppose this to be the continuation of *Herminstreet*, which was united with *Watlingstreet* from *York* (or beyond it) to *Cataract*; and others may think that the other branch from *Cataract* to *Riechester* is the continuation of *Herminstreet*, and some that both these branches belong to it. I shall leave every one to his own opinion in this, and only observe, that the military way to *Carlisle*, as soon as it enters *Scotland*, bears the name of *Watlingstreet*; and as for that to *Riechester*, it is almost universally so called, both in *England* and *Scotland*. Others also suppose, some of the military ways south from *London* to be a part of *Herminstreet*.

THE *Fosse* proceeds directly from *Bath* to *Lincoln*. I believe it has been continued beyond the *Bath*, as far as *Ilchester* at least, if not to the sea; Dr. *Stukely* thinks to *Seaton*. Great part of this too, namely, that which is in the very heart of the kingdom, has had no part of an *iter* on it; but the latter part of the sixth *iter*, and middle part of the eighth, from *Venonae* to *Lindum*, have no doubt been on the other parts of it. This still bears the name of the *Fosse* way from *Lincoln* to *Bath*, and beyond it. Some affirm

^a Pag. 285.^b Pag. 242, 243.

affirm it to have been continued in a pretty direct line beyond *Lincoln* to the sea coast. But to this I am a stranger. The learned Dr. Gale would have that magnificent way from *Lincoln* to the *Humber*, to be the continuance of the *Fosse* ^a: but as this is out of the line, and seemingly, as I think, of a different make; I would rather chuse to call it the continuance of *Hermin-street*.

I AM most at a loss about *Icknildstreet*. Some think there were two *Roman* ways of this name, but I cannot say we are certain of either. It is agreed, that it must have been some way that led to or from the country of the *Iceni*, and that this is the reason of the name; possibly *Icenelde street*, or *old street*. It is therefore natural to suppose, that *Venta Icenorum* must have stood on this way, and perhaps been the limit or *terminus* of it. The way therefore, according to which the ninth *iter* is directed, should, I think, be the best entitled to this name of any in the *Itinerary*. This I shall afterwards shew to be the *Roman* road, which has come from *Caister*, near *Norwich*, by *Colchester* or *Malden* to *London*. The military way from *London* by *Speen* and *Marlborough* to the *Bath*, or rather that by *Silchester* and *Old Sarum* to *Dorchester*, may be looked upon as the continuation of it. This military way, which goes from *Silchester* to *Old Sarum*, and so to *Dorsetshire*, by *Pentridge* (as Mr. Gale informs me) passes at *Gliffet St. Michael* under the name of *Ickling dyke*. But yet, as the same gentleman observes, the great way, called *Ickning street* comes from *Goring* in *Oxfordshire* into *Berkshire* near *Stratley*, and passes by *Aldworth* to *Speenham* near *Newbury*. And he tells us likewise, that it passes by *Hitching* in *Hertfordshire*, and *Royston*. Dr. Plot argues for an *Icknild street*, which passes through *Derbyshire*, and enters *Staffordshire* at *Stretton* near *Tutbury*, leading by *Burton* upon *Trent*, and *Lichfield*, into *Warwickshire* near *Handsworth*, where it appears near *Birmingham*. He also takes notice of a raised way near the village of *Edlinghall*, pointing towards *Lullington* in *Derbyshire*, which he supposes to be a *Roman via vicinalis*. But I cannot yet see any reason to believe, that any *Itinerary* stations have stood on either of these ways, though this *Icknild street*, as well as *Watling street*, remains yet (according to the account we have of it) very high and conspicuous. Dr. Plot and others will have *Stretton* near *Lichfield*, *Streeton* near *Burton*, and *Old fort* in the parish of *Kimber*, to be stations upon it.

AFTER I have said thus much of military ways in general, I would add a few remarks with a particular view to the work in hand. I find there are often *Roman* antiquities, and I believe *Roman* stations too, found on these *bases*, even where no part of an *iter* takes its direct course. And I look on it as highly probable, that where there are several of what we may call angular projections (as for instance in the fifth *iter*) there has still been a direct way generally carried on and continued in a pretty straight line, which is a kind of *basis* to all these excursions, which serve to take in the several scattered stations. And yet this direct road, or *basis*, has not always been alike magnificent, or made the most durable, or else has not been so well preserved; for where it was less frequented, as having no stations on it, it is often quite ruined and lost, as well as the smaller vicinal branches. This direct road, or *basis*, determines the main course of every *iter*, and at every return to this *basis* (after an excursion) some progress is usually made along it, though sometimes these advances are more swift and direct, and at other times more slow and oblique. And in two or three instances the excursion and return seem to have been by the very same way, and both to and from the same place. But I do not think one instance can be given of a motion backwards (if this *basis* be taken for the main line of direction) whatever a late ingenious author may suggest to that purpose.

5 G

BESIDES

^a Anton. Itin. p. 130.

BESIDES these main roads it is certain, that there have been a great many vicinal branches, and some which have crossed the principal ways at nearly right angles. I find also, that there have been considerable military ways in *Britain*, on which no *iter* has proceeded. Besides I cannot find that there are any *Itinerary* stations on that part of the *Fosse* way, which reaches from *Cleycester*, or *Venonae* (where the grand military ways cross each other) to the *Bath*; though it be certain this military way has been originally continued so far without interruption. But yet in settling the account of the *Itinerary*, I would introduce no more military ways, than just what is needful for this purpose. By this means we shall have less confusion, and a more distinct view of what is in hand. My curiosity led me once to search for a station at *Old Radnor*, and a military way to and from it. I will not say that I only got my labour for my pains; because I received fuller conviction, than without a personal view and enquiry I probably should have done, that there was no appearance or evidence of any *Roman* station, or military way thereabout. And indeed the imagination of one being there has only served to confound a great many persons. For I hope to shew, that the course of the military way and stations, the distances, and other evidences, put it out of doubt, that the latter part of the twelfth *iter* instead of going, as has been imagined, from *Abergavenny* to *Old Radnor*, has proceeded from *Abergavenny* to *Kenchester*, and from thence directly to *Wroxeter*. Some also imagine that the *Julia strata* in that country has had its name from *Julius Caesar*; but I believe it has neither had this name from *Julius Caesar*, nor any other *Roman*, but from *St. Julian* so much celebrated in those parts.

THE *Romans* in carrying on their military ways, seem to have dealt more in parallels and perpendiculars, than I could have imagined. And where the grand way is divided into two, or ways issue out from any considerable place, they often seem to go out at nearly right angles, or however seldom at an angle which is very acute. This would incline one to think, that the ways are at least as old as the stations. Sometimes there are excursions to side stations, but I believe these excursions are far from being so frequent, as has been imagined; and where this is done, there is often a right angle formed at the side station. Sometimes the grand military way takes a smaller turn, but it is only to gain some higher or more convenient ground; so that one turn ballancing another, the way still tends in the main towards the same point*, till it makes a grand turn nearly at right angles. It would afford some light to us, if we were sure what stations and towns were prior to the ways, and what were subsequent. For any deviation or irregularity in the series of the stations, for which the ways were made, must occasion an equal disorder in the course of these roads. I am informed that it has been a modern practice, to lay the roads cross each other at nearly right angles, when they are designed for the convenient marching of soldiers. If my intelligence be good, something like this was done in *Flanders* by the late king of *France*, and something of the same nature is now doing by General *Wade* in the highlands of *Scotland*. If this scheme concerning the *Roman* ways in *Britain* hold true, somewhat more consistent and regular, as well as more beautiful and rational will appear in the whole contrivance, than has been advanced before.

As for the cross roads, I look on them to be like lines of communication between the grand ways: and if I am not mistaken, this line is generally the shortest it can be; and so a perpendicular, or nearly so, either one way or other. Thus the *Romans* saved what trouble and expence they could, by making the way as short as possible. I also suppose, that these cross roads

and

* See what Dr. Stukely has said concerning the *Lincoln to Leicester*, in his *Itinerarium curiosum*, *Herminstreet to Lincoln*, and the *Fosse* from p. 89, 90, 98, &c.

and the vicinal branches were not made so strong and durable, or so grand and magnificent, as the principal ways, and for this reason have been sooner and more generally ruined and lost. Perhaps the military way that lies along the *Roman* wall may be considered as one such line of communication, between the two grand branches of our northern *Watlingstreet*. It appears also probable to me that a compass is sometimes fetched, or a new *iter* or part of an *iter* framed, for the convenience of passing more easily a large and troublesome river. This is remarkable with respect to the *Severn* and *Humber*, for which I refer to the respective *itinera*. Nor do I think that either of these ways (that is, either the longer but safer, or shorter but more dangerous and troublesome) was intirely abandoned, but used as either the one or the other on particular occasions was found most proper and agreeable.

IN tracing out an obscure military way, I have sometimes found it of service to consider the towns that go by the name of *Stretton*, or somewhat equivalent to it. For as this name is very frequent, so it is commonly owing to the neighbourhood of that place to some old way or street, and often to a *Roman* one. This then in several cases may be a collateral proof, that a *Roman* way has taken such a particular course. Thus the name of *Chester on the street*, between *Newcastle* and *Durham*, does not a little confirm the opinion, that there has been a *Roman* settlement there of some kind or other, and that a military way has passed from *Newcastle* to it. I know not whether the *Strettons* in *Cheshire* can be of any service to us this way, but I was pleased to meet with the three *Strettons* in the way from *Wroxeter* towards *Ludlow* and *Hereford*. The military way it self is indeed very visible a great part of the road (to which, as has been said, the country people give the name of *Watlingstreet*) and this name of the *Strettons* confirms it; and I make no doubt but that it has been continued directly to *Kenchester*, though by turning off towards *Old Radnor*, I had not the satisfaction to trace it my self. Coins and funeral monuments are sometimes found near those military ways, even where no stations appear. And in tracing them out some regard may be had also to these. It is very certain, that it was the custom of the *Romans* to bury generally near the high ways.

*Experiar quid concedatur in illos,
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis, atque Latina^a.*

Propertius would not have needed to beg, as he does, that he might not be buried near a publick road, if it had not been the prevailing custom to do it:

*Dii faciant mea ne terra locet ossa frequenti,
Qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter.*

And again in the same poem:

Non juvat in media nomen habere via^b.

And we find in fact, that the funeral monuments, vaults, and *tumuli* of the *Romans* are generally near some considerable way. A remarkable one was discovered not long ago in *Italy* near *Rome*, and has been mentioned before in the preceding book^c.

THESE *Roman* ways in *Britain* have also frequently been continued as the publick roads; so that where a *Roman* military way is wanting, the presumption is in favour of the present high road, if that be nearly in the same direction. But the visible remains, and *dorsum elatum*, or elevated ridge, is the most satisfactory, and almost the only infallible evidence. I confess it is sometimes very difficult to discover or trace out a military way, which is frequently sunk several feet below the surface, either in mossy grounds, or where the fields have long been in tillage. When I passed *Blackstone edge* in *Yorkshire*, I could not but be surpris'd to see how much the causeway there was below the surface, and I am well informed of a causeway in the country between *Tine* and *Read*

in

^a Juvenal. Sat. 1. in fin.

^b Lib. 111. Eleg. 16.

^c Book 11. chap. 111. p. 287.

in *Northumberland*, sunk some feet below the surface. And though the military way, which leads to *South Shields*, is a yard or two above the ground for two or three miles; yet for as much more it is almost as much below it: but even where it is so far beneath the surface, it is very capable of being followed, when the ground is soft.

VI. AFTER these remarks concerning the military ways, and the method of tracing them out; it may not be improper to add two or three observations with respect to the stations, that have been placed on these ways, and the evidences whereby they may be discovered.

IN every *iter* of the *Itinerary* the stations are reckoned up, which stand on that military way, and their distances one from another are set down. If any stations are passed over, that are really on the same way; perhaps these stations were not in being at the time, but either built after, or else ruined and neglected before; though they might be afterwards rebuilt again^a: so that the stations might be altered, as well as their names (some being abandoned and others raised in their room) in such a space of time, as intervened between the writing the *Itinerary* and the *Notitia*. The same station sometimes also happens to be at the point of intersection of two of these ways; and then (as I shall afterwards observe^b) it is passed over in one, and looked on only to belong to the other. Sometimes also a station may not be directly in the road, but lie on one side of the military way, and for this reason not be mentioned in any *iter*. And I am apt to think that some are not named, because they are too near each other; the distance between the two mansions not being long enough, even for the shortest day's journey. It is certain however, that a station is sometimes passed over in one *iter*, and mentioned in another. And this is done, when the station omitted lies as fully in the way of the one, as it does in the other. Such is *Calcaria* [*Tadcaster*] mentioned in the second *iter*, but omitted in the eighth, though it lies directly in the way from *Eboracum* to *Lagecium* or *Legeolium*, that is from *York* to *Castleford*. So *Lactodorum* in the sixth is omitted in the eighth, and *Sulloniæ* is mentioned only in the second, and not either in the sixth or eighth. So *Voreda*, *Brovonacæ*, *Brocauum*, are mentioned in one *iter* and omitted in another, as appears by comparing the second *iter* with the fifth. In other cases an intermediate station is mentioned in one *iter*, and omitted in another: but then the station is not in the direct way between the other two, but lying a little to one side or other, requires a less or larger excursion; and then it is no wonder if the numbers vary. But not to insist any farther on this, *Cambden* justly observes, "That whoever seeks for the places mentioned in *Antonine's Itinerary* any where, but by these ways, will certainly wander and run into mistakes". And I cannot but think several stations yet remain undiscovered, only because they have not been sought for in proper places and by a proper method.

THE evidences of these stations are various: I shall run over the principal. Sometimes the name, at other times *Roman* monuments of one kind or other, or the ruins of a station are a good evidence. Though there must be a great deal of difference between such grounds, as have remained unbuilt or uncultivated, and those that have been levelled or ploughed, and perhaps built on, and that a long time ago, as in large towns that have risen out of the ruins of stations. Very often the word *Chester*, or some other word equivalent to it, as *Brugh*, gives us some help in fixing the place: nor will it create any difficulty, that the *castra æstiva* are often called *Chester* or *Chesters*, as well as the other; both because the summer encampments are seldom directly on the military ways, and because they may be generally distinguished from

^a See *Philos. Trans.* N. 357.

^b See *Iter* x.

^c *Introduction*, p. LXXX.

from the other without difficulty. I have elsewhere observed, how careful the *Romans* were to have their stations placed near a river, and that there is no situation they seem to have been so fond of, as a *lingula* near the confluence of a larger and smaller river. If we run along any military way, we are almost sure to meet with a station, wherever we meet with a river at any reasonable distance from a preceding station. How far *Roman* coins, especially a number of them, found at any place may be looked on as an argument of a *Roman* station or town, is a question that may deserve a farther enquiry. It is evident, that they are not an infallible *criterion*; and yet I believe them to be a strong collateral evidence. It is certain in fact, that these coins are often found in such stations; and I am of opinion, that they were generally laid up there or lost by the *Romans*, or other inhabitants. They are sometimes found in *Roman* vessels, though the famous pot at *Brugh* near *Cataraet* will not perhaps be so readily confessed to be *Roman*. Coins have often been found under, or near to *Roman* altars; they are also frequently found in such places, as not only appear from other evidences to have been *Roman* stations, but where there is no manner of proof of any subsequent *British* or *Saxon* buildings upon them. Again the places mentioned in the *Itinerary* seem generally to have been *castra stativa*, and I have observed, that there are usually rubbish, lime, and remains of buildings in such stations as these. For besides the fort or citadel garrisoned by the *Roman* soldiers or auxiliaries, there was usually a town adjacent, which, in all likelihood, was mostly inhabited by the *Britons*.

NEXT to the evidence from *Roman* antiquities, those of the *Saxon* kind may deserve some regard; because it is both a general and just observation, that the *Saxons* usually built on *Roman* foundations. But yet as this is but a secondary evidence, it is by no means to be judged equal to the former. A natural and easy etymology deserves some regard, and Mr. *Baxter* has distinguished himself this way. Affinity of names in sound, or sense, is not to be altogether slighted; though in the following disquisition I have endeavoured to concern my self as little as possibly I could with etymologies, my professed design being to trace out the several stations by the course of the military ways, and the distances in the *Itinerary*: for as in settling the stations *per lineam valli*, according to the *Notitia*, I found it to be the best method, to keep close to the wall, and my author; so in this case I am persuaded it is best to keep close to the military ways, and to the *Itinerary*, and also to the numbers there, as much as possible. And I am in hopes, that if this be done very carefully, we shall have no great occasion to call in any foreign assistance.

VII. SOME learned men are of opinion, that there is no regularity or order observed in placing the several *itineræ*, as they now stand in the *Itinerary*; but in this I cannot agree with them. There seems to have been some general scheme observed by the author. He begins first from the most advanced northerly stations, which were probably at that time the limits or boundary, *a limite, a vallo*. *Bremenium* and *Blatum Bulgium*, from whence the first and second *itineræ* commence, were certainly the utmost stations to the north, and *Bremenium* the more advanced of the two. The author therefore begins at the first; and as *Bremenium* was the more easterly of these northern boundary stations, so the first *iter* proceeds on the more easterly way. *London* being the capital place, from whence most military ways have taken their rise, this is made the *terminus* of several *itineræ*, which are all placed together, and come next to the two I have mentioned; for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth *itineræ* begin from *London*, and the seventh, eighth, and ninth end with it. And though in some of these the same places are repeated, yet in each of them some new places are always mentioned; and some particular vicinal ways are comprehended in one or other of the shorter *itineræ*, that are omitted in the rest, as well as in the larger and more general

itineræ. Having dispatched such as begun or ended at *London*, the author next proceeds to those, which begin and end with places not so considerable; and here again he begins with the most northerly. The tenth *iter* brings us from the county of *Durham* to *Cheshire*, or the borders of *Shropshire*; the eleventh from *Caernarvon* on the sea coast near *Anglesea* to *Chester*; and then the four last begin or end with *Callewa*, which is farther to the south, and as I apprehend nearly west from *London*.

If we take a general view of the several *termini* of the different *itineræ*; we shall find them to be, either the very utmost stations the *Romans* had on these roads at that time, such as *Bremenium*, *Blatum Bulgium*, *Segontium*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, *Regnum*, *Portus Ritupæ*, *Portus Dubris*, and *Portus Lemanis*; or else some considerable places situated at or near the point of intersection of one military way with another, such as *Londonium*, *Lindum*, *Eboracum*, *Callewa*, *Isca*, *Deva*, *Urioconium*, and I think *Glanoventa* too; or lastly these *termini* are such places as stand on some principal road, the rest of the stations on which, are continued or comprehended in some other *iter*, such as *Praetorium*, *Luguvallium*, *Mediolanum*, *Muridunum*. If *Venta Icenorum* be of this sort, the ninth *iter* is the only one that begins from such a place; but I rather believe it to be the utmost station that way, as I have hinted just now, and shall more fully confirm in my account of that *iter*.

As for the order of the particular places in each *iter*; that is directed by the course of the way, as has been hinted before. The construction, if any be designed that is regular and grammatical, is not so obvious. One would think the general meaning should be, from or to such a place is so many miles. Thus *A BRAMENIO CORSTOPITVM M. P. XX.* is certainly from *Bremenium* to *Corstopitum* twenty miles. But how the connection or construction was designed to be continued, I do not well understand. For sometimes the name is in the ablative, as *Derventione*, *Verlucione*, *Cunetione*^a; sometimes I think in the dative, as *Cataraetoni*^b; and sometimes in the accusative, as *Icianos*^c. When it is in the ablative, one would think the meaning should be *from* such a place, as it is more expressly *a Bramenio*; but when in the dative and accusative, *to* such a place, as it is more fully, *ad portum Dubris*, and *ad portum Lemanis*, and likewise *ad portum Ritupis*^d. I shall not insist any longer on this, but proceed directly to the several *itineræ*.

VIII. BEFORE we come to the first *iter*, we have the following account given us of the distance between the two ports, which were commonly used at that time in passing from *Gaul* into *Britain*.

A GESSORIACO DE GALLIIS, RITVPIS IN PORTV BRITANNIARVM.
STAD. NVMERO. CCCCL.

But I need add nothing here, to what I have already said with relation to this^e; nor explain any farther those words in the title of the first *iter*, *A LIMITE I. E. A VALLO*, having on another occasion spoken so fully about it^f.

^a See It. I, XIV.

^b It. I.

^c It. V.

^d It. II, III, IV.

^e Book I. c. I. p. 11, &c.

^f Book I. c. VII. pag. 115.

ITER I.

A LIMITE I. E. A VALLO
PRAETORIVM VSQVE. M. P.
CLVI

The first rout is from the limit, that is, the wall, to Hebberstow fields or Broughton, 156 miles.

A BRAMENIO		<i>Riechester</i>
CORSTOPITVM	M. P. XX	<i>Corbridge</i>
VINDOMORA	M. P. IX	<i>Ebchester</i>
VINOVA	M. P. XIX	<i>Binchester</i>
CATARACTONI	M. P. XXII	<i>Cataraft</i>
ISVRIVM	M. P. XXIV	<i>Aldborough</i>
EBVRACVM. LEG. VI. VICTRIX	M. P. XVII	<i>Tork</i>
DERVENTIONE	M. P. VII	<i>On Derwent river</i>
DELGOVITIA	M. P. XIII	<i>Wighton</i>
PRAETORIO	M. P. XXV al. XXII	<i>Hebberstow-fields or Broughton.</i>

IN this *iter* the sum of the miles prefixed agrees with the particulars. This also happens in the third, seventh, and eighth; but in most they differ. However where there is such an agreement, there is less reason to suspect any error in the particular numbers. This *iter* beyond dispute proceeds along that military way, which we call *Watling street*; and therefore it is certain, that we must look for these places only on this way, or some of its branches.

IT is indeed surprising to observe, at how many distant places *Bremenium* has been set by antiquaries. Sir Robert Sibbald, endeavouring to bring all to his country, has removed *Bremenium* to *Pasley* about five miles from *Glasgow*. It has been placed by other authors of learning and skill in antiquity at the several *Brantons* in *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Yorkshire*^a; and this for no other reason, that I can perceive, than because the first syllable in *Bremenium* or *Bremenium*, resembles the first in *Branton* or *Brampton*. But as we have several other towns of this name^b, it seems more probable that *Bram* or *Bran* has had some common signification, and the termination *town* or *ton* been annexed to it^c. *Riechester* in *Readsdale* in the county of *Northumberland* must, I think, undoubtedly have been *Bremenium*^d. It stands directly on the military way called *Watling street*, along which this *iter* proceeds. The noble altar with the curious inscription on it that was found here^e, in which express mention is made of *Bremenium*, was the first motive that inclined *Cambden* to believe this station to be it. It is now at *Conington*, where I have seen it; and the whole of it is still very legible. It appears to me altogether improbable, that this altar should have been removed from any other place to *Riechester*; and yet the learned Dr. Gale seems to think (if I mistake him not) that an altar found at *Lowther* in *Westmorland* had been originally erected at *Branton* on *Bramish* in *Northumberland*; adding, that “when the *Romans* abandoned the frontiers of the empire, they seem to “have taken these monuments along with them^f.” But I see no reason for this opinion; nor do I think that the *Romans* usually carried off their altars, and other monuments, when they were obliged to retire. The vast number of these that have been found at *Risingham*, and *Riechester*, and in *Scotland*, these

BREMENIVM.

^a See Gale p. 6. Camb. p. 63. and others.

^b Thus we have *Bramton Brion*, the ancient seat of the *Harley's*, in the borders of *Herefordshire*; *Brampton* not far from *Wroxeter* in *Shropshire*; besides the *Bramptons* mentioned in the text.

^c *Bran* or *Bron* I think signifies a hill or mountain in the *Welsh* tongue.

^d This name is sometimes writ *Bremenium*, and sometimes *Bramenium* by good antiquaries. It is *Bramenium* in Gale's edition of the *Itinerary*,

though he himself writes it *Bremenium*, p. 6. In *Ptolemy* it is *Begunior*, and *Bremenium* in *Ravenas* p. 148. edit Gal. ad fin. Ant. It. The inscription referred to immediately after has it *Bremenium*, which has turned the scales with me, and determined me to write it always *Bremenium*.

^e *Northumberland*, N. xcv.

^f Post retractum linitem Romani monumenta etiam hujusmodi secum retraxisse videntur. Ant. Itin. p. 6, 7, 8.

these advanced stations, from whence they were often obliged to retreat, seem fully to prove the contrary. Nor does it appear that many were carried away, when the *Romans* finally left this island. And as for the doctor's opinion concerning *Bremenium's* being at *Branton* on *Bremisb* water, I am persuaded he would have discarded it, if he had ever had an opportunity of viewing the place, where there are not the least remains of *Roman* antiquity. I have also plainly shewn, that the inscription found at *Lowther* is to be otherwise read and corrected, than the doctor would have it, and that there never has been any thing of *Bramenium* in it^a. The same learned gentleman makes another objection against *Riechester's* being *Bremenium*, or rather urges another argument in favour of *Branton* on *Bremisb*^b. "Unless (says he) we seek for "*Bramenium* in this place, we cannot allow the authority of the anonymous "*Ravennas*, who places it beyond the *Coquet*; nor of *Ptolemy*, who places "it beyond the *Alne*." To this it may be answered, that if the anonymous *Ravennas* places *Bremenium* north of *Coquet*, he at the same time places *Coquet* north of *Alnwick* or *Alne*; which shews how little he is to be relied on here, or else that he is mistaken by his interpreter^c. Besides *Riechester* lies near as far west, as the head of *Coquet*. And as *Ptolemy* begins just hereabout to confound the west with the north, or to mistake the one for the other; so it is possible, that this other later author may have done the same in this case. The doctor says *Ptolemy* places *Bremenium* beyond *Alauna*, which he takes to be *Alne* that runs by *Alnwick*, but I believe it to be *Tweed*^d. And it is true, that according to *Ptolemy*, *Bremenium* is not only more to the north than *Tweed*, that is, the mouth of it; but even than almost all the eastern coast of *Scotland*. But this is owing to one general error, which when rectified, will restore *Bremenium* to its due situation. If *Scotland* be set north and south with respect to its length, instead of east and west; *Alauni ostia*, *Vedrae ostia*, and *Bremenium* will be with great exactness in *Ptolemy*, as *Twedmouth*, *Tinmouth*, and *Riechester* are in fact, according to the best computation I am able to make. So that I cannot but look on *Ptolemy's* authority to be on our side; and if *Bremenium* be fixed here, every thing relating to the rest of this *iter* goes on with a great deal of ease and exactness.

BEFORE I speak of *Corstopitum* (the second place mentioned in this *iter*) I shall take a little notice of the military way, and of two or three *Roman* stations or forts, which are near to it, though I believe not named in any antient authors, and particularly not in the *Itinerary*. *Elfdon* and *Green chesters* are on the east side of *Watlingstreet*; the latter not one, and the former above two miles from it. A branch of a military way seems to have gone from *Elfdon* through *Green chesters* to *Watlingstreet*, passing by *Elishaw*, and falling near *Blakhope* on *Watlingstreet*, at a large angle not much short of a right one. But as these two places are both off the way, and perhaps have never been properly stations, but the one an encampment, and the other an exploratory fort; it is no wonder, that they are not at all mentioned in the *Itinerary*.

THERE is more difficulty in accounting for *Risingham's* being passed over in silence. That grand military way, which is visible for almost the whole space between *Riechester* and *Risingham*, passes within less than a quarter of a mile of the fort, and must have been nearer to the town; and no doubt a branch has gone off to the town and the fort. So that its being off the way can scarce be the reason of its being omitted. Some have supposed that it was not built, or else had been abandoned in the reign of the *Antonines*. That it was in being in the time of the *Antonines*, is plain from the inscrip-

^a See Westmorland, N. 11. and observations.

^b Certe nisi ad Bramton Bremenium hoc indagemus, nullo modo anonymo Ravennati, qui Bremenium ultra Coquedam fluv. [*Coquet*] nec Pto-

lemaeo, qui trans Alaunum [*Alnwick*] illud statuit satisficimus.

^c See the Essay on this author.

^d See Essay on Ptolemy, chap. 1.

inscriptions found there expressly mentioning the name of *Aurelius Antoninus*^a. This might be *Antoninus* the philosopher, and the station be neglected before the reign of *Caracalla*, if we suppose him to be the author of the *Itinerary*. And this opinion is favoured by an imperfect inscription found at this place, from whence it appears, that somewhat had been repaired, which had gone to ruin through age^b. And the great remains, yet so conspicuous, argue for its having been long and late possessed by the *Romans*. Possibly *Risingham* might be looked on as too near to *Riecheſter*, to make it another mansion in this rout; for they are but about eight measured miles distant. And though two places are sometimes set down in the same *iter*, which are at no greater distance; yet other circumstances might render this proper at one place, and not so at another.

CORSTOPITUM^c is the next place that occurs in this *iter*, and is reckoned CORSTOPITVM. at twenty miles distance from *Bremenium*. And at a proper distance enough from the station at *Riecheſter* we have that at *Corbridge* for our *Corstopitum*. Upon actual mensuration it was found two measured miles more than this number; yet the supposition, that the *Itinerary* miles are *Roman* horizontal, adjusts this matter at once. The station has been about a quarter, or half a mile, west from the present town. It is now almost intirely levelled. But abundance of medals, inscriptions, and other *Roman* antiquities have been found at this place. And not long ago a fine medal of *Hadrian* was thrown up by the plough, which is now in the hands of a person, who lives not far from the place. Pieces of *Roman* bricks and pots were lying every where on the surface of the ground in tillage, when I was on the spot. And several of the *Roman* stones are yet remaining at *Corbridge*, an account of which may be seen in the collection. There has been a *Roman* bridge over the *Tine* just at the station, some vestiges of which may be seen; the bridge at the present town is modern. *Watling street*, which still continues visible, has gone directly up to this station, as I plainly discovered, when I examined it on the spot. The place, where the station has been, is called *Corbow* and *Colceſter*; and according to the account I had, when I was there, *Corbow* is a small space included in *Colceſter* which contains several acres. It is probable that the former has been the station, or perhaps the *praetorium* only, and the latter both station and town. I am much of opinion that the names have been *Corceſter*, and *Corbrugh*. Dr. *Todd* in the *Philosophical Transactions*^d supposes the name *Colceſter* to have been originally *Herculceſter*, i. e. *Castra Herculis*. What led him to this opinion, is the altar found here with the *Greek* inscription on it, by which it appears to have been dedicated to the *Tyrian Hercules*. The same learned doctor also observes, that *Corbridge* was called in the charter of *Henry* the first *Colbruge* and *Colburgh*. But I rather incline to think, that *Corburgh* has been the name, next to the *Roman Corstopitum*. Dr. *Gale* seems to have taken *Rutcheſter* (on the wall) for *Corstopitum*^e. But I cannot easily imagine what should have induced him to this, except his having placed *Bremenium* at *Branton* on *Bremish water*; for there is no military way passes by *Rutcheſter*, excepting that which accompanies the wall. And I observe, that in the map prefixed to the doctor's book, *Corstopitum* is made to be *Corbridge*. I therefore think that as *Corstopitum* has been generally,

so

^a Northumberland N. LXXXVII.

^b Northumberland N. LXXXIX.

^c *Corstopitum* in the edition of H. Surita (as Camden, p. 1085 informs us) is *Corstopilum*. In Dr. Gale's MSS. it was *Corisopito*, and *Corisopito* in another. The learned doctor supposes the name to be taken from the *Corisopitenſes* in Gaul. For he says p. 9. *Corisopitum civitas erat in Gallia Lugdunenſi tertia, quae et scribitur Corisopitum*. Camden observes, that *Corbridge* is called Co-

robridge by Hoveden, and *Cure* by Huntingdon, which may seem to favour its being the *Kupla* or *Kocla* mentioned by Ptolemy. But it is very possible, that all these names have risen from the first syllable in the antient one of *Corstopitum*; or it may be from a supposition that *Corstopitum* was the same with Ptolemy's *Curia*. Some learned antiquaries derive the name from *cohortis oppidum*.

^d N. 330.

^e Anton. Itin. p. 4.

so it is very justly placed at the station near *Corbridge*. This station seems to have been abandoned before the writing of the *Notitia*, for it is not mentioned there. And this is farther confirmed by there being no more conspicuous remains. This place has generally been taken for *Ptolemy's Curia Otadenorum*, because there seems to be some affinity between the names, and because the *Otadeni* must certainly be placed hereabouts. But I must beg leave to differ in my opinion concerning this matter, and to conclude, that as *Corstopitum* and *Curia* are different names, so they were altogether different places.

THE military way having crossed the *Tine* proceeds towards *Ebchester*. About half a mile north from *Wittonstall* is a remarkable turn in it, and at this turn an exploratory fort of above thirty yards square. The situation of it is high, and the prospect very large; and near it is a *tumulus*, which I found to consist mostly of stones, covered with green turf. We still continue to be very sure of our military way, which next guides us to the station at *Ebchester*, about two miles distant from *Wittonstall*.

VINDOMORA.

THE next station in this *iter* is *Vindomora*, nine miles distant from *Corstopitum* according to the *Itinerary*. And this next station at *Ebchester*, is distant from *Corbridge* about seven computed miles, and near ten measured, as was found on actual mensuration with a chain. This therefore is no doubt *Vindomora*. And here again (as in almost all cases) the *Roman* miles fall short in number of our *English* measured, almost one in ten, which confirms the *Roman* to be horizontal. The ramparts of the station at *Ebchester* are still very visible, and the church and part of the town stand within the old station. The people told me of two or three load of burnt ashes found here, with some large bones and teeth. The *Roman* inscriptions and monuments that have been found here, may be seen in the collection. Dr. Gale seems to think, that *Vindolana*, and *Vindolande* in *Ravennas*, are the same with *Vindomora* in the *Itinerary*; and then from the affinity of the sound, concludes *Dolande* to be it^a. But I believe the name is *Dotland*, and this is rather too near *Corstopitum*, even though we should prefer the copy that has five miles for the distance, instead of nine. But to wave these smaller matters, it is certain that *Vindomora* and *Vindolana* are two different places, and that *Dotland* can neither be the one nor the other; for this is quite off the military way, and there is no appearance of *Roman* antiquity here. As for *Cambden's* opinion of *Vindomora* being *Walls-end*, and *Vindobala* being the same, it is needless to confute it, or to add any thing more on this head. About five computed, and six measured miles and a half more along the same military way, which is still very certain, and often very grand, bring us to the large and remarkable station at *Lanchester*, which is not mentioned in this *iter*. The true reasons of which silence I take to be these; that it is too nigh the last station to finish the day's march here, and that it belongs to another *iter*, which I shall endeavour to shew in its proper place, does begin at this station^b. I believe that when a station happens to be at the point of intersection of two military ways, each of which has an *iter* on it, this station is sometimes looked on as belonging only to one of these *itineraria*; though when such a station is a *terminus*, it seems to be frequently reckoned to several, as *Uriconium*, *Calleva*, *Londinium*, &c. If then this at *Lanchester* appears to be *Glanoventa*, and so mentioned at the beginning of the tenth *iter*; we need not wonder, that it should be passed over here. Nor need we suppose, with some excellent antiquaries, that it was in ruins and abandoned in the *Antonines* time; and not rebuilt till the reign of *Gordian* the last of that name^c. The town and station appear to me to have been so very

^a Anton. Itin. p. 10.

^b See Iter x.

^c Durham N. xi, xii. and the observations.

very considerable, that I know not how to think they at any time have been abandoned, though a publick building or two might go to ruin and need to be repaired, as they appear to have been by inscriptions. I know no station more likely than this to have been mentioned both in the *Notitia* and the *Itinerary*, and this I believe to have been the case.

THE next station which occurs in this *iter* is *Vinovia*, at the distance of VINOVIA. nineteen miles from *Vindomora*. And the next considerable station, which appears on this way, and at a due distance, is that at *Binchester* near *Bishop Auckland*. And here too the number of *English* measured miles exceeds the number of *Roman*; though the number of *English* computed miles, which is fourteen, falls short of it in the usual proportion. *Ptolemy* reckons this among the more considerable cities, and calls it 'Ουιννόβιον, though he has set it a great deal out of its place. The station has been large, and nearly equal to that at *Lanchester*. The river makes a remarkable turn, and so happens to run almost east and west, and to lie nearly south from the station; though *Binchester* be in the general on the south side of the river. The out-buildings, as usual, have been between the station and the river, or to the south-west of the station. Dr. *Hunter* told me, he had observed a military way going off from *Watlingstreet* near this place, which he supposed went to *Chester on the street* between *Durham* and *Newcastle*. He traced it to *Branspeth* park, but could find it no farther.

AT *Binchester* our military way makes a large turn, and disappears a little near the town of *Bishop Auckland*, but soon shews itself again very remarkably by its elevation and ruinous pavement, and conducts us directly to *Thornborough* near *Cataraet* bridge; where the general agreement of antiquaries, the affinity of name, the plain and visible parting of the grand way into two very large and considerable branches, the sure evidences of a *Roman* station and town, with the accurately due distance on both sides of the same way, do all concur to render us certain.

CATARACTONI. Thus it is in all the three *itineræ* (the first, second, and CATARACTO. fifth) where it is mentioned. *Ptolemy* has Καταράκτωνιον; and *Ravennas Cataraetion*, retaining the *Greek* termination. By the *Itinerary* one would suppose the name to be *Cataraet* or *Cataraetionis* (for *Cataraetoni* seems to be in the dative) but *Cataraetonium* is generally used, and I have chose to comply with custom, when I use the word myself. The *Roman* town and station of *Cataraetonium* has been undoubtedly in the fields of *Thornborough* houses, about half a mile from the bridge, and on the south side of the water; for the military way on both sides points directly to it. Some have thought it was at *Brugh-hall*, the seat of Sir *John Lawson*; but this is too far distant, being above a mile from the river; nor could I see or hear of the least sign of a station there. The situation at the other place is more convenient, and agreeable to the usual maxims observed by the *Romans*, and here it is (and not at the hall) that the coins called *Thornborough pennies* are so frequently found, a few of which were presented to me, when I was at that place. There seems to have been a wall or rampart on the south bank of the river; but as the ground has long been in tillage, it is hard to trace out the bounds of the station. I observed a square field of a proper situation and size for a fort, the inclosure of which appeared to be greater than ordinary, and the mount of earth on which the hedge stood very much resembled a rampart. Stones have been dug up here, and ruins of walls and houses discovered all over the ground. I did not perceive, or hear of any falls of water, nearer than *Richmond*, which is three miles from *Cataraet* bridge; so that it may perhaps appear a little hard to account from hence for

for the name of *Cataraetonium*, though *Thornborough* stands higher up the water, and a little nearer the falls, than *Cataraet* bridge. I observed some barrows between this and the village called *Brunton* on the north side of the water, and some between *Brugh-hall* and the river on the south side of it. I was shewn the brass pot found many years ago, full, as is said, of *Roman* coins; but could not on the strictest search and enquiry meet with any *Roman* inscriptions or altars. Those which were discovered here are destroyed, or at least not now to be found. As *Cataraetonium* seems to have been abandoned before the writing of the *Notitia*, in which it is not mentioned; so this may be the reason, why we have no more visible remains of a station or town, that must once have been so considerable. Dr. *Gale* concludes it to have been a place of note in *Ptolemy's* time from the following reason, which I shall give in the doctor's own words: "Because he made an observation there, for he affirms that *Cataraetonium* is 57° distant from the *aequator*, lib. 2. synt. cap. 6. And again the same *Ptolemy* in his *geography* determines the longest day there to be eighteen hours: which yet are inconsistent, and the place ought to be corrected in l. 8. *Geogr.* where with a certain manuscript I would read seventeen hours, not eighteen^a". Thus far the doctor. The longest day of seventeen hours requires no more latitude than fifty-four degrees and a half, or fifty four only, according to *Ptolemy*^b. The latitude of fifty eight degrees has the longest day about seventeen hours and three quarters, and according to *Ptolemy*^c rather a minute or two more than eighteen. But *Καταράτωνιον*, *Cataraetonium*, has *vn* or fifty eight degrees of latitude assigned to it by *Ptolemy*^d in his geography. So that I cannot discern any inconsistency in *Ptolemy*. His error indeed is manifest in giving to his *Cataraetonium* about three degrees and a half more latitude, than what is justly due to it. And I can scarce think *Ptolemy* could have been so far mistaken about the latitudes in *Britain*, if he had had the opportunity of making any observations himself. However the doctor's remark is just, that *Cataraetonium* must have been considerable in *Ptolemy's* time; but I think no argument can be drawn from hence, either one way or other, with respect to the situation of *Cataraetonium*: for *Ptolemy*, as I have said, is mistaken three or four degrees in his latitude; and also places *Eboracum*, *Isurium*, and *Cataraetonium*, that is *York*, *Aldborough*, and *Cataraet* all under the same meridian^e, which is a manifest error with respect to the longitude. The observations therefore of the antients with respect to this island, which lay much out of the way, and was not thoroughly known to them, are far from being so accurate, as that one may safely argue from them within the compals of a few miles. *Ptolemy's* general error, with respect to the latitude of the places in *Britain*, might not have prevented our arguing from the relative situation and distances, if this had been a matter in which we could have hoped for much nicety. But here too the argument fails us. For according to *Ptolemy*, *Londinium* is in the fifty fourth degree of latitude, and *Cataraetonium* in the fifty eighth. This difference of four degrees will carry us much too far to the north for *Cataraetonium*. But though *Ptolemy's* observations were not so exact, as to afford us any assistance in fixing this place; yet there are other considerations, that do it effectually. I just gave the sum of them at the beginning, and shall now enlarge a little on them. I have no dimensionation to compare with the distance in the *Itinerary*, because ours by the chain was not carried on so far, and I do not see that *Ogilby* measured this road. The distance in computed miles from *Bishop Auckland* to *Cataraet* bridge is just sixteen miles. *Binchester* is about half a mile farther than

^a Credas haud ignobile fuisse, vel obscurum, Ptolemaeo vivente, oppidum; ibi utique observationem coelestem fecit, distare enim Cataraetonium ait ab aequatore partibus LVII. (lib. 2. Synt. cap. 6.) et idem rursus in geographicis longissimum diem XVIII. horis aequinoctialibus ibidem definit. Quae tamen sunt *ἀντιστοιχίαι*, corrigique de-

bent, in l. 8. *Geogr.* ubi cum quodam *ἡμισφαίριον* ζ, non *in* legi vellem. Ant. Itin. p. 12.

^b *Geogr.* lib. VIII.

^c Ibid.

^d Lib. II. cap. 3.

^e *Geogr.* lib. II. cap. 3.

than *Bishop Aukland* from *Cataraet* bridge, and sixteen and a half such miles answer, according to the usual *ratio*, exactly to XXII in the *Itinerary*. The name *Thornborough* implies in it something of an antient fortification, and *Cataraet* has doubtless arisen from *Cataraeto* or *Cataraetonium*.

ACCORDING to the *Itinerary*, the grand military way going northward is divided into two large branches at *Cataraetonium*, as is evident by comparing the first, second, and fifth *itineræ* together. And we have ocular demonstration, that the magnificent military way coming from the south is in fact divided just at *Thornborough* into two branches, both of which become very conspicuous, not far from the place. The one goes northward directly by *Piercebridge* to *Binchester*, *Ebchester*, *Corbridge*, and so through *Northumberland* into *Scotland*; the other passes by *Gretabridge* to *Bowes*, and then through *Westmorland* and *Cumberland* to *Carlisle*, and so into *Scotland* on that side. The more easterly branch, that passes by *Piercebridge*, falls in pretty much with the high way, and continues visible till going southward from *Piercebridge* we come within less than a mile of *Cataraet* bridge. Here I thought it entered the enclosures, and going to the west of the present high road seemed to bend its course directly to *Thornborough*; though the high road is so stony hereabout, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the modern from the antient way. The more westerly branch having passed *Gretabridge* in its course southward, does also coincide with the high way, but is very conspicuous almost all the way on *Gateley* moor, where it leaves a *tumulus* on the east side, and an exploratory fort on the west. This branch has generally been thought to strike in to the other branch about two or three miles north from *Cataraet* bridge; the present high way does so in fact, and this no doubt has occasioned the mistake. For the *Roman* way, after the modern has left it, proceeds, as near as I could judge, directly to *Thornborough*, still continuing large and conspicuous. The distance here between the two military ways is not so great, as the distance of this part from *Thornborough*; so that there cannot have been a right angle at the point of intersection, unless the directions have been changed soon after parting, or that they have not parted just at the place; neither of which appear probable to me. Both the branches become obscure before they reach *Thornborough*, but I believe it to be very certain, that they have united at this very place, or near it (perhaps at the bridge, or just on the north side of the river) and that this must be the *Cataraeto* of the *Itinerary*, agreeably to the general consent of antiquaries; which makes me the more wonder, that a late ingenious author^a should differ from them. After the military way has left *Thornborough* near *Cataraet* bridge, it is somewhat obscure, whilst it passes for a short space through some enclosures, and by what I took to be a large *tumulus*. But this short obscurity is abundantly compensated by the distinct and grand appearance of it afterwards for several miles together. The sight of it has oft been an entertainment to me, as I travelled that road. Dr. Gale observes that “not far from *Wath* it receives another military way, which “coming from *Brugh* near *Bainbridge* descends to *Thornborough* by *Nosterfield*; where the ditches of a *Roman* encampment are yet very visible^b”. Before we come to the *Salutation* the *Roman* way and the present high road part. Here the name of *High street* is given to the *Roman* way, as also in *Lincolnshire*. This confirms the conjecture, that the same name, now applied in some counties to all public roads, owes its original to the elevated ways of the *Romans*. The *Roman* way, or the *High street*, lying to the west of the common road, is the more direct road of the two, the other fetching a compass.

For

^a Mr. Salmon in his New Survey of England.

^b Non procul a *Wath* viculo, via in aliam militarem adoptat, quæ a *Burgo*, *Brugh* prope *Bainbridge*, descendit ad *Thornborough* juxta *Noster-*

field; ubi hodièque cernuntur castra æstiva Romanorum, fossis adhuc satis conspicuis. Anton. Itin. p. 13.

For what reason the present road takes this turn, is not so easy to conjecture. Perhaps this is looked on as the better coach-way. There are some large stones here set up at equal distances on the *High street*, or *Roman way*. Mr. Gale ordered the distances to be measured, and found them equal, but as I remember less than a *Roman mile*. The stones are not at all shaped like milliary pillars; and yet it is justly supposed that they have been placed with some design, though what, is hard to determine. There are several *barrows* or *tumuli* on a common or moor about three or four miles north from *Boroughbridge*. Somewhat farther to the south the *Roman road* leaves the high way, and keeping on the east side of it enters the enclosures, pointing directly to *Aldborough* near *Boroughbridge*. The *Roman road* is visible afterwards as it crosses a lane. The old bridge is said to have stood lower down the river, than the present. I am apt to think the *Roman way* has crossed at the old bridge (to which it seems to point) and that the *Roman bridge* is meant by the *old bridge*, or however has stood in the same place. The *Roman way* has gone on the east or north east side of the church at *Kirby hill*.

ISVRIVM.

THE distance between *Cataraet* bridge and *Boroughbridge* is eighteen computed miles. And the distance between *Thornborough* and *Aldborough* must be very much the same. This again suits with the greatest exactness the distance of twenty four miles in the *Itinerary* between *Isurium* and *Cataraetionum*. *Ogilby* has not given us the dimensionation of this distance, so that we can make no computation here between measured miles and those of the *Itinerary*; nor does it seem very needful. All manner of evidence as well as authority conspire to fix *Isurium* here. For beside what has been hinted at already, a great part of the antient name *Isurium* is retained in the present name of the river *Ure* which runs by *Aldborough*^a. In the fifth *iter* it is ISVBRIGANTVM, contracted no doubt for ISVRIVM BRIGANTVM. By this it appears that *Isurium* was once very probably the capital of the *Brigantes*, and this agrees well with *Aldborough*. The whole circuit is about two miles, and is longer from east to west than from south to north, though the ramparts have not been exactly directed to the cardinal points. The ramparts, as some people said, had been about five yards thick; though in one place the thickness did not measure above two yards, but here they affirmed it to be imperfect. The remains of *Roman* antiquities are very considerable. Besides the figure at the end of the church, and the inscription now at *Boroughbridge*^b I observed several *Roman* stones in the church. One at the west end has the figure of the sun upon it, and a usual bordering two inches broad. Others had mortises in them, and such cavities as a learned antiquary supposes were for taking hold of the stone in order to raise it by a proper machine. Such stones are also to be seen at *Boroughbridge*, in the same garden wall, where the inscription is. There was also another stone on the north side of the church near the ground, which had some sculpture on it. It seemed to be the figure of a tree, or of the branch of a tree, but was not compleat. There was also a stone above the door of a house lately built, with a figure upon it like leaves infolding pine-apples, but whether *Roman* or not I could not tell. Several coins are found here, called *Aldborough half pennies*. I purchased several when I was there. At *Cataraetionum* the coins were called *Thornborough pennies*; at *Pierce bridge*, *Toft pieces*; and in other places, by I know not how many other names. Besides the tessellated pavement, that I took a draught of, they told me of another of a different form, which then could not be come at. The piece of pavement I saw was about two yards broad, and the line of its length is oblique to the line of the wall of the city, making with it, as near as I could guess, an angle of about forty five degrees. It is not far from

^a Dr. Gale observes that *is* in the British tongue signifies low, and seems to shew that the reason of the name is, that the river, having left the mountains where it rose, afterwards runs through plainer and lower grounds. Anton. Itin. p. 15.

^b Yorkshire N. vi, vii.

from the northern rampart. Perhaps it has been a walk belonging to the *praetorium*. *Isurium* is not mentioned in the *Notitia*, and yet some of the coins are late. If it was in being at the time of the *Notitia*, at least there must have been no garrison in it. Before I leave this place, I will only add, that I have sometimes wished to have the whole distance between *Thornborough* and *Aldborough* carefully measured with a chain. We are here so very sure both of the way and the stations, and the ground is in the main so level, and the way so direct; that I cannot but think it the properest part I know, for determining the proportion of *Roman Itinerary* miles to our own computed and measured.

I WAS assured that the military way leading from *Aldborough* to *York* was very visible near *Aldborough*. But it must afterwards also, as well as here, either lie quite off from the present post road, or else be ruined and sunk, for it is rarely discernible in it. I saw what I took to be a *tumulus*, about a mile or two from *York*; but no other evidence. If the military way could be traced out near this city, one might by the tendency of it be perhaps directed to the place of the station. I was thinking that the inscription in *All saints* church, and the fitness of the situation, might lead one to imagine that the station had been near *North street*, not far from the river; but this is uncertain. I think the *Itinerary* by making *Calcaria* only nine miles from *Eboracum*, and *Isurium* seventeen^a, furnishes a strong argument to shew that the station at *York* has been nearer to *Tadcaster*, and farther from *Aldborough*, than the center of the present city: for from *Boroughbridge* to *York* they reckon twelve miles, sometimes thirteen, and from *Aldborough* (though this is rather nearer *York*) the same; and eight from *York* to *Tadcaster*; in all twenty, for the distance between *Aldborough* and *Tadcaster*. According to *Ogilby*, as I take it, there are twenty seven or twenty eight measured miles (if we enter into the middle of the city of *York*) from *Aldborough* to *Tadcaster*, which again exceeds the number of miles in the *Itinerary*, for there it is but twenty six from *Isurium* to *Calcaria*. The general number both of computed and measured miles answer in the usual proportion, with great exactness, to the general number in the *Itinerary*. And the small disproportion in the subdivision is easily accounted for, by supposing the *Roman* station to have been half a mile nearer to *Tadcaster*, than that part of *York* from whence our modern computation begins. But as *Calcaria* is not in this *iter*, I shall take no farther notice of it at present.

EBURACUM, or *Eboracum* as it is more usually written^b, is universally and very justly agreed to be *York*; and there is no doubt but the one name has by gradual changes arisen from the other, though now they appear so different. The ancient *Roman* monuments, that have been discovered here, are inserted in the collection, and explained in the observations; where also some short account is given of this *Roman* city.

EBVRACVM

It is evident and universally agreed, that the military way must have gone out from *York* towards the east or south-east. But it is strange that neither tradition, nor remains, nor other evidences have hitherto been sufficient to ascertain the particular tract of it. I think we may safely conclude from the name *Derventio*, that the next station must have stood on the *Derwent*. And this is much confirmed by the distance of this river from *York*; for it is computed just five miles from *York* to *Kexby* bridge, where the high way to *Wighton* crosses the *Derwent*. And this number of computed miles answers, as nearly as we can come, to seven in the *Itinerary*. It is reckoned just fifteen to *Wighton*, which I take to be *Delgovitia*; which general number answers with the utmost exactness to twenty in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Eboracum* and *Delgovitia*. And this general distance of fifteen cannot be better divided

^a It. II.

^b See *Yorkshire inscriptions* N. x.

divided in even numbers proportionably to the numbers in the *Itinerary*, than into five and ten.

DERVENTIO.

WHERE ever the military way from *Tork* has crossed this river, and met that from *Wighton*, there I doubt not the station *Derwentio* has been. The ground near *Kexby*, where the high road crosses the *Derwent*, on the west side of the river, seemed proper enough for a station; but the certain discovery of the course of the military way would be decisive.

WHEN I rode from *Wighton* to *Tork* in quest of a military way, I observed near *Barneby* on the moor about eight miles from *Tork* somewhat very like a *Roman* way. This coincides with the high way that leads to a bridge, I think near *Aldby*. I was told afterwards, that this raised way was modern; but I know not, how far the truth of this information can be relied on. Some of the lanes when we came near *Tork* looked pretty straight; but, I own, I received no great satisfaction either from my inspection or enquiries, as to the military way that must have gone to *Wighton*. I shall shew immediately, that this military way has met at the *Humber* with the other coming from *Lincoln*. And here I find there will be a turn made in this easterly road, correspondent to that in the westerly, the one turn being made near *Wighton* on the east side, and the other near *Aberford* on the western; which two places are almost equidistant both from *Tork* and *Lincoln*. And the lines drawn from *Lincoln* to *Aberford*, and *Wighton*, and from thence to *Tork*, will form somewhat of a regular figure. But if we should suppose the military way to go by *Aldby*, and place *Derwentio* there, we shall both disfigure the lines, and disorder the distances. And I can see no reason for pitching on *Aldby*, except it be, that the name seems to imply somewhat of antiquity in it; which is but a very slender foundation.

DELGOVITIA.

THE exact distance, the general consent of antiquaries, together with the plausible affinity of name, and shew of antiquity, encourage me to fix *Delgovitia* at *Wighton*. The town is pretty large, at least so large, as that a *Roman* station might easily be buried in it. At this place there is a brook or rivulet, which runs by the town, but no large river near it. I did not discover any certain visible remains of the ramparts and ditches of a *Roman* fort; but I saw in the pavement of the entry at an inn some stones, very like the usual *Roman* millstones. I observed also a *tumulus*, or exploratory mount, in a field near the mill called the *Hall close*. The people think there has been some building here, and the church is just by this field. There were also some trenches here, but these I believe have been for the water belonging to the mill. However upon the whole I believe the station has been hereabout. *Godmanham* (or *Goodmadam* as the people commonly call it) is half a mile from *Wighton*, and the little brook that runs by *Wighton* comes from hence. But I see little here to favour the opinion of a late ingenious author*, who chuses rather to fix the station here, than at *Wighton*. I believe indeed, that if the line of the military way was to be drawn out from the south side of the *Humber*, it would rather point and lead to *Godmanham*, than *Wighton*. This course carries it (as has been said) to the east of the present road, and makes it to turn along some rising grounds and the declivities of hills, which is frequently to be seen in *Roman* ways. But the least turn would bring it to *Wighton*; and it is a matter of no great importance, whether we fix the station at the one place or the other.

PATRINGTON has been generally (I think universally) supposed to be *Praetorium*, the *terminus ad quem* of this *iter*. But I never heard of any remains, or of a proper situation at *Patrington*; nor of any appearance of a military way leading to it. Besides the distance from *Wighton* is much too great

* Mr. Salmon's *New Survey*, p. 180.

great for twenty five miles in the *Itinerary*. I believe a distant affinity of names led *Camden* first into this thought, and others have followed him without any farther enquiry. But I am strongly inclined to place *Praetorium* on that remarkably grand and conspicuous way, which leads from *Lincoln* to *Wintringham*. If this part of the *iter* does not take that course, we have none at all on that road. And though there are yet some visible remains of *Roman* ways, on which no *iter* proceeds; yet this way has so much of the antient form, and is still so magnificent, that I know not how to think, that for so long a space there should not be one *Itinerary* station upon it. We have a very good account of this military way in the *Philosophical Transactions*^a drawn up by Mr. *De la Pryme*. I think it proper to give an abridgement of that account here, both because it may help us in settling *Praetorium*, and because this is the only proper opportunity for describing this *Roman* way, which so well deserves a place in this book.

HE observes "that it bears the name of *High street* and runs almost directly in a right line from *Lincoln* to the *Humber*." He farther remarks, "that where it passes over the plain heath, it consists only of earth cast up" [perhaps mixed with gravel as it is in other instances] "but through the woods" [and I suppose also through the boggs and wet grounds] "it is paved with great stones set edge ways, which causeway it yet very visible in many places. The causeway is seven yards broad. The street runs by *Hebberstow fields*, in which fields not far off the street, is the foundation of many *Roman* buildings, as appears from their tile found here. Tradition also says, that there has been a city and castle here. Here are two springs, one of which is called *Julian's stony well*, and the other *Castleton well*. *Roman* coins are also found here. About a mile farther north, on the west side of the street, on a great plane, are visible foundations of another old town, though now neither house, tree, nor close to be seen belonging to it. This gentleman found the *vestigia* of a hundred buildings there, and of four or five streets, and not far from it is a place called *Kirkgarth*. Tradition calls this place *Gainstrop*. About a mile or two hence the street runs through *Scawby* wood, where it is all paved, and from thence close by *Broughton* town end, by a hill which this gentleman took to be a *barrow*, and from thence conjectures the name to be *Barrowton*. He adds that he has found *Roman* bricks here, and believes it to be of a *Roman* original. The causeway continuing paved enters on *Thornham moor*. Not far from hence is a place called *Santon*, where there has been a great *Roman* pottery, mentioned by Dr. *Lister*. This gentleman found several *Roman* coins here. The street entering *Appleby* lane leads through the west end of the town, where are *Julian's Bower*, and *Troy walls*. It leaves *Roxby* half a mile on the west, and *Winterton*, and then about three or four miles farther falls into the *Humber* at *Old Wintringham*, leaving the present *Wintringham* about half a mile to the west. At *Winterton cliff*, according to this author, there have also been some *Roman* buildings".

THE appearances were probably more considerable when this account was taken, than they are now. However I shall beg leave to adjoin, what lately occurred to my own observation. I rode with much pleasure along the *Roman* way (which the country people called *Old street*) from *Lincoln* to *Wintringham*. It is for a good part of it very grand and conspicuous, rarely if ever interrupted or lost. I was surprised to find it so very visible even in the inclosures near to *Wintringham*, so as that it was easy to trace it to the very last field, where the old town of *Wintringham* has stood, and from whence no doubt the antient passage over the *Humber* has been. I observed also three *tumuli* within two or three miles of *Lincoln*; one on the east side of

; L

the

^a N. 203.

the way, about a furlong's distance from it; and two on the west side, close by it. I also saw two or three near *Spital*. But I met with no probable evidences of a station, till I came to *Hebberstow* fields. The *Roman* way passes through these fields a mile east from the village. *Kirton*, as the shepherd of whom I enquired told me, was about two miles west from these fields. The river *Ankom* runs near the village of *Hebberstow*, and there is a spring in these fields, from whence a brook rises, that runs into this river. The situation is high, and has a pretty good prospect. The whole of these fields is two miles over from south to north, and at the north end of them begins a wood. A *Roman* station might easily be lost in such a wood; but I am more inclined to think it has been in the fields, if any where hereabout. I saw several parts where a station might have been conveniently situated, though through long tillage the ramparts and ditch might now be intirely levelled. I observed a remarkable turn in the military way in the midst of these fields. Such turns are usually made at rivers or stations. This therefore may somewhat farther confirm us, that there has been a station here. *Broughton* is but seven miles from *Wintringham*, or seventeen from *Wighton*. The military way goes just by it. The present village stands somewhat low, and has a brook running by the end of it. Dr. *Stukeley*, from the name, and its being on the military way, supposes it to have been a station. I think the name alone is not sufficient to shew there has been a station here, because we have several places of such names, and no *Roman* settlements at them. I went to *Harby brugh* in *Cumberland*, and *Broughton tower* in *Lancashire*, but found not the least evidences there. If we suppose *Broughton* to have been a *Roman* station, it may possibly have been the *Praetorium*, or the *Praesidium* of the *Notitia*, or both, which I shall farther consider presently. This remarkable military way having passed by *Broughton*, proceeds in a pretty streight line towards *Wintringham*. I have hinted before, that it points to and terminates in the field, where *Old Wintringham* has stood. In this field they dig up foundation-stones, and meet with other certain evidences of antient buildings. I doubt not but both this, and *Brugh* on the north side of the *Humber*, have been *Roman* towns, though neither seem to have been mentioned in the *Itinerary*. Perhaps the *Romans* contented themselves with some smaller exploratory forts at the sides of the river. I think they had no station on the banks of the *Severn*, where they usually passed it, or at least none mentioned in the *Itinerary*. The field towards which the military way bends its course, and where the old town has stood, is about half a mile east from the present *Wintringham*. It is called the *East field*. But when I say the military way has terminated in this field, I only mean with respect to the south side of the *Humber*; for I am persuaded the way has been continued on the north side of the river from *Brugh* to *Wighton*, and so on to *Tork*, and that the course of this first *iter* proceeded upon it. I observed that the line of the way on the south side of the *Humber* pointed directly to *Brugh* on the north side, which still continues to be the usual landing place for the ferry. *Brugh* is farther up the river than *Wintringham*, and about three miles from it; yet a line drawn from the old town of *Wintringham* to *Brugh* falls in exactly, as near as I could judge, with the line of the *Roman* way on the south side of the river; and I believe the military way on the north side has been continued in much the same direction. I cannot think they would have laid so fine a way to the river, if there had not been a frequent passage over it here, and a way to proceed on when they were got to the other side. The *Roman* way from *Tork* as far as *Wighton*, and farther too, is owned to lie even in the direct way to *Brugh*: and I cannot think, supposing it at present to be quite lost for three or four miles, that this should create any great difficulty. The country people told me, that the road from *Brugh* to *Wighton* was very straight. I cannot say, I found it so much so, as they represented it; and am more inclined to think that the antient *Roman* road has, for the most part, kept upon some higher ground to the east of the present high way from *Brugh* to *Wighton*.

I observed some elevated ridges here and there on the east side of the present high way, and some higher grounds, along which I was most inclined to think the military had lain, but I could not be positive. However this seems clear, that the same reasons, for which the publick road to *Tork* now goes by *Wighton*, were equally strong for the *Romans* making their way in the same course. I thought for a considerable space there was no room for a military way between the present road and the river, unless it had run along the low marshy ground near the side of the river. And the same objection lies against its going on the west or southwest side of the present road, even after you come farther on, and are farther from the river; for still the ground on that side appeared low and marshy.

ACCORDING to the *Itinerary* there are twenty five miles from *Delgovitia* to *Praetorium*; and therefore there should be, according to our proportion, near nineteen of our common computed miles between these two places. If we fix *Delgovitia* at *Wighton* (as it generally has been, and I believe ought to be) then from *Wighton* to *Brugh* is seven miles, to *Wintringham* three, to *Hebberstow* ten, but only nine to the nearest part of the fields. So that from *Wighton* to the nearest part of *Hebberstow* fields, or to the wood beside them, is scarce nineteen miles, including the breadth of the water. From the preceding account therefore, I see no places which promise so fair upon the whole, as one of these, to be *Praetorium*. And I may add, that on this supposition this station will be at a convenient distance from *Lincoln*, and on the grand way leading to or from it; the continuation of which way, and the stations on it, will be seen in the fifth, sixth, and eighth *itineraria*. But notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I must not omit to observe farther, that Dr. *Gale* in his edition has given us a different reading of the number of miles here, and let us know in his margin, that both Dr. *Bentley's* and the *Oxford* copy read xxii for xxv, at *Praetorium*. This number answers accurately to seventeen computed miles, the distance between *Wighton* and *Broughton*. And both *Praetorium* in the *Itinerary*, and *Praesidium* in the *Notitia*, suit so well the present name *Broughton*, as to leave some doubt with me, whether both of them ought not to be fixed at this place, upon a supposition either of a change in the name, or that the latter station might have risen out of the former. The most material objection against it is, that it breaks in upon the good agreement between the sum and particulars of this *iter*. And how much stress this will bear, I leave others to judge.

PRAETORIUM.

ITER II.

A VALLO AD PORTVM RITV-
PAS M. P. CCCCLXXXI

The second rout is from
(beyond) the wall to Rich-
borough on the Kentish coast
481 miles.

A BLATO BVLGIO

CASTRA EXPLORATORVM

LVGVVALLIO

VOREDA

BROVONACIS

VERTERIS

LAVATRIS

CATARACTONI

ISVRIVM

EBVRACVM

CALCARIA

CAMBODVNO

M. P. XII *al.* X

M. P. XII

M. P. XIV

M. P. XIII

M. P. XIII

M. P. XIV

M. P. XVI *al.* XVIII

M. P. XXIV

M. P. XVII

M. P. IX

M. P. XX *al.* XXX

Middleby

Netherby

Carlisle

Old Penreth

Kirbythure

Brugh under Stanemore

Bowes

Cataraft

Aldborough

Tork

Tadcaster

Near Gretland

MANVCIO

MANYCIO	M. P. XVIII <i>al.</i> XXIII	Manchester
CONDATÉ	M. P. XVIII	Near Northwich
DEVA LEG. XX. VICT.	M. P. XX	Chester
BOVIO	M. P. X	Near Stretton
MEDIOLANO	M. P. XX	Near Draiton
RYTVNIO	M. P. XII	Near Wem
VRIOCONIO	M. P. XI	Wroxeter
VXACONA	M. P. XI	Near Sheriff Hales
PENNOCRVCIO	M. P. XII	Near the river Penk
ETOCETO	M. P. XII	Wall near Lichfield
MANDVESSEDO	M. P. XVI	Mancester
VENONIS	M. P. XII	Cleycester
BENNAVENNA	M. P. XVII	Near Daventry
LACTODORO	M. P. XII	Towcester
MAGIOVINTO ^a	M. P. XVII	Fenny Stratford
DVROCOBRIVIS	M. P. XII	Dunstable
VEROLAMIO	M. P. XII	St. Albans
SVLLONIACIS	M. P. IX	Brockley hills
LONDINIO	M. P. XII	London
NOVIOMAGO	M. P. X	Woodcote near Croydon
VAGNIACIS	M. P. XVIII	Northfleet
DVROBRIVIS	M. P. IX	Rochester
DVROLEVO	M. P. XVI <i>al.</i> XII	Milton
DVROVERNO	M. P. XII <i>al.</i> XVI	Canterbury
AD PORTVM RITVPIS	M. P. XII	Richborough

THIS is a long and winding *iter*, and both begins and ends with a boundary. It goes by *Carlisle* to *York*, from thence to *Chester*, and from *Chester* to *London*. The first circumstance which offers is somewhat discouraging, and that is the disagreement between the sum of the miles set at the head of the *iter*, and the amount of the particulars contained in it; the former is four hundred and eighty one, the latter comes to five hundred and four as I sum them up, though Dr. *Gale* makes it five hundred and five. Here the amount of the particulars exceeds the sum total in the *Itinerary* by twenty three or twenty four. This gave me some suspicion, that the twenty four miles beyond the wall, from *Blatum Bulgium* to *Luguvallium*, might be wholly omitted in the sum total prefixed. But of this there can be no certainty. If we suppose the error is somewhere scattered among the particulars; we should then rather lessen the numbers in the particulars, than enlarge and encrease them; and yet on trial I find it absolutely necessary to add, rather than subtract.

THIS second *iter* contains the most names of stations that fall within the compass of the northern counties of *England*. And by what I have added at the end of the discourse concerning the stations *per lineam valli*^b, I have anticipated in good measure what I had to say here; for I have there shewn that *Blatum Bulgium*, *Castra exploratorum*, and *Luguvallium ad vallum*, are *Middleby*, *Netherby*, and *Carlisle*, and also explained the expressions *a vallo ad vallum*, which signify a situation near the wall, though not directly upon it. *A vallo* I think also implies a situation beyond the wall or north from it, *ad vallum* within or on the south side of it. Perhaps a *Blato Bulgio* (if Dr. *Gale's* correction^c be right) may signify the town beyond the broad frith.

BLATUM

^a Perhaps Durocibrivis Magiovento.

^b L. i. chap. 7.

^c Anton. Itin. p. 34.

BLATUM BULGIUM I have fixed at *Middleby* or *Burnswork*. The one *BLATVM BVLGIVM* might be the *aestiva* or exploratory fort, the other the station.

CASTRA EXPLORATORUM is certainly the remarkable station at *Netherby*; *CASTRA EXPLOR.* the remains and monuments of which are so very great, for which I must refer to the collection, and to the observations on the *Roman* inscriptions and sculptures found at this place. The *Roman* way from *Middleby* to *Netherby*, and from thence to *Carlisle*, is very certain; and the distances, according to the numbers in the *Itinerary*, I believe to be very exact. Only the *ratio* of two to three takes place here, with respect to our computed miles and the *Roman Itinerary*. *Old Carlisle* has been generally, since *Camden's* time, supposed to be the *Castra exploratorum*: but *Netherby* seems to be a more proper place for *exploratores*; being on the north side of the wall, as is *Bremenium* [or *Riechester*] where a *numerus exploratorum* kept garrison, which appears from an inscription^a. In the time of the *Notitia*, when the *Romans* had no stations beyond the wall, *Lavatrac* [or *Bowes*] had *exploratores* in it. This place might at that time be somewhat of a pass, or might be for the *exploratores*, when *Gretabridge* became the principal station. In the map of *Cumberland* in *Camden's Britannia*, *Longtown* and *Netherby* are interchanged, that is, the name *Longtown* is set where *Netherby* should be. The distance of *Netherby* from *Middleby* is not above ten *Roman* miles at most, according to my best intelligence. I would therefore prefer the reading x to that of XII.

LUGUVALLIUM by general agreement and other proper evidences is placed at *Carlisle*^b. Some suppose *Old Carlisle* to be *Luguvallium*. And Dr. Gale seems to think, that *Castra exploratorum* and *Blatum Bulgium* are one and the same place. I should have been tempted to conclude from the situation so very proper for the *exploratores*, that *Elenborough* was *Blatum Bulgium* or *Castra exploratorum*, and that this *iter* had gone from *Elenborough* to *Old Carlisle*, and from thence to *Old Penreth*. But Dr. Gale has not the authority of any one copy to support his conjecture. The distance between *Old Penreth* and *Old Carlisle* must be a good deal more than fourteen *Roman* miles, which is the distance in the *Itinerary* between *Voreda* and *Luguvallium*, and there seems to have been no military way directly from *Old Penreth* to *Old Carlisle*. To all which may be added, that the expression A VALLO prefixed to A BLATO BVLGIO implies (in my opinion) that this place was situated beyond or north of the wall. But according to the foregoing scheme all these difficulties vanish, and the rout goes on more directly and naturally than according to the supposition I have mentioned just now. Nor am I aware of any new difficulties that may arise against this scheme; unless it be that of removing such opinions as learned men have long been possessed of, however groundless.

VOREDA is in the *Itinerary* fourteen miles from *Luguvallium*: and pursuing the military way (which is very conspicuous and just seven yards broad) I believe the distance of *Old Penreth* will answer with a good deal of exactness; so that I think we may safely venture to set down *Voreda* at *Old Penreth*, where others have placed it before: but now I hope it stands on a surer foundation. From *New Penreth* to *Carlisle* is sometimes called sixteen, sometimes fifteen, and sometimes fourteen miles. As fifteen is the *medium*, so it seems to be the most just computation. From *Penreth* to a part of *Plumpton wall*,

^a Northumberland N. xcv.

^b *Caerleol* or *Caerluol* I believe has been the ancient way of writing this name, and as the former part signifies a city, so the latter may have a resemblance to *Luguvallium*. This might soon be

changed into *Carlisle*, and then from an imagination that it was an island, or however that the French *l'isle* was a part of the name, it might become *Carlisle*, as it is now written.

wall, is about two or three computed miles, but I was told it was four to the most distant. The *Roman* station called *Old Penreth*, is at the most northerly part, and near a small lake, which (I am assured) is always reckoned four miles from *Penreth*. My landlord there told me, it was five measured miles from *Penreth* to a part about a furlong from the station, and nearer *Penreth*. *Ogilby* gives us the measured distance between *Penreth* and *Carlisle*, making it to be eighteen miles and five furlongs, which seems rather to be too little for the other numbers. However ten or eleven computed miles between *Old Penreth* and *Carlisle* answers very exactly to fourteen in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Luguvallium* and *Voreda*. Dr. *Gale* seems to mistake *New Penreth* for *Old*, or supposes them to be very near together; which drew some difficulties on him with respect to the distances, that intirely vanish on observing that *Old Penreth* is five or six *Roman* miles farther to the northwest than *New Penreth* (which is on the west side of the *Roman* way) or that it is perhaps eight *Roman* miles between *Old Penreth* and *Brougham castle*, which is justly supposed to be *Brocavum*. And the distance is so far from being an objection, that it is a very strong confirmation of it. For these eight from *Old Penreth* added to fourteen, the distance of this from *Carlisle*, makes just twenty two, the exact distance which *Brocavum* is placed at from *Luguvallium* in the fifth *iter* of the *Itinerary*^a. *Cambden* would have this to be *Petriana*, mentioned in the *Notitia* among the stations *per lineam valli*; but in my discourse on these stations I have shewn the fort at *Cambeck* to be *Petriana*, and considered *Cambden's* reasons to the contrary. I have also given a particular account of this remarkable station at *Old Penreth*, and shewn there, that if it be mentioned in the *Notitia*, it passes under the name *Bremetenracum*.

PROVONACAE.

THE next place in this second *iter* is *Provonacae* at the distance of thirteen miles from *Voreda*: and I find the same distance from *Old Penreth*, reckoning after the same manner as before, will bring us just about *Kirbythure* or *Whelp castle*; for this is about ten computed miles from *Old Penreth*. This is a convincing proof to me that the station which has been here, and of which there are yet such sure proofs and visible remains, must not be *Galacum* but *Provonacae*; and consequently *Provonacae* can neither be *Kendal* (which is quite off the military way) nor yet the same with *Brocavum*. And this, I think, is almost put out of question by its answering on the other side with such exactness to the distance from *Brugh under Stanemore*, which is agreed to be the antient *Verterae*; for as *Brugh* is just ten computed miles distant from *Kirbythure*, so in the *Itinerary* *Verterae* is placed thirteen miles from *Provonacae*.

VERTERAE.

VERTERAE is no doubt rightly fixed at *Brugh under Stanemore*. The course of the military way is absolutely certain. The remains are generally so grand, and it is so rarely interrupted, and then only for so short a space, that we never have the least difficulty about it. And thus it continues to go on by *Bowes* to *Cataraet*.

LAVATRAE.

LAVATRAE the next station in this *iter* is agreed to be *Bowes* in *Yorkshire*. And here again the distance measuring after the same manner answers with the greatest exactness. For as the *Itinerary* makes it fourteen miles distance in this *iter*, and thirteen in the fifth between *Verterae* and *Lavatrael*; so it is called ten or eleven short miles from *Brugh* to *Bowes*. Therefore XIV seems to be the true reading in the *Itinerary*. Though this possibly may be an instance where the numbers in two *itineraria* differ a mile, and yet both are equally right, for $13\frac{1}{2}$ may be the exact truth. *Cambden* and Dr. *Gale* both observe

^a I am doubtful, that it is scarce eight Roman miles from Old Penreth to Brougham-castle. I believe they generally call it but five computed miles at most, perhaps there may be one or two too much in the XXII in the fifth iter. *Ogilby's* measures favour this.

observe that much of the name is preserved in the neighbouring river *Laver*, though according to my account it rather stands on the *Greta*. At *Bowes* there is an old castle formerly belonging to the Earls of *Richmond*, now to Mr. *Pullen*. I believe this castle and the church both stand in the north part of the old *Roman* station, and no doubt have been built out of its ruins. The northern bounds of the station are by this means more difficult to be distinguished. But the ramparts in the other parts may, I think, be reckoned in the second degree, though the ditch be filled up. The south rampart seemed to be about six chains, and the gate or entry in the middle is yet to be discerned. The station has been mostly on the ground, which lies south from the church and the castle, and is now called *Chapel hill*. Probably the ruins of the station or some part of it have been taken for an old chapel, and so occasioned this name. The castle has had a mote about it, the north part of which, I believe, has coincided with the ditch of the *Roman* station. There is a gentle descent from the station to the river *Greta*, which runs on the south of it about two furlongs distance; and here probably has the *Roman* town stood. I saw a stone chest or coffin in the church yard, but nobody could tell me where it was found. There was also in the church, on a blue marble stone, a dog or wolf, on the end of a sort of pole. I suspected it to be a *vexillum*, but this is uncertain.

SOME call it three miles, some four, from *Bowes* to *Gretabridge*; I suppose three and a half to be the truth. The *Roman* way is very grand and direct for this space. All agree that it is ten miles from *Gretabridge* to *Cataraet* bridge; so that it must be just thirteen and a half computed miles from *Bowes* to *Cataraet* bridge, or *Thornborough* near it. This answers again with the greatest exactness, to eighteen miles, the distance in the *Itinerary* between *Lavatrac* and *Cataraetionium*. It is true that in this second *iter* the distance is only XVI, but in the fifth it is XVIII, which is right; so that the former must be corrected by the latter. Near *Gretabridge* has been a *Roman* station; but as I do not think it mentioned in the *Itinerary*, I pass it by now, and shall take notice of it when I come to discourse on the *Notitia*. The military way from *Gretabridge* to *Thornborough*, is generally very conspicuous, so as to make us very sure of the course of it, and we are as sure of our station at its due distance.

CATARACTO.

I HAVE spoken already concerning *Cataraet* under the former *iter*, which falls in here with this; as likewise to the two following stations; namely, *Isurium* and *Eburacum*, to the latter of which the two *itineraria* continue in the same line.

ISVRIVM.
EBVRACVM.

AT *York* [*Eburacum*] the two *itineraria* part again, this second *iter* going more westerly towards *Calcaria*, or *Tadcaster*, on the river *Wharfe*. I have already spoke to the distance, to which I need add no more here. Besides the name, the coins that have been found, and a proper situation argue for its being a station. *Cambden* adds to these the marks of a trench quite round the town, and the platform of an old castle^a. According to Dr. *Gale* the *Latin* name seems to be derived from *Calx pedis*, and he guesses that the former part of the present name may come from *Tab*, which signifies the same thing in *British*^b. Others account for the name from the lime stone that is plentiful here^c. Some have attempted to remove *Calcaria* from *Tadcaster* farther up the water to *Newton Kyme*, but I think it is *Newton lime* in the map. The reasons for this attempt I shall transcribe from *Cambden*. “ Others place the *Roman Calcaria* at *Newton Kyme*, in the water fields, near “ *St. Helen's ford*; for many *Roman* coins have been plowed up there, par-
“ ticularly

CALCARIA.

^a Pag. 870.

^b Anton. Itin. p. 45.

^c Camd. p. 869.

“ ticularly of *Constantius*, *Helena*, and *Constantine*; also an urn or box of
 “ alabaster, with ashes in it; melted lead and rings, one of which had a key
 “ of the same piece joined with it. And as the coins, so the *Roman* high
 “ way makes for this opinion; for it goes directly to *Roadgate*, and crosses
 “ the river *Wherfe* at *St. Helen's ford*, so called from *Helena*, mother of
 “ *Constantine* the great;” [unless we should say, with *Dr. Gale*, that it is a
 “ contraction of *Nehalenn's ford*; the goddess *Nehalennia* being the patroness
 “ of the chalk-workers.] “ Also the passage from that to *York* is firmer ground
 “ by much, than that from *Tadcaster*; which would hardly be passable, were
 “ it not for the causeway made over the common, between *Tadcaster* and
 “ *Bilburgh*. Now this ford dividing the *Roman agger*, gives just reason to
 “ expect a *Roman* city or station, rather near this than any other place. Nor
 “ ought it to be objected, that there is at present no passage; for it had for-
 “ merly a bridge of wood, the fills of which yet remain: but when that was
 “ broken down, and the *Wherfe* was not fordable, they found a way to *We-*
 “ *therby*. Nor is there any thing said in favour of *Tadcaster*, but what is
 “ equally, if not more, applicable to *Newton Kyme*. The distance holds
 “ more exactly; the hill called *Kelc-bar* is at *Smarve*, which is nearer *Newton*
 “ than *Tadcaster*; and as to *Ileina*, who removed to *Calca-caster*, it is possi-
 “ ble enough there might in those early times be a religious house conse-
 “ crated to the memory of the pious *Helena*, about *St. Helen's ford*.*” I
 leave every one here to judge for themselves; though I have given the pre-
 ference my self to the common opinion, which is in favour of *Tadcaster*.

ONE of the principal difficulties in this *iter* concerns the next steps we are
 to make in it, from *Calcaria* to *Cambodunum* and from thence to *Mancunium*
 [or *Manucium*.] For if we suppose *Calcaria* and *Mancunium* to be *Tadcaster*
 and *Manchester* (the evidence for which appears very strong) then we have
 only thirty eight *Itinerary* miles for the whole distance between those places;
 whereas by the shortest way it is thirty eight long computed miles from *Tad-*
caster to *Manchester*. I thought of many things to lessen this difficulty, but
 nothing that is fully satisfactory. I was considering how mountainous some
 part of the way is near the borders of the two counties. *Ogilby* has given us
 the dimension from *York* to *West-chester*, which may be of use to us in this
 affair. The whole distance, according to him, is a hundred and six miles,
 but the horizontal distance only eighty six; so that here the number of ho-
 rizontal to road miles is almost as five to four. And as the road from *York*
 to *Tadcaster* is very level, as also the road from *Manchester* to *Chester*; it is
 plain that if these thirty six computed miles be taken out of the reckoning,
 the disproportion between horizontal and road measure in the remaining
 thirty eight miles between *Tadcaster* and *Manchester* must be greater: for all
 the crooked mountainous way is comprehended in this space. From *Tadcaster*
 to *Eland* is twenty two computed miles, and thirty and a half measured; and
 from *Eland* to *Manchester* is eighteen computed miles according to *Ogilby*, and
 twenty seven and a half measured. In the tenth *iter* it is only seventeen miles
 from *Coccium* to *Mancunium*; whereas if *Ribchester* be *Coccium*, I am told it is
 twenty computed miles at least from thence to *Manchester*. So that one
 would suspect, that the *Romans* had been mistaken in their calculation of
 the distances from *Manchester* both one way and the other, and had made
 them several miles shorter than they should have been; and these are what I
 call original errors. According to *Dr. Gale* there is a good deal of confusion
 in the several copies of the *Itinerary* in this part of the *iter*. His words
 are, when speaking of *Cambodunum*, “ *Ptolemy* places here the sixth le-
 “ gion called *victrious*, and some copies of *Antonine's Itinerary* place the
 “ same legion at seventeen miles distance from *York*.” And in the margin
 “ It is observed, that a copy of his own after the word *Eburacum* reads
 “ VICTR.

* Camb. Brit. p. 870.

“ VICTR. M. P. XXVI.” It does not appear to me that *Ptolemy* placed the sixth legion at *Cambodunum*, but rather at *Eboracum*. For after *Eboracum* he immediately adds *legio sexta victrix*, and then *Cambodunum*; and I see no reason why the words *legio sexta victrix* may not rather refer to *Eboracum* that goes before, than to *Cambodunum* which comes after them. *Ptolemy* indeed places his *Cambodunum* farther from *Eboracum* than suits the present numbers of the *Itinerary*. For he makes *Eboracum* twenty minutes more northerly than *Cambodunum*, and a degree and three quarters more easterly. And this justly deserves a remark. Such manifest confusion may be pleaded as an excuse for any easy correction of the present numbers in the *Itinerary*. Only the numbers if corrected must be increased, and that will make the particulars clash more with the total. However, I submit the following thoughts to the reader’s judgement. I sometimes suspected that the confused letters after *Eboracum* might have been a name of a station omitted, and the other confused numerals expressed the distance of this from *Calcaria*. Sometimes I suspected the numerals xxvi or xxvii to be the true numbers, which express the distance between *Calcaria* and *Cambodunum*; and this would go far to set us right. But in order to settle *Cambodunum* in its due place, the principal thing that is to be done, according to my method, is first, if possible to determine the course of the military way, and then to enquire what evidences we have of any stations situated on this way. By a letter from an ingenious friend^b, who took a great deal of pains to search out this way, I received the following intelligence. “ I have (says he) made another attempt “ to discover a station about *Gretland* or *Ribanden*, but without any success. “ Mr. *Camden* indeed gives us an account of a votive altar found there; “ but says nothing whereabouts, and it is too long since to expect any information from the inhabitants. The additions to Mr. *Camden* also give us “ an account of *Roman* coins found at *Stainland* (which may be about a mile “ from *Gretland moor*) and the memory of them is very fresh. I have seen “ the place, it was at the top of a very great precipice, and now a considerable “ quantity of the rock is fallen down; I could discern no signs of an encampment, or any thing of that nature. But possibly a good account may “ be given both of the altar and coins without supposing a station thereabouts, “ which I build upon the supposition of the cross way which appears upon “ *Lindley moor*, and bears upon *Almandbury*; being part of the *Roman* way, “ that comes through or near *Ilkley* (and I can think of nothing more probable) for then it must have come (as appears from the course of the country) “ over *Gretland moor*, and within half a mile of *Stainland*, where the *Roman* “ coins were found. The course of it seems plainly to be to *Tadcaster* “ and not to *Castleford*; and *Flixley ridge*, which is at the east end of *Lindley moor*, gives a good opportunity of judging of it, being the most large prospect, especially eastward, in that part of the country. It is in *Lindley moor* only I have heard of it in this country. The beginning of it is above “ *Eland* towards *Huthersfield*, about a mile from *Eland*, and two from “ *Huthersfield*, and it keeps about the same distance from *Stainland*, but “ leaves *Wharingsby hall* only about a quarter of a mile. The course of it “ seems to be (for it is only visible about a mile) over the high grounds above “ *Claghwait*, into *Lancashire*, where we find it a little beyond *Oldham*; “ it seems to have left the town on the right hand, though at no very great “ distance. Again it is visible on *Newton heath*: the chapel, which is in “ the middle of the heath, stands directly upon it; whether it might be “ traced near *Manchester* in the inclosed grounds, I had not an opportunity “ of trying. The way from *Ilkley* is over *Rambles moor* (not named in the map)

^a Leg. vi. vict. hic collocat Ptolemaeus & quidam codices mss. Antonini eandem ad M. P. xvii. ab Eburaco in hac regione constituunt. And in the margin alius R. O. codex post Eburacum VICTR. M. P. M. xxvi. Gale Anton. Itin. p. 46. This

by the way shows how possible it is, for what should have been set at the end of one line, to be placed through mistake at the end of another.

^b The reverend Mr. Angier at Heton.

“map) and appears by the course of it, to leave *Riddleston* on the right hand: again it is visible upon *Hadden* moor towards *Calvingworth*, which it leaves a little on the left hand, so through *Dinham park*, and so to the left of *Ellisworth*; which I apprehend may have been the farther course of it.” This account is sufficient to determine the course of the way, and shews it to have been pretty straight. I thought of the military way on *Branham* moor, mentioned by Dr. *Gale*, and of what has been said before about *Newton Kyme*, and the military way passing by *Helensford*: but on a revise of the whole affair, my present sentiment is, that the way comes from *Tadcaster* united, and continues so as far as *Aberford*; that thereabout it branches out into two large ways, forming nearly the same angle as usual; the more easterly branch proceeds by *Castleford* to *Doncaster*, and is generally very conspicuous; the more westerly branch is that on which this part of our *iter* proceeds. There is a considerable turn in the visible *Roman* way on the north side of *Aberford*, and such turns are frequently made in crossing such a hollow as *Aberford* stands in. But whether or no the other branch has gone off about that turn, and immediately entered the inclosures, I cannot determine. The military way from *Ilkley* is foreign to my present purpose; I take it to have been one of the low paved ways, and never to have had a great elevation: but all I have to do with it at present, is to observe where it has intersected the other; in order to ascertain the place of the station, to which I must now proceed.

CAMBODUNUM. *CAMBODUNUM* has generally been placed at *Albanbury*, usually called *Almanbury*; but this stands out of the military way, and no *Roman* coins or monuments have been found here, that I know of. The contrivance and make of the fortification looks to me liker *Saxon* than *Roman*, and it was usual for the *Saxons* to build out of the ruins of *Roman* stations. This fortification is on the top of a hill, and is of an oval figure. It is divided into three parts separated from each other by a rampart, and each part higher in situation than the former. The hill on which this fortification stands suits the termination *dunum* in *Cambodunum*; but this is all the argument that can well be drawn from the name, and this is of very little force. It takes its modern name from St. *Alban*, to whom the church was dedicated. The strongest evidences we have of a station any where on this part of the way, are those which we are furnished with in *Camden* for one about *Gretland*. Here a remarkable altar was found, to be seen in the collection*. A great quantity of *Roman* coins was found at *Sowerby*, not far from hence, in the year 1678, and *Roman* coins have also been found at *Stainland*, and *Roman* bricks, according to the same author, at *Grimscar*, near *Eland bridge*, inscribed COH. IIII. BRE. But it is time now to draw to a conclusion of this matter; and upon the whole I believe the *Roman* station of *Cambodunum* has been near *Gretland* and *Stainland*, upon that rivulet which runs near *Stainland* by *Gretland* bridge into the *Calder*. The votive altar found here was in *Camden's* time at *Bradley hall*, and such altars as these, I think, are never found, but where a *Roman* settlement has been. I would therefore fix *Cambodunum* at the place where this altar was found, which probably is the same where the coins were found in *Stainland*. Thus the station would, I think, have the usual situation on a kind of *lingula*. *Ogilby* makes it twenty two computed miles from *Tadcaster* to *Eland*, and thirty and a half measured on the surface. The place where I suppose the station has been, is perhaps half a mile or a mile farther from *Tadcaster* than *Eland*, pursuing the direct line of the military way. I think the nearest I can make it is twenty three or twenty two and a half computed *English* miles, and thirty one and a half measured for the distance between *Calcaria* and *Cambodunum*. The number of *Itinerary* miles corresponding to this in the usual *ratio* would be about thirty. If therefore instead of xx we make xxx over against *Cambodunum*, every thing seems to answer.

MANU.

* Yorkshire N. xvii.

MANUCIUM, in the tenth *iter* called *Mancunium*, is placed by universal agreement at *Manchester*. The *Roman* and *British* name is supposed to come from *Maen*, a stone or rock, for such is the ground on which the town is built. The *Roman* monuments that have been found here, are described in the second book; and when I was at *Manchester*, I examined with care the *Roman* station it self. It is about a quarter of a mile out of the town, being south or south-west from it. The station now goes by the name of *Giant's-castle*, or *Tarquin's-castle*; and the field in which it stands is called *Castle field*. The river runs near it on the south east side. The ramparts are still very conspicuous. The computed distance between *Eland* and *Manchester*, according to *Ogilby*, is eighteen miles, the measured no less than twenty seven and a half; but then he goes by *Rockdale*, which must be a mile or two about. In the general, the place at which I have settled *Cambodunum* must not, I think, be above sixteen or seventeen computed miles from *Manchester*, and perhaps about twenty five measured. Some of this way is very mountainous; and yet I do not think, that eighteen *Roman* horizontal miles are sufficient, to answer to these numbers of computed and measured *English* miles: so that I think the present number of XVIII must be changed to XXIII.

MANVCIVM.

CONDATE is the next place that occurs in this *iter*, and according to the *Itinerary* is eighteen miles from *Manucium*. This has been generally taken for *Congleton*: but as the distances do not answer on this supposition, and there are no evidences of a station at *Congleton*, nor of a military way leading to it; I think we ought to seek for *Condate* somewhere else. The urns that have been found, and the barrows that are in *Dunham* park, belonging to the Earl of *Warrington*, together with the remains of a military way near it, render it highly probable that the *Roman* road has gone directly from *Manchester* to *Chester*, through or near to *Northwich*. My friend Dr. *Tilston* of *Chester* (to whom, and Mr. *Prebendary Prescot*, I am under many obligations, both for their civilities when I was at *Chester*, and their kind offices since) informs me by a letter, that he has lately viewed this piece of *Roman* road by *Altrineham*, and assures me that its pointing is directly towards *Chester* and *Manchester*, and not at all towards *Congleton*. It is in the middle of a field near the road, which now leads from *Manchester* to *Chester*, and is called the *street*. This leaves but little room to doubt of the military road, and that consequently the *iter* has proceeded this way to *Chester*, which is also farther confirmed by the name *Stretford* on the *Mersey*; The distance between *Manchester* and *Chester*, according to *Ogilby*, is twenty six computed miles, and measured thirty eight and three quarters; but his way is by *Warrington*. I should think the road by *Northwich* to be much the same; and yet by this road it is constantly, I think, reckoned twenty eight: and to the more southerly part of *Chester*, where perhaps the station has been, it may be twenty eight and a half computed miles, and above thirty nine measured. These numbers agree with much exactness to the thirty eight miles in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Manucium* and *Deva*. The distance between *Northwich* and *Chester* is supposed to be less than between *Northwich* and *Manchester*; whereas according to the *Itinerary*, the former should be the greater, if we place *Condate* near *Northwich*. For this reason it is conjectured, that *Delamere* forest might then be unpassable, and so the road have taken some compass. But unless we knew exactly in what part the *Roman* stations were, we cannot with any certainty judge of the accurate distances. I see *Marbury* is near *Northwich*, but know not of any thing there that is antique. If we should suppose an exchange or transposition of the numbers set to *Deva* and *Condate*, this would effectually remove the difficulty; but this is a supposition I should not care to admit, without an apparent necessity for it. However I conclude with Dr. *Stukeley**, that *Condate* has been at *Northwich* or near it. The distance,

CONDATÉ.

* and the road itself is called the street. T. 74

* Itin. curios. p. 54.

distance, the course of the military way, and the convenient river, are sufficient evidences; and much stronger than any that can be produced in favour of *Congleton* or any other place: though I have not yet heard of any *Roman* remains or antiquities discovered at *Northwich*. Dr. *Tilston* chuses rather to place *Condate* at *Kinderton* adjoining to *Middlewich*, near which is a *Roman* way called *Kindstreet*. Dr. *Gale* supposes, that the name *Condate* here is borrowed from a *Gaulish* town of the same name; but he also mentions the conjecture of another learned man, who affirms, that *Condate* in the old *Gaulish* tongue signifies the *confluence of two rivers*^a. How well this etymology suits a situation near *Northwich*, is obvious to any who casts his eye on a map of *Cheshire*.

DEVA.

DEVA by the universal agreement of antiquaries, and by all manner of evidence, appears to be *Chester*. At *Deva* the *Itinerary* places the *legio vice-sima victrix*, and inscriptions are found at *Chester*^b, expressly mentioning this legion. The antient *Roman* name of this station is still retained in the present name of the river *Dee*, that runs by the city. And it has probably been inferred^c from a coin of *Geta's* inscribed *COL. DIVANA LEG. XX. VICT.* that *Chester* was made a *Roman* colony by *Geta*, when he came over to *Britain* with his father, and was left by him to order the affairs of the southern part of the province, whilst his father and *Caracalla* advanced into *Caledonia*. The *Roman* monuments that belong to this city, I have given in the collection, and explained them in my observations. I shall therefore take my leave of this agreeable city, though I do it with regret, and the more so, because our way from it is doubtful and dark.

BOVIUM.

BOVIUM is our next stage; but where to find, or how to come at it, is not easy to say. The general consent of antiquaries leads us to *Bangor*. And both *Aldford* and *Stretton* (the seat of the ingenious and learned Mr. *Wright*) by being in the way, or not much out of it, strengthen their conjecture, who suppose the military way to have taken this course. No visible remains of the way are pretended; nor could I discern any, when I rode from *Chester* to *Bangor*, on purpose to enquire into this matter. *Bangor* is situated on the turn of a river, and on a spot of ground proper enough for a station. No doubt the place has been antient, but I very much doubt its having been *Roman*. Dr. *Gale* says that *Roman* coins are often found here^d; but I could not hear of any such thing, when I was on the spot: nor did I see any *Roman* inscriptions or sculptures at *Bangor*. There were two sepulchral stones standing in the church yard resembling the *Roman* form, though the matter and shape of the letters plainly shewed they were not so antient. Upon the one was wrote, *Hic jacet Ithel Adwcon*; and on the other, *Hic jacet William Lefrens*. The people told me of pavements and streets, they dug up very frequently; but these may be later than the times of the *Romans*. Dr. *Tilston* of *Chester* told me, that he remembered his grand father used to say, that the field called *Keycummin* (or some such name) which signifies the *communion field*, was probably the place where the monks took the sacrament before they were murdered. *Bangor* is ten or eleven computed miles from *Chester*; which is too much for ten in the *Itinerary*, even though we suppose the station at *Chester* to have been in the southern part of the city. I must therefore own that I am not satisfied with *Bangor* for *Bovium*. Some have changed the *v* into an *n*, and read *Bonium*^e. But this probably has been done to bring it to sound somewhat liker the modern name *Bangor*, or *Banchor*. When I saw *Holt castle*, I had some thoughts of a station there; but I could discover no satisfactory evidence of it, and other circumstances seem not to answer. I have observed before, that our present high roads are often formed from

Roman

^a Pag. 50.^b See *Cheshire*, N. 1, 11.^c See *Camden* p. 71, and *Gale Ant. Itin.* p. 51.^d *Anton. Itin.* p. 54.^e *Gale Anton. Itin.* p. 54.

Nothing I think is less
the evidence. I have seen
Bangor, and with good
reason, that it is a place
where the military way
could not have been
lost. I have found a
Roman about the
river.
and *Shotton* are not in
any way, but Mr. *Horsley*
this way to see Mr. *Wright*
with him, it is only 4 miles
to about *Boon*.
Dr. *Gale* says here, is a mis-
take.

the brink of the river,

said by some of the
historians, that the poor monks
of *Boon*, which they had not
in the communion of the
of the river *Dee*, which they
had found. In *Tilston*

man military ways : so that where we have no better evidence, the presumption is in favour of the publick road. I therefore suspect that the antient Roman way has fallen in pretty much with the present high road from Chester by *Whitchurch* to *London*. I have been informed, that *Watling street*, or some branch of it, goes by *Newport* and *Whitchurch* from *Wall* beside *Lichfield*, to *Chester*, and that it appears in several places. I see in the map of *Cheshire* a *Stretton*, that cannot be very far from the road to *Whitchurch* from *Chester*, nor must *Aldford* be much out of the way. Coins have been found at *Broughton*, some of which are in the hands of Dr. *Tilston*; [as also some others found at *Burton* hills,] which lie between the two *London* roads, that pass one by *Namptwich*, and the other by *Whitchurch*. This makes it somewhat more probable, that the military way has gone more directly towards *London*. I see a place in *Cheshire* called *Bunbury*,* which may be imagined to have the sound of *Bonium* in it, and other places, whose names seem to carry somewhat of antiquity in them; but I dare not pronounce any thing on such slender evidence. The best thing I can do at present is to set off the number of miles, according to the *Itinerary*, along what appears most probably to have been the course of the military way. And if we suppose this military way to have declined a little from the present post road, as laid down in *Ogilby*, and to have gone by *Aldford* and *Stretton*, the distance of seven and a half large computed miles, according to the scale in *Camden's* map, will bring us to *Stretton*, between *Barton* and *Tilston*; and perhaps we had best rest content with this, till time and farther discoveries set the matter in a surer light. [I confess we must go on the other side of the present road, if we be guided by the places where coins have been found. For beside those mentioned before, some were lately found between *Whitchurch* and *Namptwich*.] But I must leave every one to judge of this as they please.

r. *Pickerton* Dr. *Tilston*
[*12th. Idem.*]

a in old writing
called *Bonebury*.
Tilston
Boston castle is now
probably might be *Bon*

[*12th. Dr. Tilston*]

THE next place mentioned in this *iter* is *Mediolanum*. The etymology of the *Italian Mediolanum* being unknown or doubtful, it is the less wonder that our *Mediolanum* in *Britain* should be so. According to my scheme this place stands at the intersection, or as it were in the middle of several military ways; and this possibly may be the reason of the name: but I am more concerned to find out the place it self, than the etymology of its name. *Mediolanum* in the *Itinerary* is twenty miles from *Bovium*, and in the tenth *iter* eighteen from *Condate*. This has been placed at *Meirvod* in *North Wales*; but I do not think the ruins there are *Roman*, nor can I learn that any *Roman* antiquities have been found at it; and the military way, I believe, has not taken that course. *Ptolemy*, it is true, has *Mediolanium* among the *Ordovices*. This seems to be the same name with *Mediolanum* in the *Itinerary*, and so furnishes another argument for placing it somewhere in *North Wales*: but notwithstanding the likeness of names, it is possible that the two authors meant different places; at least *Ravennas* must have so understood them, for he has *Mediomani** just before *Seguntium* and *Canubium*, stations in *North Wales*, and *Mediolanum* just after them. And no doubt the one is designed for *Ptolemy's Mediolanium* in *Wales*, and the other for the *Mediolanum* of the *Itinerary*. At *Wroxeter* I got a brass coin with *Medliwood* upon it, which place my landlord told me was about eight miles east from *Shrewsbury*. If likeness of sound was to be decisive, this might bid fair for *Mediolanum*; but distances and other circumstances do by no means agree, so that I rather incline to seek for it between *Chester* and *Wroxeter*, or along the course of the military way as laid down before. And if the due distances be set off from *Wroxeter*, *Chester*, and *Manchester* (thirty six *Itinerary* miles as in the tenth *iter*) the point of intersection one would think should bring us near to *Mediolanum*. But I find on the nearest and directest way from *Manchester* to *Wroxeter*, the distance on the map by the general scale is above sixty four miles, whereas it should be only fifty nine according to the *Itinerary*. This

MEDIOLANVM.

5 O

makes

* Pag. 144.

The distance between Man-
chester and Northwich is great-
er, at least two Itinerary miles,
than from Northwich to Che-
ster. Dr. Tylston.

Condate is almost in a straight
line between Chester and Draiton,
and one piece of a Roman road
near Middlewich (which was
notly Kinderhook, perhaps Condate)
Draiton, where Mr. Horsley
thinks Mediolanum, which suits
as to the road mentioned
by Dr. Tylston.

makes me suspect, either that this space in the map is too much enlarged (as between *Wroxeter* and *Caerleon* it is too much contracted) or else that *Manchester* in this map is set too far to the north. And I see that in the map the distance between *Chester* and *Northwich* is far less than between it and *Manchester*, though the number of computed miles be the same, and the distances are generally thought to be nearly equal. But though this error in the common maps might account for the failure in the scale, yet it will not remove the difficulty with respect to the computed miles. For the number of these between *Wroxeter* and *Manchester* I take to be about forty seven, which would require about sixty three miles in the *Itinerary*, according to the common proportion. But if any angle has been formed at a station, which I believe to be the case, then the defect in the number of *Itinerary* miles must still be greater. Besides, it seems to be just thirty one computed miles from *Northwich* to *Shrewsbury*, and consequently must be thirty two or thirty three to *Wroxeter* in a straight line. The computed miles being long here, and the military way forming some angles, the *Itinerary* distance of forty one miles is not sufficient. I believe if we here again add a numeral x to the xviii in the tenth iter, the distance between *Condate* and *Mediolanum*, this will go far to make us entirely easy. For if we fix *Mediolanum* on the river *Tern*, not far from *Draiton*, the distance every way will answer with sufficient exactness. The distance from *Northwich* [*Condate*] will be about twenty one computed miles, answering to twenty eight in the *Itinerary* when the correction is made. The distance of *Draiton* from *Chester* is, I think, also twenty one computed miles; and therefore in order to make the distance here answer in the same proportion, and with sufficient exactness, we must suppose, the *Roman* station to have been rather on the east side of the river, on a *lingula* which I see there. If *Mediolanum* be placed any where near *Draiton*, we can then go on in our rout with ease and success^a.

RVTVNIVM.

RUTUNIUM, the next station, I venture to place near *Wem* in *Shropshire* on the river *Rodan*. I believe I am singular in my opinion as to this matter, but I hope I have reason and truth on my side. Remains, distance, and the course of the military way, favour, as I think, this opinion; which may make it the more deserving of some regard. And *Rodan* is not unlike to *Rutunium*, so that the affinity of name makes also for us; for I have had frequent occasion to observe, that the antient name is often preserved in the name of the river. The way from *Wroxeter* to this station seems to be the continuance of the military way from *Monmouthshire*. The computed miles from *Mediolanum*, if fixed as above, will be just about nine, answering to twelve in the *Itinerary* between *Mediolanum* and *Rutunium*, and eight and a quarter more, answering to eleven in the *Itinerary* between *Rutunium* and *Urioconium*, will bring us just to *Wroxeter*. The certainty of the *Roman* city or station at this place is supported by the evidence of *Camden* himself; which, considering by whom it was wrote, and how long ago, appears to be unexceptionable. I will give it in his own words. “Not far from the head of this river “*Rodan* stands *Wem*, where were the marks of an intended castle, of which “nothing is now to be seen but the bank it stood on. —A little distance “from this, upon a woody hill, or rather rock (which was antiently called “*Radcliff*) stood a castle on a very high ground, called from the reddish stone, “*Redcastle*, and by the *Normans* castle *Rous*, heretofore the seat of the “*Audleys* (by the bounty of *Mawd* the stranger, or *Le strange*) but now “there

2

^a If we should throw an x out of the number expressing the distance between *Bovium* and *Mediolanum*, I believe the distance would then bring us near *Whitchurch*, which Dr. Tylston believes to be *Roman*. The same distance would carry us to the north of *Whitchurch* towards *Marbury*, perhaps near where the coins were found. If we could settle *Bovium* hereabouts, the number xviii in the

tenth iter might continue for the distance between *Condate* and *Mediolanum*. But till we can discover some surer evidences of *Roman* ways and stations hereabouts, I am afraid we must remain in uncertainty. I have received a late information from Dr. Tylston, that *Roman* coins have been found at *Middle* in *Shropshire*, which he assures me answers exactly as to the distances.

“ there is nothing to be seen but decayed walls. Scarce a mile from hence, “ is a spot of ground, where a small city once stood, the very ruins of which “ are almost gone; but the *Roman* coins found there, with such bricks as “ they used in building, are evidences of its antiquity and founders. The “ people of the neighbourhood call it *Bery* from *Burgh*; and affirm it to “ have been very famous in king *Arthur's* days*.”

URIOCONIUM, eleven miles in the *Itinerary* from *Rutunium*, has with good reason been fixed at *Wroxeter*. I spent the greatest part of a day with much pleasure, in viewing that place and the antiquities of it. I had seen several medals at *Shrewsbury*, most of which were found here; and I purchased a few my self: the people call them *Wroxeter-dinders*, possibly from *denarii*. The town has been very large, and also the fortified ground. It is situated on the north or north-east side of the *Severn*, and on the other side of the place runs a small rivulet; so that this (as many other of the *Roman* stations) has been situated on a *lingula* near the confluence of a rivulet and a larger river. There is a piece of old wall yet standing, which has in it three regular *strata* of *Roman* brick, each *stratum* consisting of the thickness of two bricks. It is about eight yards high and about twenty yards long. The field this stands in I thought to be the *praetorium*; for like *Aldborough* in *Yorkshire*, the whole city seems to have been encompassed with a rampart and ditch, above half a mile square, the vestiges of which may yet be discerned. It encompasses the whole of the fields, in which the stones, coins, and other antiquities are found. I was informed that a *balneum* or sudatory had been discovered here some years ago, but then was destroyed. *Shrewsbury*, which is a large pleasant town, with five churches standing all in a cluster, has probably arose out of the ruins of *Urioconium*, from which it is three miles distant. Here again the way divides into two, forming the usual angle. One branch goes towards the *Strettons*, and so into *Herefordshire*, which is also called *Watling street*; the other branch goes into *Staffordshire*. And this is the branch, on which the present *iter* proceeds, and which I now must pursue.

VRIOCONIVM.

THE general distance between *Wroxeter* and *Wall* near *Lichfield* appears promising enough, both by the scale and the number of computed miles for thirty five in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Urioconium* and *Etocetum*. If therefore this distance be again divided proportionably to the numbers in the *Itinerary*, we cannot well fail of hitting nearly on the true situation of the intermediate stations *Uxacona* and *Pennocrucium*. *Uxacona* according to the *Itinerary* is eleven miles from *Urioconium*; and eight and a quarter computed miles, which correspond to the numbers in the *Itinerary*, bring us just to the rivulet, that is in the borders of the two counties, and runs near *Sheriff Hales*. I shall therefore make no great scruple of settling *Uxacona* near this river, and the borders of the two counties; though I have no account of any remains that are now to be seen, or of any *Roman* antiquities that have been found there.

VXAONA.

THE next distance of twelve *Itinerary* miles, or nine computed ones will, I think, bring us beyond the river *Penk*; and therefore I make no doubt but *Pennocrucium* has stood upon it. Nor do I see any reason why the town of *Penkridge* may not have risen out of its ruins, though the ancient town might be two or three miles from the present one. However, much of the ancient name *Pennocrucium* is still retained in that of *Penk* the present name of the river. But be that as it will, it is certain that *Watling street* is still visible hereabout, and the course of it through *Staffordshire* well known, if the accounts of so good authors as *Camden* and *Dr. Plot* may be relied on; and therefore this line is by no means to be quitted. *Watling street* enters this county from the south at *Fasley* bridge a little south from *Tamworth*; and passes to the south of

of

of *Lichfield*, and more to the south of *Penkridge*. Perhaps it has made a turn about its entrance into this county. For as *Camden* observes it goes almost in a straight line through it^a. Dr. *Stukeley* says, that “ Dr. *Plot* with good reason settles *Pennocrucium* at *Stretton* in *Staffordshire*, because it is “ on *Watlingstreet*, and answers the distances, though no *Roman* antiquities “ are there discovered^b.”

ETOCETVM. THE next station of *Etocetum* is justly supposed to be at *Wall* near *Lichfield*. The *Itinerary* makes it twelve miles from *Pennocrucium* to *Etocetum*, and nine computed miles, according to the scale in *Camden*, will bring us to *Wall* near *Lichfield*. It has its name from certain walls which encompass about two acres of ground called *Castlecroft*. *Camden* thought he met with the ruins of an old city here, which is agreeable also to constant tradition. Two ancient pavements, and *Roman* bricks, and coins, have been found here, and *Watlingstreet* is here very visible, and passes just by the place. *Camden* seems to be much pleased on his discovery of this place, after he had long and diligently sought for it^c.

MANDUCESSÆDVM. NOR do I see any reason to question, but the next station of *Manduessædum* must be at *Mancester*, where many *Roman* coins have been found. The variety of numbers in the several manuscripts, taken notice of by Dr. *Gale*, leaves us the liberty of chusing that which suits best with the distance of *Mancester*. Dr. *Gale* pitches on XVI, adding, “ that as *maen* signifies a stone “ in the *British* language, so there are stone quarries at *Mancester*^d. I think “ it is just about twelve of the large or computed miles, according to the “ scale in *Camden*, between *Wall* and *Mancester*, which answers exactly to “ sixteen in the *Itinerary*.”

VENONAE. VENONAE, the next station, is twelve *Itinerary* miles from *Manduessædum*, and nine of the same computed miles reach somewhat beyond *High cross*. *Cleycester*, as to the distance, answers exactly. *Camden*^e first took notice of this ancient place called *Cleycester*, of which *Cleybrook* is said to be a part, and assigns the *Roman* name *Venones* to it. Dr. *Stukeley*, who travelled along this way with a design to make observations on it, and examined every thing in a very strict manner, affirms expressly, that the *Fosse* crosses *Watlingstreet* at *High cross*; that *Venonae* stands in the intersection of these two grand roads; and that many antiquities are found here, stones, *Roman* bricks, coins, and foundations of houses all the way along the street to *Cleycester*^f. His other observation is also curious and remarkable; that this is probably the centre, and highest ground of this part of *England*, because the rivers from hence run every way. I think it curious, and worth remarking, that the two grand *Roman* ways, which traverse the kingdom, should intersect at such a point. It looks as if the *Romans* had well observed and considered the course their ways were to take, before they made them.

BENNAVENNA. WATLINGSTREET passes here along the borders of the two counties *Leicestershire* and *Warwickshire*. The course of it seems to be very well ascertained by tradition, or visible remains. If the distance of *Wedon* from hence answered exactly to the *Itinerary*, as *Camden*^g says it does, we should not be at a loss for *Bennavenna*, our next station, at seventeen miles distance from *Venonae* according to the *Itinerary*; but *Wedon* seems to be above sixteen computed miles from *High cross*, and near sixteen from *Cleycester* it self, which distance is too great for only seventeen miles in the *Itinerary*. Dr. *Stukeley* says, that beyond dispute the name ought to be wrote *Benavona*^h. If this should

^a Pag. 636.^b It. curios. p. 113.^c Pag. 636.^d Ant. li. p. 59.^e Pag. 531.^f See It. curios. p. 104.^g Pag. 531.^h It. curios. p. 107.

should be admitted, it would almost incline me to seek for this place, where *Watling street* crosses the *Avon*, and to suppose that *Bensford* retains a part of the name *Benavona*, rather than of *Venonae*. If we suppose that in the xvii set over against *Bennavenna*, the odd vii have been by mistake borrowed from some neighbouring number, and that it should be only x; this would both be somewhat of a balance for the overplus we have before, and make the distance between *Venonae* and the river *Avon* to answer exactly to the distance between it and *Bennavenna* in the *Itinerary*. But in the eighth *iter* we have the distance of xviii miles between *Venonae* and *Bannavantum*, and I believe *Bannavantum* in the eighth *iter* to be the same with *Bennavenna* in this; and in the sixth *iter*, where a small excursion is made to *Tripontium*, the distance between *Isanavatia* (which I still believe to be the same station) and *Venonae* is xxi. This is a strong confirmation that the number is pretty right in this *iter*, and that the true distance between *Bennavenna* and *Venonae* is seventeen or eighteen miles in the *Itinerary*. And the reason why there is no station just where *Watling street* crosses the *Avon*, might well be the neighbourhood of *Tripontium*, situated on the same river. I shall therefore proceed in the same manner as I have done hitherto. And it is some encouragement to go on, that we are still so sure of our guide; for as Dr *Stukeley* observes, the “ridge of *Watling street* hereabouts is very high for miles “together.” I have therefore set off thirteen and a half computed miles according to the large scale in *Camden*, and find it reaches exactly to *Daventry* or *Legers Ashby*, or to that part of *Watling street* that is over against these places. The present town of *Daventry* stands to the west of this grand military way, but it is likely that the antient *Roman* town may have nearly come up to it; somewhat of the name of *Bennavenna* or *Bannavantum* (Mr. *Baxter* would have it *Dannavantria*) seems to remain yet in that of *Daventry*, but this is uncertain. There is sufficient evidence of a *Roman* station and town at this part, as will appear from the accounts we have in *Camden* and Dr. *Stukeley*. In the former we are told, “that great fortifications and military fences are “to be seen at *Gildsborough* and *Dantrey*.—That at *Gildsborough* is great “and large, but this other at *Dantrey* is greater and larger, being four “square on a high hill, from whence all the country beneath is seen far and “near—The country people now and then find coins of the *Roman* emperors, “which are certain proofs of its antiquity.” Dr. *Stukeley* informs us “that “at *Legers Ashby* there has been an old town where there are great ditches, “causeways, and marks of streets.” The doctor went out of his road through *Norton*, to see a great camp called *Burrow-hill*; of which he says, “the “whole hill top, which is of great extent, seems to have been fortified: but “the principal work on the end of it is squarish, double ditched of about “twelve acres; the inner ditch is very large, and at one corner has a spring. “The *vallum* is but moderate, a squarish work within, upon the highest part “of the camp like a *praetorium*.”—The doctor believes this to be *Roman*.^c *Weedon* is pitched on by *Camden*, Dr. *Gale*, and Dr. *Stukeley* for *Bennavenna*; but its situation on *Watling street* is sufficient to account for the *Roman* coins found at it, and I do not find that there are any certain visible remains of a station at *Weedon*.^d And as the distance suits not this place so well as the neighbourhood of *Daventry* or *Legers Ashby*, I would rather chuse to fix the mansion there.

BUT before I leave my station here, I am willing to consider a little the general distance from it to the next place where we are at a certainty; and that is *St. Albans*, the undoubted *Verulamium* in the *Itinerary*. Now I find the

^a It. curios. p. 106.

^b Pag. 510.

^c It. curios. p. 107.

^d Dr. *Stukeley* takes *Castledikes*, a mile south from *Weedon*, and as far from *Watling street*, to have been a *Roman* villa, afterwards rendered *Saxon*. Ibid. Perhaps it is a common summer encampment.

the distance between *Bennavenna* and *Verolamium* is fifty three *Itinerary* miles, or fifty two in the eighth *iter*. *Ogilby* has given us the measured and computed miles between *Daventry* and *St. Albans*, and I find the latter to be just forty, the former fifty one and a quarter. The number of computed miles answers with the greatest exactness to those in the *Itinerary*, reckoning in the same proportion as I have done all along; and the other number is not much amiss, though it seems to be rather too little. The general distance being therefore so right; we have nothing to do, but to divide it proportionably to the particular numbers in the *Itinerary*, and try how that will correspond to what appears to be matter of fact.

LACTODORVM.

OUR first particular distance is twelve miles from *Bennavenna* to *Lactodorum*. They usually compute it ten miles from *Daventry* to *Towcester*, and yet it is not nine according to the great scale in *Camden*, which answers accurately to twelve in the *Itinerary*; and this is farther confirmed by the number of measured miles in *Ogilby*, twelve and a quarter between those two places. I have no difficulty therefore in pronouncing *Towcester* to be *Lactodorum*. *Camden* informs us, "that *Roman* coins have been found here, and that there was "a mount remaining called *Berihill*, and according to him the true name is "*Torcester*." I should suspect it to have been *Dorcester* or *Todorcester*, and to have arisen from part of the name *Lactodorum*.

MAGIOVINTVM.

OUR military way, continuing still to be very well ascertained, conducts us next to *Stony-Stratford*, which has generally had one of the stations in the *Itinerary* allotted to it. The situation by a river, where *Watling street* crosses it, and some coins found thereabout, are the strongest arguments for it. It is too near to *Towcester* to be made another mansion in the *Itinerary*. Probably the *Romans* might have some small guard here. Our distance along the military way carries us beyond it. If we adhere to the present numbers and order of the *Itinerary*, sixteen of its miles, as in the sixth and eighth *itineræ*, or seventeen as in this, should bring us to *Magiovinum*. It is thirteen computed miles, and about seventeen measured, according to *Ogilby*, from *Towcester* to *Brickhill*; a mile less than this will bring us almost back to *Fenny-Stratford*: and I confess I am here inclined to pay so much regard to authority and etymology, as to suppose a transposition of names in this *iter*; and to place *Durocibrivæ* here near the water, and *Magiovinum* at *Dunstable*, where there is a chalky hill and no river near it.

DUROCIBRIVÆ.

DUROCIBRIVÆ has been by different authors set at various places, but all seem to agree in removing it from *Watling street*, and supposing it to be a side station to which an excursion is made. But as we have had no such direct excursion hitherto, though the *iter* be winding and tedious; so I see no manner of occasion to suppose one here: for the distances are exact, if we keep directly along *Watling street*, but would be confounded by an excursion. *Mr. Baxter's* derivation of the name approved by *Dr. Stukeley*^a, makes it *civitas paludosi profluentis*. And here the name *Fenny Stratford* speaks for it self. The distance from *Fenny Stratford* to *Dunstable* is rather too little for twelve miles in the *Itinerary*, but the deficiency is not considerable, not above a mile at the most; and the station may perhaps have been more to the south than the center of *Dunstable*, which is farther confirmed by our having somewhat to spare in our next distance between *Dunstable* and *St. Albans*, as will immediately appear. The fortified ground called the *Maiden-bower* is about a mile from *Dunstable*. *Roman* coins are found here called *Madning money*. *Dr. Stukeley* observes that the "rampart is pretty high, but very little sign of "a ditch, and that it encloses about nine acres." He believes it however to be a *British* work like that at *Ashwell*^c. *Camden* conjectures, that *Maiden-bower*

^a Pag. 513.^b It. curios. p. 109.^c It. curios. p. 108, 109.

bower and *Madning money* may have some affinity with the ancient *Roman* name *Magiovintum* or *Magiovinium*^a; but Dr. *Stukeley* thinks otherwise.

IN our next stage we arrive at an absolute certainty. The universal consent of antiquaries, grounded on all manner of evidence, has fixed *Verolamium* (or *Verulamium* as others write it) at *Verulam* near *St. Albans*. According to Dr. *Stukeley* a good part of the wall was standing three years ago, but as he rode through the old city, he saw them carrying off hundreds of loads of *Roman* bricks, to mend the highway^b. “The *Roman* wall is three foot layers of flint, and one foot made up of three courses of *Roman* bricks. There are round holes quite through the wall at about eight yards distance, in that corner still left by *St. German's* chapel^c.” Many antiquities have been found here, which I must not stay to describe, but not one *Roman* inscription or sculpture is now remaining, that I know of. VEROLAMIVM.

NINE *Itinerary* miles more bring us to *Sulloniacae* the station next to *Londinium*, and at twelve miles distance from it in the *Itinerary*. Here the curious in etymology may divert themselves if they think fit. But whether the name come from *Colhen*, *Corylus*, according to Dr. *Gale*; or from *Cassivellaun* the *British* *regulus*, or his country, or from *Ptolemy's* *Salinae*, a neighbouring *villa*, being in ancient writings called *Shellenay*; it is most for my purpose to observe, that this station has been generally fixed at *Brockley hills*, south from *Elstree*, and west from *Barnet*. And indeed the remains, urns, coins, and other antiquities, that have been discovered here, together with the exact distance answerable to the numbers in the *Itinerary*, leave no room to seek for *Sulloniacae* in any other place. SVLLONIACAE.

LONDINIUM [*London*] the metropolis of the kingdom, is the next station. I shall not enter into the dispute about the situation of the ancient *Londinium*, or the etymology of the name. They, who would enquire into these controversies, may consult, among other writers, the author of the *New Survey of England*^d. But I shall leave this grand city for the present, and proceed in my journey. LONDINIUM.

IN that part of this second *iter*, which lies between *London* and the terminus, we have three stations that are mentioned in no other *iter*, the first of which is *Noviomagus* at ten miles distance from *Londinium*, according to the *Itinerary*. This must be the same with *Neomagus* in *Ptolemy*, which he places nearly south from *London*, a little inclining to the west, and is the only or principal place he mentions among the *Regni*. *Ptolemy's* position and the *Itinerary* distance would direct to the neighbourhood of *Croydon* or *Woodcote*, where *Camden*^e long ago, and Dr. *Gale*^f more lately, have placed *Noviomagus*. And both saw some remains of an old town, but I think no proper *Roman* antiquities. Dr. *Stukeley*^g espouses Mr. *Somner's* opinion, that *Noviomagus* has doubtless been about *Wellend* or *Crayford*, so that he does not suppose this to be a side station. For *Watling street*, according to him, “passes rather on the south of *London*, and goes from *Stunegate* ferry across *St. George's* fields, so south of the *Lock hospital* to *Deptford* and *Blackheath*; a small part of the ancient way pointing to *Westminster* abbey is now the common road. From *Shooters hill*, the direction of the road is very plain both ways^h.” But to return; no *Roman* antiquities are pretended to have been discovered at *Crayford*, nor any other evidences of a station, except situation and distance, which latter seems not to be very exact. Others have placed *Noviomagus* on the river *Ravensburn* (perhaps it has been *Roman's-burn*) NOVIOMAGVS.

^a Pag. 341.

^b It. cur. p. 110.

^c Ibid.

^d Pag. 86, 102.

^e Pag. 191.

^f Ant. Itin. p. 71.

^g Itin. cur. p. 113.

^h Ibid. p. 112.

burn) which empties it self into the *Thames* near *Greenwich*. The inducement is a large *Roman* camp on this river^a. The author of the *New Survey* would have *Noviomagus* to be at *Halwoodhill* in the parish of *Keston*. The fortified ground is said to enclose near a hundred acres, and is upon a hill from whence there is a large prospect. It is double ditched and of an oblong figure^b. He justly observes, that the ground is rather too large for a station; nor does his conjecture about its being garrisoned by horse remove the difficulty: for though horse took up more room than foot; yet the largest station, that I know of, garrisoned by horse, is not a tenth part of this compass. It looks more like the *aestiva*, and such I believe it to have been. The most this can do in my opinion, is to make it somewhat probable, that the station has not been many miles distant. The distances from *Halwoodhill* do not answer, and the author's solution of this difficulty is grounded upon what, in my opinion, is a mistake. If one could depend on the opinion, that the military way has gone by *Broomley*^c, it would be a large step towards settling both the stations we want. For then, no doubt, *Noviomagus* must by the distance be near to *Broomley*, or somewhere on the river *Ravensburn*, that runs by it. I see in the map of *Kent* in *Camden*, that the small miles answer to those in the *Itinerary*. But eighteen more such miles as these will not bring us to the *Medway*, nor so far as *Maidstone*. And therefore there must be some error in the numbers, if we fix *Vagniacae* at *Maidstone*. However if we can get over this difficulty, *Maidstone* will do very well for *Vagniacae*, as to its distance of nine miles from *Durobrivae*. If *Noviomagus* be about *Broomley*, and we suppose that the road has returned from thence to the other grand one; we must seek for *Vagniacae* near the very road from *London* to *Rocheſter*. On this supposition *Vagniacae* must have stood near the river *Thames* not far from *Gravesend*, the nine miles distance from *Rocheſter* requiring that situation. Dr. *Stukeley* supposes *Northfleet*, which is not far from *Gravesend*, to be a *Roman* station, because many antiquities have been found here^d. This stands on *Watling street*, or near it, which the doctor observes to be very visible east of *Crayford* all along the heath; but beyond *Dartford* it leaves the common road quite on the south side. Upon the whole therefore, I confess my self most inclined to continue *Noviomagus* at *Woodcote* or *Croyden*, but to remove *Vagniacae* to *Northfleet*. The distances are pretty exact^e, and the best evidences we have of remains seem to be in our favour. But till farther discoveries be made, we must be content to be at some uncertainty. I reckon it however no objection that *Vagniacae* is not mentioned in the following *itineraria*, even though it be directly in the way, for we have other instances of the same nature^f.

DUROBRIVAE.

DUROBRIVAE is agreed by all to be *Rocheſter*. The name, the remains, and antiquities found at it, its situation on the military way, and due distance, all conspire to put this matter out of doubt. *Rocheſter*, according to *Ogilby*, is twenty three computed, and twenty nine and three quarters measured miles from *London*. These two compared together, convincingly shew the distance in the main to be very exact, and to answer very well to twenty seven miles in the *Itinerary*, as it is in both the following *itineraria*. The distance also on the other hand from *Rocheſter* to *Canterbury* of twenty computed and twenty six and a half measured miles, answers accurately enough to twenty five in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Durobrivae* and *Durovernum*. To this I may also add, that the distance of seven computed, and eight and three quarters measured miles, between *Northfleet* and *Rocheſter* agrees well enough to the distance of nine *Itinerary* miles between *Vagniacae* and *Durobrivae*. But where

^a See Theſ. Geograph. in *Kent and Camd.* p. 219.

^b *New Survey*, p. 37.

^c I ſee *Perry ſtreet* in the map between *London* and *Broomly*; but know not whether it will afford any probable argument, that the *Roman ſtreet* has taken this courſe.

^d *Pag.* 113.

^e The diſtances are rather too great, but a ſmall addition to the numerals (if this be thought neceſſary) would make them perfectly accurate.

^f *Voreda*, *Brocavum*, *Brovonacae*, &c. in the ſecond *Iter* compared with the fifth.

moving Vagniacae and
Noviomagus to the
for June 1755. p. 273.

where large towns are the *termini*, I have already observed, that the variation of half a mile or a mile is not to be regarded.

DUROLEVUM is the next stage in this *iter*, but appears to be a little out of the direct road, by comparing the numbers in this *iter* with those of the two following. For in the two next *itineraria* it is only twenty five miles from *Durobrivae* to *Durovernum*; but here when *Durolevum* comes in, it is twenty eight. Some write it *Durolenum*, but I know not well by what authority; nor for what reason, unless to make it sound liker *Lenham*, on the river *Len*, where it has been generally placed. And in order to make the distances answer better, the numbers are thought to be transposed, so as that XII should be set over against *Durolevo*, and XVI over against *Duroverno*. I confess the account that is given of a visible *agger*, of a military way near *Lenham* pointing towards *Canterbury*, and of the *Roman* coins that are found about *Lenham*^a, are strong arguments in favour of this opinion. Dr. *Stukeley* removes *Durolevum* to *Charing* on the same river *Len*, and says, that *Roman* antiquities are found all about there^b. But if I should abandon *Lenham*, and account for the *agger* and coins, by supposing it to be a *Notitia* way; I would chuse then to transfer *Durolevum* to the north side of the grand way, and suppose it to be a short and direct excursion, like that of *Tripontium* in the sixth *iter*: the distance on each hand requiring the excursion to be made about *Sittingburn*, if the transposition of numbers before mentioned be admitted. This is eight computed and above eleven measured miles from *Rochester*, so that the excursion of a mile or little more in length will make the distances answer with great exactness. I find the antiquities near *Lenham* are questioned, but it seems to be agreed that many *Roman* antiquities have been found near *Sittingburn*^c. *Newington* near it is made a *Roman* station by Dr. *Stukeley*^d. The distance, and situation on a branch of a river, would rather lead me to *Milton*. But this I submit to the judgment of others. If the excursion and station should be supposed about *Feversham*, we need not suppose any transposition of numbers.

DVROLEVVM.

OUR last march in this *iter* is *Duroverno ad portum Ritupis*; and here I may be allowed to use the words of *Horace*, and say it is

DVROVERNVM.
PORTVS RITVPAE.

Longae finis chartaeque viaeque^e.

But nothing more need be added, to what I have said concerning these places in the first book^f. All agree, and that on very sure evidence, that *Durovernum* is *Canterbury*, and *portus Ritupensis*, *Richborough*. They who would see a particular account of the *Roman* antiquities and curiosities of these two places, may have recourse to *Somner* and *Battely*. *Ptolemy* has *Darvernum*, which, as all agree, must be the same with *Durovernum* in the *Itinerary*; though the antient geographer has set it a little out of its place. Mr. *Baxter* supposes the name compounded of *dour*, *aqua*; and *vern*, *fanum*; and so makes it to be *templum profluentis aquae*. In the beginning or title of the *iter* it is *ad portum Ritupas*, here in the end *ad portum Ritupis*; which one would think should mean, to the haven *Richborough*, and at *Richborough*.

ITER III.

A LONDINIO AD PORTVM
DVBRIS M. P. LXVI.

The third rout from London to the haven at Dover
66 miles.

[A LONDINIO
DVROBRIVIS
DVROVERNO
AD PORTVM DVBRIS

M. P. XXVII
M. P. XXV
M. P. XIV

From London]
Rochester
Canterbury
Dover

AFTER

^a See Gale Ant Itin. p. 76.

^b Idem curios. p. 114.

^c See Cand. p. 228, 229.

^d It. curios. p. 115.

^e Lib. i. Sat. v. in fin.

^f Page 13, 14.

AFTER a long and difficult journey we meet with one that is easy and short.

DVBRÆ.

FROM *Londinium* to *Dubrae* is LXVI miles in the *Itinerary*; and from *London* to *Dover* is fifty five computed miles, and seventy one and a half measured according to *Ogilby*; and both the *Roman* and present road go by *Canterbury*. This still farther confirms the observations I have made, and which it is needless to repeat. In the former *iter* we have *ad portum Ritupas* in the beginning, and *ad portum Ritupis* in the end, which plainly shew the nominative to be *Ritupae*. This would induce one to think, that *Dubrae* in this, and *Lemanae* in the next *iter* are the nominatives of these names. *Ravennas* writes *Lemanis*, *Dubris*, but so he also does *Rutupis*, and many other names in the dative or ablative. According to Dr. *Gale* the word *Dubrae* signifies *two hills*^a. In some editions it is *Dubrim*, and then the nominative must be *Dubris*^b.

ITER IV.

A LONDINIO AD PORTVM
LEMANIS M. P. LXVIII.

The fourth rout from London to the haven at Lime 68 miles.

[A LONDINIO

DVROBRIVIS

DVROVERNO

AD PORTVM LEMANIS

M. P. XXVII

M. P. XXV

M. P. XVI

From London]

Rockester

Canterbury

Lime near West Hyth

LEMANÆ.

LEMANÆ, as I choose to write the name for the reason hinted above, is the *terminus* of this fourth *iter*, and the only place I have occasion to speak to. It has, no doubt, stood near the sea. Some derive the name (supposing it to be the place) from *Ptolemy's* *καινὸς λιμὴν*, *Novus portus*. *West Hyth* is thought to have risen out of its ruins, in the neighbourhood of which is the town of *Lime*. The old station is thought to have been about a mile beyond *Studjall castle*. The cut of the stones, cement, and *Roman* bricks here, either argue this to be the very place, or else to have been built with its materials. The castle encloses about ten acres of ground upon a declivity, the usual situation of a *Roman* fort. We are told in *Camden*, "that the old causey between *Canterbury* and the "*Lemanis* does still in part remain, and is called *Stone street*. It has a foundation all of natural rock and hard chalk^c." Dr. *Tabor* observes^d, that according to the *Saxon* chronicle we must look for *Lemanis* four miles east of *Appledore*, and guesses it to be *New Romney*. But this suits not the distance, which should be our principal guide. I confess, from what he observes, that the *Saxon* name of the river *Rother* was *Limen* or *Limene*; affinity of name might also be pleaded in favour of its situation somewhere on this river. Perhaps the name comes from *λιμὴν* in *Ptolemy*. See the former chapter.

ITER V.

A LONDINIO LVGVVALLIVM
AD VALLVM M. P. CCCXLIII.

The fourth rout from London to Carlisle near the wall 443 miles.

[A LONDINIO

CESAROMAGO

COLONIA

VILLA FAVSTINI

M. P. XXVIII

M. P. XXIV

M. P. XXXV *al.* XXV

From London]

Near Chelmsford or Wittle

Colchester

Dunmow

ICIANOS

^a Vox *Dubrae* denotat duas rupes vel colles, est enim *Britannice* *dwy dw*, *bre* et *bryn* collis. Ant. Itin. p. 81.

^b See Ant. Itin. prefixed to Camd. Brit.

^c Pag. 229.

^d Philof. Transl. N. 356.

ICIANOS	M. P. XVIII	<i>Chesterford</i>
CAMBORICO	M. P. XXXV	<i>Icklingham</i>
DVROLIPONTE	M. P. XXV	<i>Cambridge</i>
DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXXV	<i>Castor</i>
CAVSENNIS	M. P. XXX	<i>Ancaster</i> } XXXVI
LINDO	M. P. XXVI	<i>Lincoln</i> } XX
SEGELOCI	M. P. XIV	<i>Littleborough</i>
DANO	M. P. XXI	<i>Doncaster</i>
LEGEOLIO	M. P. XVI	<i>Castleford</i>
EBVRACO	M. P. XXI	<i>Tork</i>
ISVBRIGANTVM	M. P. XVII	<i>Aldborough</i>
CATARACTONI	M. P. XXIV	<i>Cataraet</i>
LAVATRIS	M. P. XVIII	<i>Bowes</i>
VERTERIS	M. P. XIII	<i>Brugh</i>
BROCAVO	M. P. XX	<i>Brougham-castle</i>
LVGVVALLIO	M. P. XXII	<i>Carlisle</i>

THE two main branches, or grand ways, that issue out from *London* tending northward, are *Watling street*, and the military way on which the former part of this *iter* proceeds. And these, if I am not mistaken, go off at nearly right angles one to another. The sum total prefixed to this *iter* CCCCXLIII agrees very nearly with the amount of the particulars, which is four hundred and forty two.

CESAROMAGUS, or rather *Caesaromagus*, is the next station to *London* in this *iter*, and is placed by Dr. *Stukeley* at *Chelmsford*, or near it. This is twenty five computed miles from *London*, which may seem to do very well, so nigh that great city, for twenty eight in the *Itinerary*. According to *Ogilby* it is near twenty eight and a half measured miles from *Chelmsford* to *London*, which is not unsuitable. Some place *Caesaromagus* at *Dunmow*, and *Canonium* at *Writtle*^a, and others at other different places; but the number of our miles confines us to the straightest course, as will farther appear from the sequel. And for this reason too I would suppose the *Roman* station to have been rather nearer *London*, than the present town of *Chelmsford* is. If *Writtle* should be admitted for a *Roman* station, I would by all means ascribe the name *Caesaromagus* to it. But as *Saxon* antiquity is the only evidence of its having been *Roman*, I would shew a regard to the accurate distance. *Writtle* answers best by the general scale, but the number of miles brings us nearer to *Chelmsford*, and a station might easily be lost in the confines of so large a town as this. Though upon the whole, as *Writtle* best suits the scale, and has the better pretensions of the two to *Roman* antiquity, I am inclined to give it the preference. I only farther add, that *Writtle* is seated not far from the confluence of two rivers; and that its being afterwards possessed by *Saxon* kings, makes it not improbable, that it might have been a royal seat before; and this is not disagreeable to the name *Caesaromagus*, that is *Caesar's village or town*.

CESAROMAGVS.

COLCHESTER stands on the river *Colne*, and is owned to be *Roman*; and one would think that its name does much favour its being *Colonia*, which is the common opinion. I am rather inclined to think, that *Colonia* is the *British* name latinized, than that it is the *Latin* appellative turned into a proper name, and given to the river. We have also *Colonia* in *Scotland*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. It is generally confessed that a military way has gone directly to *Colchester* from *London*, though there are little visible remains of it now. Forty four computed miles from *London* to *Colchester* may answer very well to fifty two in the *Itinerary*. It seems to be a greater difficulty, that the measured miles from *London* to *Colchester* are made only fifty by *Ogilby*; but the

COLONIA.

^a Camd. Brit. p. 413, 414.

the roads here are, I believe, pretty level, and consequently the horizontal miles come nearer the road miles in number than in other places; or a mile's difference or two may be accounted for from the different limits in such large places. It deserves a remark, that here the number of *English* miles falls short of the number of miles in the *Itinerary*; and in *Kent* they exceed, when reckoned from *London*, as may be seen from the second and third *itineraria*. This looks as if the *Roman Londinium* had been situated nearer to *Kent* and farther from *Essex* than the center of the present city of *London*^a.

THE number of miles in the *Itinerary* between *Colonia* and *Durobrivae*, one hundred and forty eight, argues very strongly, that this *iter* must have fetched a large compass. And as for some part of our rout we have no sure evidences of a military way, to conduct us through so long and winding a journey; it is no wonder, if we sometimes wander in the dark. The whole county of *Essex* seems formerly to have been one continued forest. But though ancient ways are soon sunk in grounds formerly woody and soft, and now much improved and inclosed; yet such ways as were laid through this county would probably be well paved; which may so far make it more probable, that *Stane-street* has been ancient and *Roman*. And indeed the military way supposed to go from *Colchester* to *Dunmow* is the best supported of any I know in this county, and therefore I am much inclined to take it for my guide. I shall give the account of this from Mr. *Salmon*, who living in the neighbourhood of it, must have the best opportunities of being thoroughly informed about it. "This way (says he) is called *Stanstreet*. *Braintree* and "seems to have been *Brainstreet*. And I have been informed that in some "old writings, this *Braintree* is written *Raintree*. It is also called *Stan-* "street, in a perambulation of the forest of *Essex*, made in the reign of "Edward the first, where the jury find the following places then out of the "forest. *Item dicunt, quod hund. de Dunmono, Hengeford, et Laxeden,* "ex parte boreali de la Stanstreet quae ducit de Stortford usque Colcestr' "sunt extra forest, de perquisito Albricii quondam Com. Oxon. "It goes "through *Braintree* to *Dunmow*; thence by *Takeley* street through *Beggars* "hall coppice, to a small piece of fortified ground called by the neighbourhood "Porting hills, and *Portingbury* hills, which seems to have relation to the "military or *Port* way on which it stands." The learned author supposes it to proceed "by *Bedler's-green*, and great *Hallingbury* church, through a lane "called *Port lane* to *Wallbury* camp." He supposes also "a vicinal way "towards *Littlebury* hill, struck out from the other, passing by *Stanstead* "Montfitchet, which has a road in this direction called *Stansted street*. *Stan-* "sted it self looks like a corruption from *Stanstreet*. Thence the way goes "through *Newport*, which carries with it a symptom of a military way^b." This is Mr. *Salmon's* account of this way, but I believe the former part from *Colchester* to *Dunmow* is much more certain than the rest of it.

HAVING thus determined the course in which I am to proceed, I shall next try the distances and numbers in the *Itinerary*.

VILLA FAUSTINI. *VILLA FAUSTINI*, which is thirty five miles from *Colonia*, should, according to the proportion I have laid down, be about twenty six *English* computed miles from *Colchester*. *Bishop Stortford* is twenty seven. If therefore we stick to the number thirty five, I would guess, that *Villa Faustini* has been on the east or northeast side of the *Stour*, about *Portingham*, or *Hallingbury*, or near it. The distance I think exactly agrees. I took a view of the fort, which I think they call *Wallbury-dels*. It is of an oval figure, and the circuit of it about a measured mile, and, as I thought, had an entrance at each end. The ditch was large, and the ramparts very bulky. These seem to have been double, only now the double rampart does not appear on the south east part of

^a See Gale Anton. Itin. p. 64, 65.

^b New Survey, p. 143, 144, 145.

of the fort. I could discover no military way leading to or from this fort, nor could I hear of any *Roman* coins found here, and am most inclined to think it *Danish* or *Saxon*. Some copies of the *Itinerary* read xxv instead of xxxv at *Villa Faustini*. And it is remarked by Dr. Gale, that *Vossius's* copy confirms this reading; and I believe it justly merits the preference. For on this supposition we shall have no occasion to use the military way described before, any farther than we are almost absolutely sure of it, and that is to *Dunmow*. Now *Dunmow* is nineteen or twenty computed miles from *Colchester*, and exactly twenty five *Roman*. Some *villa* may possibly have been near this place, which occasioned the name in the *Itinerary*. In *Camden* we are told, that "from *Dunmow* to *Colchester* is a direct road, wherein are still to be seen, in some places, the remains of an old *Roman* way, called the *Street*. "In an old perambulation of the forest, in the reign of King *John*, it is said to bound on the north *super stratum ducentem a Dunmow versus Colcestriam*. Hard by, near *Little-Canfield*, are two antient fortifications, both defended by deep ditches; one of which is called at this day *Castleyard*." I see also a village called *Stanway* in the road from *Colchester* to *Coggeshal*; and near *Coggeshal* we are told that a *Roman* burial place and some urns have been discovered^b, which farther confirms this to be the course of the military way, and *Dunmow*, that has been thought *Roman*, to be *Villa Faustini*.

ICIANI is in the *Itinerary* set at eighteen miles distance from *Villa Faustini*; and so the distance between these two places should be near fourteen computed *English* miles. I am much inclined to think *Chesterford* the *Iciani* of the *Itinerary*. The distance answers exactly, for *Chesterford* is three short miles from *Walden*, and *Walden* eleven from *Dunmow*. When I rode that way, I particularly observed that the road near *Chesterford*, coming from *Audley end* or *Walden*, had much of a *Roman* appearance. Though it must be owned, that in the southern parts of *England* the modern ways are repaired so much after the form of the *Roman*, that it is hard to distinguish a *Roman* way with certainty. Dr. Gale expressly says that *Walden* is seated on two military ways, the one going northward, the other towards the east^c. I am persuaded, that if any military way has gone eastward from *Walden*, the course of it has been towards *Dunmow*. The camps not far from *Walden*, and the golden coin of *Claudius*, and the *patera* found at *Sterbury-hill*, may easily be accounted for, by supposing a military way in the neighbourhood; so that we need not on this account make *Walden* a *Roman* town, and much less *Camulodunum*, as is the opinion of this learned antiquary^d. The distance and way seem plainly to point to *Chesterford* for *Iciani*; which name seems to be retained in that of *Ickleton*, a town in *Cambridgeshire*, but on the borders; and the large fortified ground lies between *Chesterford* and *Ickleton*. The town of *Chesterford* is in *Essex*, but on the borders of *Cambridgeshire*. It lies on the north-east side of the river *Granta*. The large fortified ground is of an oval figure, and from this and other circumstances, I suspect this fortification to be *Saxon* or *Danish*; though they call this field the *Borough*, and *Roman* coins are found within this fortified ground called *Brugh money*. The antient *Roman* fort, I believe, has been that, which is at the east end of the oval one. This is of a square figure, the wall enclosing the church yard stands on the north side of it, and the mill at one corner; another side of it runs close by the river. *Roman* coins are also found here; and I discovered, lying in the mill, a curious piece of *Roman* antiquity, inserted in the collection. So that the *Saxons* seem to have taken the same measures here, as they appear to have done in many other instances; that is, to make a fort and settlement just by the place where the *Romans* had one before.

ICIANI.

ACCORDING

^a Pag. 410.

^b Cam. p. 419.

^c Ant. It. p. 12.

^d Ibid. p. 111. &c.

ACCORDING to some, *Icknild street* goes by *Chesterford*, running into the country of the *Iciani*^a; however I was assured at *Cambridge*, that the military way near *Hogmagog hills* is very visible, pointing towards *Chesterford*. And I observed that the way from *Chesterford*, towards these hills, lies along higher ground, and where it parts with the road to *Cambridge*, it still continues to run along some elevated ground. This makes it more probable, that the *Roman* way has taken this course. They call them but three miles from *Cambridge*, and my landlord at *Chesterford* said they were but five from that place; which make up but eight miles from *Chesterford* to *Cambridge*, the usual number by computation. But if this be the certain course of the military way from *Chesterford* northward, where shall we fix our next station of *Camboricum*, or how shall we find our way to it?

CAMBORICVM. At present I know nothing more probable than that it has been at *Icklingham* in *Suffolk*, about three miles eastward from *Mildenhall*, on the north side of the river that comes from *Bury*. This place is certainly *Roman*, as appears from Mr. *Salmon's* account of it, which I shall transcribe from his *New Survey*^b. "The road from *Ad Ansam*, half a mile before it comes to the ford, cuts a high bank, which looks like some old *British* mote for the division of the country. It is such as *Devils ditch* on *New market heath*, and perhaps answers to it; for the foss is on the south side of the vallum, as at the other. Here indeed is a foss on both sides, but not for the whole length. This work is continued for half a mile hereabouts; the rest may have been demolished, when both sides of it were under the same government. There is a field called *Kent-field*, corrupted from *Camp-field*; another, *Rompit-field*. Coins are found here in as great abundance as any where in *England*^c; chiefly of the lower emperors *Antoninus*, *Tetricus*, *Commodus*, &c. They are most frequent in a ploughed field, half a mile from the town northwest. Some are found in the moors, when they dig to fence or drain them; which is a substantial proof, that they were not hid by the *Romans* to shew they had been masters here, for it was ten thousand to one they should never see the light. About three years ago a leaden cistern was found here by a ploughman, the share striking against the edge of it. The treasure it had concealed was gone. The cistern is in being; it contains about sixteen gallons, perforated on each side for rings to lift it by. There is ornamental work on the outside of it, imitating hoops of iron, but cast with the thing it self. On one side is a mark *A*, perhaps intending the measure or the use of it." A military way has been generally supposed by Dr. *Gale*, and others, to have run out into these parts of *Suffolk*. I have not had an opportunity of searching for it, or tracing it out my self; and therefore do not pretend to describe it from inspection. But by what I can judge, there is as good reason to suppose such a way to have gone out from beside *Cambridge* by *Newmarket*, or near it, and so toward *Icklingham*, as for any other conjecture I know of. This course of the way would be (if I am not mistaken) beyond the fenny country in *Cambridgeshire*; and perhaps the difficulties arising from such grounds may have been the reason, why the way to *Camboricum*, and from it, has been but one and the same, going and returning in the same line. So it is from *Deva* to *Segontium* in the eleventh *iter*, though these indeed are the *termini*, whereas this is in the middle of an *iter*. The river on which *Icklingham* stands, runs into that which comes from *Cambridge*. If the name of this river has been *Cam* originally, we have then the etymology full on our side^d; for Mr. *Salmon* intimates, that there has been a ford over the river near the place. From *Iciani*

^a Dr. Stukeley thinks it has run near the borders of the two counties of *Cambridgeshire* and *Essex*. See *It. curios.* p. 75.

^b Pag. 160, 161.

^c See *Camd.* p. 441.

^d *Camborikum* means the ford over this river or the crooked ford. Stukeley *Itin. curios.* p. 75.

Iciani to *Camboricum* is thirty five miles in the *Itinerary*, that is, ten *Roman* miles more than from *Camboricum* to *Durolipons* (which I shall endeavour immediately to prove to be *Cambridge*) and twenty five *Itinerary* miles distant from *Icklingham*. These ten miles agree with much exactness to the distance between the stations near *Chesterford* and *Cambridge*, for that is just seven and an half computed miles. They call it but eight short ones from *Chesterford* to *Cambridge*, and the stations, as I take it, are a little nearer to each other than the towns. I believe the military way has gone off to *Icklingham* not far from *Cambridge*. This will secure our distances, and make them very exact.

DUROLIPONS the next station has been generally settled at *Godmanchester* or *Huntington*. The situation on the north side of the river and on a gentle descent, favours the opinion of *Huntington*, the name that of *Godmanchester*; but I believe there has been no *Itinerary* station either at the one or the other. However the distance will by no means do for *Durolipons*. This name intimates a bridge over a river, to which the name *Cambridge* is not unsuitable. The distance from *Camboricum* is twenty five miles in the *Itinerary*, and so should be near nineteen *English* computed miles; and I believe it will be just about so much from the *Roman* station near *Cambridge* to that at *Icklingham*. I am the more free to venture on this innovation, because it puts a period to the difficulties of this *iter*. For I look on our way as pretty clear, and our general distance certain, from hence to the end of this journey, as will appear from the sequel.

DUROLIPONS

I LAST left the military way visible near *Hogmagog hills*, pointing towards *Grantchester*, about a mile or more from *Cambridge* up the water, though others say it goes towards *Chesterton*, which is a mile below *Cambridge*. It has passed somewhere near *Cambridge*, as all do agree. Perhaps *Grantchester* and *Hogmagog hills* have been, one or both of them, *aestiva*, and the station it self has been just at *Cambridge*. It is therefore highly probable, that the military way has proceeded nearly in this direction, and gone on towards *Godmanchester* or *Huntington*, till it met the other line of the *Roman* way coming from *Caster* on the *Nen*. For these two lines continued from where they are last visible would, I think, meet nearly about *Huntington*; and so the turn be made as usual at this river, which runs by *Huntington*. I thought the road from *Cambridge* to *Huntington* had much the appearance of *Roman*. It is very straight, and in many places has an elevation much resembling that of a *Roman* way; and I think I observed a *tumulus* or two by it. I suspected it might have gone by *St. Ives*; but when I examined and viewed the way, I was convinced of the contrary. For if it had gone by *St. Ives*, it must have passed through less proper ground, and made a quick turn. If the military way passed the river higher up than *Cambridge* near *Grantchester*, then Dr. Gale's conjecture is very probable, that it has passed the *Ouse* near *Huntington* at *Offord* [i. e. *Oldford*] near the meadow called *Port-mead*^a, and so by *Brampton* to *Walmsford*^b. *Crane street* is not far from *Brampton*, which perhaps has its name from this way. This supposition exactly agrees with a conjecture I had made concerning the course of this way; namely, that it has kept rather on the west side of the present road, and left *Stilton* to the east. There is a convenient ridge of high ground, along which the line of the way coming from the north may have gone, after it has passed the *Nen* and made a small turn there towards *Chesterton*; and where it is last visible on the south side of the river, it falls obliquely on the present post road, and so has probably crossed it near *Chesterton*. This course would bring the way to the elevated ground I have mentioned before.

DURO-

^a The name *Port* oft implies a military way.

^b Anton. Itin. p. 94.

DUROBRIVAE.

DUROBRIVAE is the station next to *Durolipons*. The distance here is very exact. From *Durobrivae* to *Durolipons* in the *Itinerary* is thirty five miles, and therefore the number of *English* computed miles should be nearly twenty six. For it is five miles from *Caster* on the *Nen* to *Stilton*, and twenty one from *Stilton* to *Cambridge*, and the distance is much the same either to *Chesterton* or *Grantchester*. And whereas it should rather be less than twenty six, the *Roman* town and station is nearer the river and *Stilton* than *Caster* it self. I am inclined to think, that the antient *Roman* station and town has stood as usual on the north side of the river, though nearer to it than the present *Caster*, rather than on the south side of it. The fortified ground on the south side of the river near *Chesterton* is indeed very remarkable; and the elevated military way may be traced through it, and is also very visible both before it enters and after it has passed it. But I observed that the elevated ridge, which passes through the intrenchment, entered it obliquely, and that the line of it was by no means parallel to the sides of the camp, nor does it go in or out at the gates or entries of the camp, as far as I remember. I therefore think the way has been prior to this fortification, and that the fortified ground is only a summer intrenchment. The antient town near *Caster* is called *Dornford* in *Camden* and some of our maps, and *Dormanceaster* is said to have been the *Saxon* name of it. The neighbouring people seemed pretty much strangers to this name, when I enquired about it; yet still the coins are called *Dormans*, the way *Norman gate*^a, and the passage over the river is named *Gunsford-ferry*. However we have here all the proofs of a station that can well be desired, remains, mosaics, coins, and situation on a visible military way, besides the name *Caster*. *Caster* is seven computed miles from *Stamford*, and *Stamford* twenty from *Ancaster*, and *Ancaster* fifteen from *Lincoln*. So that between *Caster* and *Lincoln* is forty two computed miles. This answers with so much exactness to fifty six in the *Itinerary* between *Durobrivae* and *Lindum*, that I must still conclude *Durobrivae* has been the *Roman* station near *Caster*. And it is a great satisfaction, that from hence we are very sure of the course of our military way to the end of our journey.

AT *Bridge Casterton* two miles north from *Stamford* there has been also a station. It is situated on the north-east side, and near a crook, of the small river that runs by it. The author of the *New Survey* is disposed to set aside this station, and reject the proofs of its being so, as insufficient; but I think, they are too strong to be overthrown; and believe that this is not the only instance of a station placed on the military way, and yet passed over in the *Itinerary*; whether because it was abandoned and neglected at that time, or for what other reason, it may be difficult now to determine. This station is not named in this *iter*, nor can I think that both those (at *Caster* and *Bridge Casterton*) are mentioned together in one *iter*. For in no *iter*, where these two places can possibly occur, is there a distance between any two stations suitable or nearly equal to the distance between *Caster* and *Bridge Casterton*, which is but nine computed miles.

CAUSENNAE.

CAUSENNAE is however placed in this *iter* between *Durobrivae* and *Lindum*, thirty miles from *Durobrivae*, and twenty six from *Lindum*, according to the present numbers in the *Itinerary*. *Ancaster* is the only place, beside *Bridge Casterton*, where there is any appearance of a station all the way from *Caster* to *Lincoln*. This creates some difficulty with respect to this intermediate station, which in my opinion is best removed by supposing a transposition of the numerals vi, or that xxx, and xxvi are through mistake set instead of xxxvi and xx, over against the names *Causennis* and *Lindo*.

For

^a The author of the *New Survey* conjectures that the word *Roman*. p. 354.
Dormans and *Norman gate* may be corrupted from

For this being supposed, the same general distance is preserved, and the particular distances answer with the utmost exactness, supposing *Causennae* to be *Ancaster*. Dr. *Stukeley* is very positive that *Great Paunton* must be *Causennae*. But I cannot say that either of the times I viewed *Great Paunton*, and enquired about it, I met with any convincing proofs of its having been a station. *Witham* and *Stoke* are no more than two brooks at this place; *Great Paunton* stands near the confluence, but not on the *lingula* between them. The military way is about half a mile from this place or more; and it is about twenty three computed miles from *Lincoln*, and not above twenty from *Caster*; so that the distances do not answer. Dr. *Stukeley*'s negative argument however is very strong in a letter with which he obliged me. "As it is impossible (says he) that *Ancaster* should be the place (if the numbers be just) so it is impossible any other between *Ancaster* and *Great Paunton* should be it; for between these two places is nothing but bare heath, not a drop of water, not a village nearer than half a mile, no mark of a station, no coins found, but the plain perfect uninterrupted high ridge all the way." But I cannot yet be convinced that *Great Paunton* will do without altering the numbers; and if any change is to be made there, I would beg leave to prefer my former conjecture with relation to *Ancaster*; for that still keeps up the good agreement between the sum total and the particulars. The author of the *New Survey*^a pronounces *Ancaster* a *Roman* town and a station, observing that *Roman* antiquities have been found here. And I have the good fortune to agree with this author in the conjecture, that *Ancaster* is the place which was antiently called *Sidnacester*, the bishop of which is mentioned in history, and had in his diocese either a part of *Lincolnshire* or the whole of the county, the see being afterwards translated to *Lincoln*. The original name might be *Causennacester*, or *Sennacester*, the first syllable being dropt; and there are many greater deviations and changes, than this into *Sidnacester* or even into *Ancaster*, which, according to the author of the *New Survey*, retains a part of the other name. The military way, called *High-dike*, is very certain (either by its visible remains, or some other evidences) all the way from *Caster* to *Lincoln*. It is very magnificent between *Stamford* and the *New-Inn* near *Coultsforth*, and appeared very high for about six miles over the heath before we came to *Ancaster*; though between the *New-Inn* and this heath it was in several places almost lost. It was also very visible over most part of the heath from *Ancaster* to *Lincoln*, though for four or five miles near this city it was but obscure. *Ancaster* has a low situation, and no running water, but what a brook affords at the north end of the town. It is at present no more than a handsome village. I thought the foss and rampart of the station easy to be traced out. The church and south part of the town are included within it, and the east side of it is yet very conspicuous. The brook is but small, and yet I remember not so much as a brook upon the heath, till we came there. Dr. *Stukeley* has given some account of this town^b. He tells us, that the bowling green behind the *red lion* inn is made in the ditch, and that when they were levelling it, they came to the old foundation. *Castle-clofe* is full of foundations; and many *Roman* coins have been found here. The doctor saw many himself; and some speak of mosaic pavements discovered here. All this makes it the more probable, that *Causennae* has been at this place; and the distances will answer with the utmost exactness, if the conjecture above mentioned be admitted; for *Ancaster* is just fifteen computed miles from *Lincoln*, and twenty seven from *Caster*.

LINDUM is our next stage, where we arrive at an absolute certainty. Part of the antient name still remains in the modern. *Roman* monuments have been found here, and *Roman* coins in the fields north from the city,^c and

LINDVM;

^a Pag. 245.

^b It. curios. p. 81.

^c See Gale's Ant. Itin. p. 96.

and even some remains of *Roman* buildings may yet be seen^a. These evidences added to that of a due distance, and its situation at the intersection of several grand military ways, have procured the universal consent of antiquaries, that *Lindum* (the *terminus* of the sixth *iter*) is the city of *Lincoln*.

SEGELOCVM. *SEGELOCUM* is in the *Itinerary* fourteen miles from *Lindum*, which just answers to ten and a half *English* computed; and on enquiry I found they reckoned ten or eleven miles from *Lincoln* to *Littleborough*. I believe the military ways, leading to *Littleborough* and *Wintringham*, have parted just at *Lincoln*; for they go out at different gates to the one place and to the other. Indeed the *Roman* road all the way from *Lincoln* to *Doncaster* is very obscure; and yet the course of it is well ascertained, partly by tradition, and partly by some visible remains, or other evidences. I saw a place called *Stretton* in the high road from *Lincoln* towards *Gainsborough*, and am apt to think that the *Roman* way has gone by it or near it. However *Segelocum* in this *iter*, and *Agelocum* in the eighth, is certainly *Littleborough*. Here Dr. Gale^b saw an urn, which besides ashes and bones, contained a coin of *Domitian*. The *Roman* station has been on the east side of the river, though the present town stands on the west. *Roman* coins have been found here called *Swine pennies*, two *Roman* altars, and other antiquities^c.

DANVM. THE military way between *Littleborough* and *Doncaster*, as I have hinted just now, is but obscure. I have oftner than once enquired and sought for it, but could neither see nor hear any thing of it that was certain. At the entrance on the common (as we go out of *Doncaster* towards *Bantree*) I observed an elevated piece of ground, which looks not unlike a part of this way; and by its pointing it must have entered the enclosures immediately, and so may be lost in them. Before we came to *Rosington* bridge I observed another elevation for a considerable space, which would have passed current for a *Roman* ridge in some other places. However there is no doubt, but a military way has gone directly from *Littleborough* to *Doncaster*; and as little doubt, that *Doncaster* is the *Danum* of the *Itinerary*. The antient name is still retained in the present name of the river *Don*, on which it is situated. The distance of sixteen computed miles from *Littleborough* answers to twenty one in this *iter*, for the distance between *Segelocum* and *Danum*.

THE military way seems for half a mile from *Doncaster* to have coincided with the present post road. After this it declines to the west, and soon becomes very grand and conspicuous; but seems mostly to consist of earth and gravel, without much stone, or any certain appearance of a regular pavement. It makes some smaller turns, sometimes one way and sometimes another; and then at about three miles from *Doncaster*, it falls in again with the post road, and maintains its exalted ridge for a long way together, with little or no interruption. About three furlongs north from *Robin Hood's well*, or somewhat more than four miles from *Doncaster*, at the top of a hill, it makes a considerable turn, declining to the west above twenty degrees more than its former course was; and here it leaves the post road again, passing through some thickets on the west side of it, and fetching, as usual, the higher ground. It seems after this turn to point directly to *Pontefract* or *Castleford*, and near this turn it has truly *dorsum elatissimum*, a grand and most elevated ridge indeed; but it is much sunk and lost when it comes near *Pontefract*. It is visible in *Pontefract* park, but scarce any where else near to *Castleford*.

LEGEOLIVM. *LEGEOLIUM* in this *iter*, called *Lagecium* in the eighth, is the next station to *Danum*, and sixteen *Itinerary* miles between them. This distance suits the twelve computed miles which they reckon from *Doncaster* to *Castleford*. This

^a See a farther account in the observations on Lincolnshire. Book II. p. 319.

^b Ant. Itin. p. 96.

^c See Camd. p. 582.

This therefore, no doubt, was *Legeolium*; and perhaps part of the antient name is retained in that of *Olerton*, just on the north side of the river. The *Roman* station (now called *Castlegarth*) is near the church, and has the usual situation between the rivers *Kelder* and *Aire*, not far from their confluence. And perhaps it has been for the sake of this situation, that it is set on the south side of the river. There are but little visible remains of the station at present; but abundance of *Roman* coins, and other marks of *Roman* antiquities have been found here.

THE military way leading both to and from *Legeolium* is now lost near that place; but it is perhaps scarce any where more large and conspicuous than in some parts between *Castleford* and *Doncaster* on the one hand, and *Castleford* and *Tadcaster* on the other. This is called the *Roman* ridge, and seems to have gone directly cross *Olerton* meadows in a line from the *Castlegarth*. Not far from these meadows begins a lane about a mile in length. This by its straightness, and some doubtful remains, I concluded to be the continuance of the old *Roman* way, which soon after becomes very visible. I took notice of a hedge which runs sometimes by the way side, and sometimes on the very ridge, almost all the way from *Castleford* to *Aberford*. I also observed the tract of the *Roman* way to be less plain or level than the ground on either side, occasioned, I suppose, by the breaches in the antient way; which when it comes nearer *Aberford* is very grand, and the ridge very high. From *Aberford* to *Tadcaster* the military way is very conspicuous, being in some parts six, eight, or even nine foot high, but seemed to consist mostly of earth, little or no regular pavement appearing. The distance of nine computed miles from *Castleford* to *Tadcaster* answers to the distance of twelve *Itinerary* miles between *Legeolium* and *Calcaria*, mentioned in the second *iter* at nine miles distance from *Eboracum*; and *Legeolium* is here made twenty one miles distant from *York*.

THE four next stations, *Isubrigantum*, *Cataracto*, *Lavatrac*, and *Verterae*, have been considered before under the second *iter*.

BROCAVUM, the next station, I conclude to be *Brougham* castle, in which I have the general concurrence of others. The affinity between *Brocavum* and *Brougham* was, I believe, the first reason that induced *Camden* to suppose them to be the same place; but I shall take the liberty to offer another etymology of the word *Brougham*, which appears to me the more probable; namely, that it is compounded of the words *Burgh*, or *Brugh* and *Ham*: the signification of which two words is generally known to be much the same as *Castle-town*. The station at *Brougham* is in plowed ground, or however the coins are found there. *Brougham* castle is not above a stone's cast or two from this place; but both the castle and station are almost a quarter of a mile farther from *Old Penreth*, and nearer *Kirbythure*, than the village of *Brougham*. *Kirbythure* however is about five computed miles from *Brougham*, and only four from *Appleby*. The *Itinerary* makes it twenty miles from *Verterae* to *Brocavum*, and the like number of the same sort of *Roman* miles, I have all along used, will come as near, as can be desired, to the distance between *Brougham* and *Brugh*; for it is just fifteen computed miles between these two places.

LUGUVALLIUM has been sufficiently considered already in the second *iter*.

I SHALL have done with this *iter* when I have observed, that as *Camden* makes *Roscastle* to be a place of *Roman* antiquity, I can see no foundation for such an opinion: and whereas in the map prefixed to Dr. *Gale's Antonine's Itinerary* the military way is represented as passing from *Brougham* directly to *Carlisle*, and not by *Old Penreth*; this appears to be a mistake in that
excellent

excellent author. For the military way goes in a very straight line, and by a short cut, from the station at *Brougham* to that at *Old Penrith*, pointing directly towards *Carlisle*. It is so very visible and grand in many places as to put the due course of it out of all doubt.

ITER VI.

A LONDINIO LINDVM
M. P. CLVI.

The sixth rout is from London to Lincoln 156 miles.

[A LONDINIO

VEROLAMIO

DVROCOBRIO

MAGIOVINIO

LACTODORO

ISANAVATIA

TRIPONTIO

VENONIS

RATIS

VEROMETO

MARGIDVNO

AD PONTEM

CROCOCOLANA

LINDO

M. P. XXI

M. P. XII

M. P. XII

M. P. XVI

M. P. XII

M. P. XII

M. P. IX

M. P. XII

M. P. XIII

M. P. XIII

M. P. VII

M. P. VII

M. P. XII

From London]

St. Albans

Dunstable

Fenny Stratford

Towcester

Near Daventry

Bugby

Cleycester

Leicester

Near Willoughby

Near East Bridgford

Near Southwell

Brugh near Colingham

Lincoln

BEFORE I begin to trace out this *iter*, I must observe here again the small disagreement there is between the sum total prefixed one hundred and fifty six, and the amount of the particulars which is one hundred and fifty eight.

THE first six of these stations have been explained already in the second *iter*; and to what has been said there, I shall only add further, that instead of *Durocobrivis* and *Magiovinto*, as in the second, we have here *Durocobrio* and *Magiovinio*. And Dr. Gale observes, that instead of *ISANAVATIA*, some copies have *ISANAVENNA*^a. This makes it more evident, that it is the same with *Bennavenna* in the second *iter*.

TRIPONTIVM.

TRIPONTIUM is the next station at the distance of twelve *Itinerary* miles from *Isanavatia*. This must be three or four miles out of the direct way, or lead us so far about; for the same distance, which is made but seventeen miles in the second *iter*, and eighteen in the eighth, becomes twenty one in this, when the rout is by *Tripontinm*. The distances however from *Isanavatia* on the one hand, and *Venonae* on the other, direct us to the river *Avon*, and I doubt not but this station has been situated somewhere on this river. Dr. Gale^b, Dr. Stukeley^c, and others place it at *Dowbridge*, near *Lilburne*. Dr. Gale speaks of ancient trenches, and a conical hill; but Dr. Stukeley expressly says, "there are no manner of remains of antiquity here," and is of opinion that the name has no reference to any bridge, and "that it is not" to be imagined that the *Romans* would make a bridge over this rill." Dr. Gale mentions the situation of *Dowbridge*, on or near the military way, as an argument in favour of its being *Tripontium*: but I should think it rather argues against it; because, as has been said, it is evident that this station must have been a little off the direct way. Dr. Stukeley says, "antiquities" have been found both at *Cathorp* and *Lilburne*, one on the north, the other "on the south of the river;" and takes notice of "Castle hills, a place at *Lilburne*, where are some old walls, which *Camden* speaks of." I would therefore

^a Ant. Itin. p. 99.^b Ibid. p. 99.^c It. curios. p. 106.

therefore rather chuse to fix *Tripontium* where there are remains, or where antiquities have been found; or else to remove it to *Bugby*, and suppose the station lost in that town. The distances answer to this place with the utmost exactness, allowance being made for two miles direct excursion from *Watling street*. The account we have in *Camden*^a is not unfavourable to this opinion; for there we are told, that its name in *Domesday* book is *Rochebery*, that there has formerly been a little castle here near the church, as appears by the banks of earth, and part of the mote yet remaining. *Camden*, and the common maps write the name *Rugby*; but Dr. *Stukeley*, and Mr. *Beighton* in his map of *Warwickshire*, have it *Bugby*. I only add, that if *Tripontium* intimate a bridge or bridges, the situation of this place looks liker the name than that of *Dowbridge*.

VENONAE is the next station, for which I refer to the second *iter*.

VENONAE.

RATAE the next station is undoubtedly *Leicester*. The name, situation, and *Roman* antiquities of the place, are strong and convincing evidences of its being a station, and its distance from *Cleycester* seems to answer exactly to the twelve miles in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Venonae* and *Ratae*. The antiquities of *Leicester*, such as the ruinous walls of rag-stone and *Roman* bricks, commonly called the *Jews* or *Jewry* wall, the mosaics, coins, and others, I must not stay to describe. An account of them may be seen in *Camden*^b, *Stukeley*^c, and others.

RATAE.

THIS *iter* turns into the *Fosse* near *Venonae*, and proceeds on the same way from hence to *Lincoln*. *Leicester* stands directly on it. But before I settle the intermediate stations and particular distances of them, I shall consider the general distance between *Leicester* and *Lincoln*. From *Ratae* to *Lindum* is just fifty two miles in this *iter*, or fifty or fifty one only, if we correct the distances of *Vernometum* and *Ratae* by the eighth *iter*. And I take it to be thirty eight computed miles, though some called it only thirty six, from *Leicester* to *Lincoln*, which answers with sufficient exactness to the number in the *Itinerary*. If therefore the whole distance between *Leicester* and *Lincoln* be divided proportionably to the particular numbers in the *Itinerary*, we cannot well miss of the several intermediate stations; only here we must proceed along the *Fosse*, which name this *Roman* way still retains as far as *Lincoln*.

THE station next to *Ratae* is *Verometum* or *Vernometum*. In *Camden* we are told^d, that he who here goes in quest of *Antonine's* stations, should take the *Fosse* for his guide, and when he does so he'll find himself conducted by it to *Willoughby in the Wold*, in the south edge of the county of *Nottingham*. Here are the ruins of an old town called *Long-Billington*, according to the tradition among the inhabitants. *Roman* coins and other antiquities are found here in great numbers. Dr. *Stukeley*, in his journey along the *Fosse*, visited and nicely examined this station. According to him^e *Willoughby*, I think, is on the north side of the *Fosse*^f, upper and nether *Broughton* on the south. The station he supposes to have been in a field called *Henings*, on the brow of the hill overlooking *Willoughby* brook; it is often called the *Black Field*, from the colour and richness of the soil, and mosaic pavements are dug up as well as coins very frequently. The distance of this place from *Leicester* is called only nine miles in *Camden*. The author of the *New Survey* calls it twelve computed miles^g, but in this I think he must be mistaken.

VEROMETVM.

Nine

^a Pag. 601.

^b Pag. 537.

^c Pag. 103.

^d Pag. 575.

^e It. cur. p. 100, 101.

^f In *Camden's* map of *Nottinghamshire*, it is on the south side of the *Fosse*.

^g Pag. 322.

Nine computed miles answer to twelve in the eighth *iter*, the distance there between *Vernometum* and *Ratae*, though in this *iter* it is made thirteen. Perhaps the true distance has been twelve and a half, for I find it near ten miles, according to the great scale in *Camden's* map. And if we suppose the same to have been the case in the following distance, we shall have just fifty one miles for the whole distance between *Ratae* and *Lindum*. I cannot therefore see the least reason to doubt, but that this station must be *Vernometum*. The name has generally been interpreted a *great temple*^a; and Dr. *Stukeley* takes notice, that according to tradition there was a church here, which stood on the top of a place called the *Welles*; but the doctor says, he "suspects" the true name is *Verometum*, and that it is to be sought for somewhere near "a river." And he has told us, that there is at least a brook near this station. Dr. *Gale* derives the name from *Guern*, signifying an *Alder* tree. If there be any thing of trees or wood in the name, the situation of this antient town on the *wold* would suit it exactly. But how uncertain are these conjectures, and how easy is it to find out and adapt an etymology to almost any name and place! This station has hitherto passed for *Margidunum*; and all other antiquaries have gone quite off the way to seek for *Vernometum*, and thereby lost both themselves and the station. If we keep close to our guide, the *Fosse*, it will conduct us safely to *Margidunum*.

MARGIDUNVM.

THIS station of *Margidunum* is distant from *Vernometum* thirteen miles, according to this *iter*, but only twelve according to the eighth. The latter seems to be the truer number, unless we suppose the truth to be between the two. If we proceed along the *Fosse*, the next station that offers it self, is that near *East Bridgeford*. The name has led most of our antiquaries into the opinion of its being *Ad pontem*; but the numbers and distances ought to preponderate. The author of the *New Survey* is for abandoning the station near *Bridgeford* as well as the name^b; but I am only for quitting the name, the proofs of station are strong and convincing. The account we have in *Camden* is this; "From *Willoughby* the *Fosse* passes north east through the vale of *Belvoir*, and therein through the field of *East Bridgeford*, or *Bridgeford on the hill*, in which are the remains of a station, near a spring called the *Old-wark-spring*. The field in which part of the camp lies is called *Burrow-field*. A silver coin of *Vespasian* was found here, besides others that are sometimes plowed up by the inhabitants. Its distance from *Willoughby* is about eight miles^c." Dr. *Stukeley* also describes this station from his own inspection; and tells us, that *Boroughfield* lies west of the road, and that large foundations, much antient coin, many urns, and *Roman* bricks have been found hereabouts. He mentions also *Castle-hill close*, where a great building is supposed to have stood^d. The usual etymology does by no means confine us to *Willoughby*; for the *marga* is said to be plentiful over a great part of this county; and as for the latter part of the word *Margidunum*, the name *Bridgeford on the hill* speaks plainly for it self. "As to the name of the place *ad pontem* (to use Mr. *Salmon's* words) it is observable, that it is not in the ablative case, as the rest are; if it had been at a bridge it would have been *Ponte*, as we see near *Darking* in *Surrey*, where two bridges are, it is *Pontibus*. The name that is most like it is that, *Ad Ansam*." He adds, "It is evident there could be no bridge here upon the *Fosse*, for there is no water except at the *Trent*, that can have any pretence to one. Fords there are several upon that river, as appears by the names of the neighbouring villages, *Wilford* and *Shelford*. Nor can a reason be guessed at for naming this village upon the hill *Bridgeford*, but as it hath relation to the other *Bridgeford* upon *Trent*. A bridge, I presume, was over the *Trent* to *Nottingham*. The road leading to it was called *Via ad Pontem*, or *Agger ad Pontem*, by way of eminence^e." If this be admitted, why may

not

^a See *Camd.* p. 541. and *Gal. Ant. It.* p. 101.
and Dr. *Stukeley*, p. 103.

^b *Pag.* 294.

^c *Pag.* 575.

^d *It. curios.* p. 100.

^e *New Survey*, p. 294.

not we as well suppose that the bridge referred to in the name was at *Southwell* or *Newark*, and remove the station called *Ad Pontem* nearer to that town, which I shall presently shew to be very reasonable on other accounts? The station therefore at or near *East Bridgeford* seems to suit *Margidunum* very well, if the distance appears to answer; and that I think it does with as much exactness as can well be desired. *East Bridgeford* it self (or *Bridgeford on the hill*, as they named it to me at *Newark*) is about a mile from the *Fosse*, on the northwest side of it. But I reckon the distance between the two stations is much the same as between the two places, *Willoughby* and *Bridgeford*. This we are told in *Camden* is about eight miles, but I find by the scale and map, that this eight miles is above two thirds of the distance between *Nottingham* and *Newark*, which is computed to be twelve miles, but measured according to *Ogilby* to above seventeen. Two thirds or more of this number will agree to twelve or thirteen *Itinerary* miles, the distance between *Vernometum* and *Margidunum*; so that having fixed *Margidunum* here, I may now venture to advance forward along the *Fosse* to *Ad pontem*.

THE station *Ad pontem* is only seven *Itinerary* miles from *Margidunum*, which distance is not sufficient to bring us from *Bridgeford* quite up to *Newark*; for at *Newark* they reckoned it to me six miles to *Bridgeford on the hill*, but it must be seven at least, if the place is rightly laid down in our maps, for it is more than half way from *Newark* to *Nottingham*. For the same reason it must be about nine or ten measured miles, according to *Ogilby*'s measures, from *Bridgeford* to *Newark*. This therefore obliges us to look for *Ad pontem* two or three miles from the middle of *Newark*. I make no doubt but that this large town has risen out of the ruins of *Ad pontem* on one side, and *Crococolana* on the other. The name *Newark*, which implies some prior building of greater antiquity, may perhaps refer to these *Roman* stations on each side of it. I have heard of some *Roman* coins found in the town, and Dr. *Stukeley* not without reason conjectures, that one of the gates of *Newark* is somewhat like *Roman*, or however has *Roman* stones in it*. The author of the *New Survey* supposes it also to be *Roman*, but makes it *Crococolana*, reckoning (after his scheme) the miles in the *itinerary* according to the present computed. This gentleman takes notice, that the *Fosse* bears its name still, from *Cirencester* through *Warwickshire* quite to *Leicester*. He intimates the contrary as to the continuance of it from *Leicester* to *Lincoln*; but in this he is either mistaken, or else I was misinformed by the country people when I was on the spot.

AD PONTEM.

I FIND that when the distance of *Ad pontem* from *Margidunum*, is set off from the station near *East Bridgeford*, it brings us, as near as I can judge, to *Farndon* over against *Southwell*. Some think *Newark*, but more generally *Southwell* is thought, to be the place which *Bede* calls *Tiorul-Fingacester*†. This termination seems to imply a *Roman* settlement somewhere in the neighbourhood, and *Southwell* is an antient place, but on the wrong side of the river. Possibly there may have been a station on the south side of the *Trent*, or on the *lingula* formed by this river, and a smaller one which in *Camden* is called the *Snite*‡; and perhaps there has been a bridge here over the *Trent*, which has occasioned the name *Ad pontem*. I went to view the ground when last at *Newark*, and did not think the situation or appearance very unpromising.

CROCOCOLANA is the next station, at seven miles distance from *Ad pontem*, according to this *iter*. *Brugh* near *Colingham* is three computed miles, or rather more from *Newark*; so that here the distance answers with exactness. And since the whole distance between *Bridgeford* and *Brugh*, which must be ten computed miles in all, answers with so much exactness to the distance of fourteen

CROCOCOLANA.

* Itin. cur. p. 99.

† See *Camden*, p. 580.

‡ Pag. 587.

fourteen miles in the *Itinerary*, between *Margidunum* and *Crococolana*, as it is both in this and the eighth *iter*; I think it is a strong confirmation of the scheme I have advanced, though there may be some difficulty with respect to the intermediate station of *Ad pontem*. Affinity of sound made some settle *Crococolana* (or as some have it *Crocolana*) at *Colingham*^a, but it is fixed to a surer foundation, when placed at *Brugh* a short mile south east from it. The ramparts at *Brugh* are levelled by the plow, but many *Roman* coins have been found here. I purchased one, which I take to be *Philip*, of an old man who had lived here many years, and gave me an account of several things relating to this station. He told me they often struck upon ruins in plowing or digging, and had a tradition of an old town's standing formerly there. This is very consistent with the account *Dr. Stukeley* gives of this station. The doctor adds, that besides the *Roman* coins, called *Brugh-pennies*, many pots, urns, bricks, iron-ear, and cinders, have been found here^b.

LINDVM.

ABOUT nine computed, and twelve *Itinerary* miles more bring us safe to *Lindum*, the end of our journey, of which I spoke in the preceding *iter*. In the eighth *iter* the distance between *Crococolana* and *Lindum* is made fourteen miles, but this I rather think a mistake, which might easily be occasioned, by having the number *xiv* just before and after.

ITER VII.

A REGNO LONDINIVM
M. P. XCVI.

The seventh rout is from
Chichester to London 96
miles.

[A REGNO

CLAVSENTO

M. P. XX

VENTA BELGARVM

M. P. X

CALLEVA ATREBATVM

M. P. XXII

PONTIBVS

M. P. XXII

LONDINIO

M. P. XXII

From Chichester]

Old Southampton

Winchester

Silchester

Near Old Windsor
London

HERE the sum and particulars agree, which should make us more shy of changing any of the numbers.

REGNVM.

RINGWOOD has been generally supposed to be *Regnum*, the *terminus* of this *iter*; but seeming affinity of name has, I believe, been the principal or only inducement to this opinion. *Ringwood* signifies at most but a wood among the *Regni*; and therefore does not prove the town so called, to be the *Regnum* of the *Itinerary*; though it may be an evidence, of its being in the country of the *Regni*. In *Domesday* book it is *Rincwood*. No military way, or remains are asserted; no coins, or any other evidence of its being a station or *Roman*. If there had been *Roman* remains or antiquities here, they would scarce have escaped the sagacity and industry of *Dr. Stukeley*; and yet the doctor ingenuously owns, that he could here make little or no *Roman* discoveries^c. The only thing pleaded, is its giving name to the hundred, which is of no great importance. The distance of *Ringwood* from *Clavsentum* does not answer well the present numbers of the *Itinerary*. *Hampshire* is not reckoned among the *Regni*, but the *Belgae*, by *Camden*. This seems agreeable to the situation assigned to these people by *Ptolemy*; *Venta Belgarum*, which is *Winchester*, and probably the capital of the *Belgae*, farther confirms his opinion. If any military way had proceeded from *Southampton* to *Ringwood*, it must have crossed the broad river, or fetched a larger compass for a narrower passage; and the military way and stations from *Winchester* to *Sarum*,

^a See *Camd.* p. 582.^b *Itin. curios.* p. 98, 99.^c *It. curios.* p. 183.

Sarum, renders a way to *Ringwood*, and a station there, less necessary. If these things be considered, a new conjecture may be better allowed. I am then of opinion, that *Chichester* is *Regnum*, the station from whence this *iter* commences. This place, I believe, will answer all the demands of the *Itinerary* relating to *Regnum*; and I think the regularity and good contrivance of the *Roman* ways and stations will be better secured upon this hypothesis. *Chichester* is doubtless situated in the country of the *Regni*; and the name, together with the *Roman* antiquities found at it, and some other evidences, have obtained the universal consent of antiquaries, as to its having been a considerable *Roman* station or town, and its antient and present state do farther confirm it. This and its being the utmost station this way, rendered it proper to be a *terminus* of this *iter*. And unless this be an *Itinerary* station, we have not one such in the whole county of *Suffex*, nor nearer to it than *Lemanae* on the one side, and *Clausentum* (or perhaps *Vindomis*) on the other. The military ways that issue out from *Chichester* are a farther confirmation of this conjecture, which are *Stane street*^a, and one pointing towards *Southampton*. A part of this I thought I observed, when I was in that country; and Dr. *Stukeley* expressly says, "We found some of the *Roman* way upon this ridge, which I suppose went through *Fareham* and *Havant*, between *Trantsantum* and *Chichester*, with a vicinal turning out to *Portchester*, it goes east and west^b." This I conclude to be the military way, which must guide us in the beginning of this rout, and lead to *Clausentum*.

IN this *iter Clausentum* is only twenty miles distant from *Regnum*, and has generally, and I believe rightly, been placed at *Old Southampton*. The military way leading to this place, and the remains that are at it, are both of them very favourable. Dr. *Stukeley* informs us, that many antiquities have been found on the site of the old city, which is more eastward than the present. *Southampton* sprung from its ruins. It stands near *St. Mary's*, on the banks of the river *Itching*, coming from *Winchester*, opposite to *Bittern*, where was an old *Roman* castle^c half a mile in compass, where *Roman* coins have been dug up. But the place where coins were formerly dug up, is now a dock for building men of war^d. This appears to me to have been rather the station, though the *Roman* town might be on both sides the water. Such plain proofs of a station, and a military way leading to it, should not be easily quitted, though at first sight the numbers of the *Itinerary* might raise some scruple about its being *Clausentum*. But observing that the computed miles in *Hampshire* are very short, and that the numbers in the *Itinerary* answered exactly by the shorter scale in *Camden's* map, I thought this remark might clear up the difficulty in a satisfactory manner. Thus I find it is just twenty of *Camden's* shorter miles by the scale between *Chichester* and *Southampton*, but it is a mile or two less than this to the station. I think then this may do very well for the twenty miles in the *Itinerary*; though if we should even suppose a numeral letter or two omitted (which the general scale seems to require) it would not be very unreasonable. But I rather incline to think, that there is no occasion for such a correction, which will be farther confirmed by what follows. *Chichester*, *Havant*, *Fareham*, and the *Roman* station near *Southampton*, appear to be pretty much in a line, nearly perpendicular to one drawn from the same *Roman* station to *Winchester*; so that these two military ways, the one from *Chichester* to *Southampton*, and the other from hence to *Winchester*, seem each to have gone on very directly, and to have been nearly perpendicular one to another.

CLAUSENTVM.

OUR next station is *Venta Belgarum*, which good evidence, and the united authority of all our antiquaries, have settled very justly at *Winchester*. This city

VENTA
BELGARVM.

^a *Stane street seems to fall almost perpendicular at London on the military way from London to Canterbury.*

^b *It. curios. p. 187.*

^c *Ibid. p. 185.*

^d *See Cam. p. 136.*

city is just ten of the shorter miles by the scale distant from the *Roman* station near *Southampton*, which agrees very well to the number x in this *iter*, for the distance between *Clausentum* and *Venta Belgarum*. As they were laying the foundation of a royal palace begun by King *Charles*, in 1683, but never yet finished, they found a pavement of brick, and some *Roman* coins of *Constantine* the great, and others*. This, no doubt, has been the capital of the *Belgae*, who must therefore have been seated in the neighbouring country.

CALLEVA
ATREBATVM.

CALLEVA ATREBATUM is our next station at xxii miles distance from *Venta Belgarum*, according to the *Itinerary*: and I see twenty two of the same shorter miles, by the scale, brings us exactly to *Silchester*; which I believe to be the *Calleva* both here and in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth *itineraria*. But I rather chuse to reserve my proofs of this new opinion till I come to the twelfth *iter*.

PONTES. *PONTES*, the next station, is at the same distance of xxii *Itinerary* miles from *Calleva Atrebatum*, and at the same time equally distant from *London*. I am apt to think that the military way from *Silchester* has gone by *Stratfield*, and so fallen upon the grand military way which runs westward from *London* towards the *Bath*. The distance, allowing for a turn in the military way, seems sufficient to bring us up to the *Thames*; and no doubt *Pontes* has stood, where the military way has crossed that river. I see no objection against settling it near *Windsor*. There is *Old Windsor*, which carries antiquity in its name: and we are told in *Camden*, "that on *St. Leonard's* hill, not far from *Windsor*, " have been discovered great numbers of antiquities; such as coins, instruments of war, and an ancient lamp^b." The distance from hence to *London* of twenty two *Itinerary* miles will, no doubt, answer with the greatest exactness, better, I think, than either *Stanes* or *Colnbrook*. And as the *Thames* runs in more streams than one near *Windsor*, so there might be more bridges than one over it, and occasion the name *Pontes* in the plural. *Windsor*, in the common maps, I observe to be placed at a greater distance than it should be: but I see *Old Windsor* (which is nearer *London*) is not above three measured miles from *Colnbrook*, and *Colnbrook*, according to *Ogilby*, is fifteen computed, and almost nineteen measured miles from *London*; which shews the whole distance to be little enough for our numbers in the *Itinerary*.

ITER VIII.

AB EBVRACO LONDINIVM
M. P. CCXXVII.

The eighth rout is from
York to London 227 miles.

[AB EBVRACO

LAGECIO

DANO

AGELOCO

LINDO

CROCOCOLANA

MARGIDVNO

VERNOMETO

RATIS

VENONIS

BANNAVANTO

MAGIOVINTO

DVROCOBRIVIS

VEROLAMIO

LONDINIO

M. P. XXI

M. P. XVI

M. P. XXI

M. P. XIV

M. P. XIV

M. P. XIV

M. R. XII

M. P. XII

M. P. XII

M. P. XVIII

M. P. XXVIII

M. P. XII

M. P. XII

M. P. XXI

From York]

Castleford

Doncaster

Littleborough

Lincoln

Brugh near Colingham

Near East Bridgeford

Near Willoughby

Leicester

Cleycester

Near Daventry

Fenny Stratford

Dunstable

St. Albans

London.

* See *Camd.* p. 141.

^b *Pag.* 176.

IN this *iter* the sum total agrees with the amount of the particulars. The distance between *Lindum* and *Crococolana* is here made fourteen; which is but twelve in the sixth *iter*; but this is balanced by two miles less distance between *Margidunum* and *Ratae*.

THERE is not one place mentioned in this whole *iter*, but what has already occurred either in the fifth or sixth; so that the explication of this *iter* is almost wholly anticipated.

I NOW recollect what I had from so good a hand as Mr. *Gale*, that the military way for a great part of this *iter* from *Dunstable* northward is almost as visible, as in *Leming-lane* in *Yorkshire*; and I am sure it need be no plainer. It is therefore without doubt much safer to pursue this road, than by abandoning it to follow an uncertain guide, as a late ingenious author has done^a.

I SHALL only farther remark, that the same place which is called *Bennavenna* in the second *iter*, and *Isanavatia* in the sixth, is here called *Bannavantum*. Dr. *Gale* prefers *Bennavenna*, or *Pennavenna*, as the true name^b. I know not but *Bannavantum* may be as near to the truth. This name however brings the *Italian Beneventum* to mind.

Tendimus hinc rectâ Beneventum^c.

ITER IX.
A VENTA ICENORVM LON-
DINIVM M. P. CXXVIII.

The ninth rout from Caister
near Norwich to London
128 miles.

[A VENTA ICENORVM		From Caister]
SITOMAGO	M. P. XXXI	Wulpit
COMBRETONIO	M. P. XXII	Stretford
AD ANSAM	M. P. XV	Witham
CAMVLODVNO	M. P. VI	Maldon
CANONIO	M. P. IX	Fambridge
CAESAROMAGO	M. P. XII	Near Chelmsford
DVROLITO	M. P. XVI <i>al.</i> XXVI	Leiton
LONDINIO	M. P. XV <i>al.</i> V	London.

THERE is but a small difference between the sum prefixed and amount of particulars in this *iter*; the former is made cxxviii, but the amount is cxxvi.

CAISTER about three miles south from *Norwich* stands upon the river *Wentfar*. The name, and *Camden's* account of it, sufficiently prove it to be *Roman*. For according to him "the broken walls are of a square figure, "and contain about thirty acres; there are some marks where the buildings "formerly have stood, and some *Roman* coins are dug up here, and *Norwich* "has risen out of its ruins." In the additions it is called "a famous *Roman* "camp, the four gates of which are still manifestly to be seen. The *porta* " *praetoria* looked toward the east, opposite to which (without the *porta de-* " *cumana* and close by the river side) there still remain some ruins of a "tower. The walls enclosing the camp were of flint and very large bricks^d." As this account proves the place to be *Roman*, so I think the name *Venta* is well enough preserved in the name of the river *Wentfar*. And as *Venta Icenorum* was no doubt the capital of the *Iceni*^e; there are two things which make

VENTA
ICENORVM.

^a Mr. Salmon in his New Survey.
^b Ant. It. p. 59, 60.
^c Hor. Sat. v. l. 1. 71.
^d Pag. 460.
^e Pen in British signifies the head.

make it probable, that *Caister* has been it. One is the largeness of the ruinous place, thirty acres within the walls; the other is, that *Norwich*, the capital of the county, has doubtless sprung from its ruins. Here too, *Camden*, *Dr. Gale*, and others, our most considerable antiquaries, have fixed *Venta Icenorum*. *Ptolemy* has *Venta Simenorum*, which, no doubt, is the same with *Venta Icenorum*. *Mr. Baxter's* conjecture and correction shew his sagacity and learning. According to him the error has been from *Οικενοί* to *Σίμενοι*. Every one knows that the capital Greek sigma is often written like our C. *Ptolemy* places his *Venta* near the river *Garienum*, some miles from the mouth of it. This makes it probable that *Venta Icenorum* in the *Itinerary* has not been far from *Gariannonum* in the *Notitia*. And if *Ptolemy's* authority have any weight, it seems to be full on our side; for his situation of *Venta* seems to suit *Caister* very exactly. *Ravennas* sets his *Venta Cenomum* (which no doubt is also the same with *Venta Icenorum*) just before *Lindum Colonia*^a. But this I take to be of no great weight.

I BELIEVE the military way southward has gone between *Harleston* and *Dis*, but nearer to *Dis*. I saw two *Strattons* close by this way, which is in the main the same with the high road that leads from *Norwich* into *Suffolk*.

SITOMAGVS.

DR. GALE^b inclines to make *Wulpit Sitomagus* or *Situmagus*, as it is in some copies of the *Itinerary*. According to him the *British* word *Cidwm* is the habitation of wolves; and he observes, that there are some large ditches at *Wulpit*, which seem to be the work of the *Romans*. It is an old town, and the distance seems to answer with exactness; for which reason I would prefer it to *Stow*, though this may seem to have the sound of the first part of the name *Sitomagus*, and the latter part *magus* signifies a village. Both the *Ixworths* lie off the line, but I see the two *Rickinghalls* are nearly in the way from *Dis* to *Wulpit*, and whether or no these carry any thing of *Icening street* in their name, I leave others to determine. *Dr. Gale* observes that "*circumquaque Romanorum nummi in locis alias obscuris ebulliunt*." This makes it more likely, that there has in the general been a *Roman* station and military way hereabout. I saw *Finbarrow* also near hand, and *Aldham* in the way from *Stretford*; and these names carry somewhat of antiquity in them.

COMBRETONIVM.

COMBRETONIVM is the next station to *Sitomagus*, and at xxii miles distance from it, according to the *Itinerary*. I would have so much regard to affinity of name, especially when preserved in a river, as to take it for granted, that this station has been situated near the river *Breton*, provided the distance be any way suitable to the numbers in the *Itinerary*. Now I find that the distance brings us exactly to *Stretford*, situated near the confluence of the *Breton* and the *Stour*. The situation is very proper, and the name *Stretford* seems to imply that the military way passed the united river at this place. I know nothing therefore so probable, as that *Combretonium* has stood near *Stretford*, which *Dr. Stukeley* in his map supposes to be *Ad ansam*.

AD ANSAM.

AD ANSAM is the next station to *Combretonium*, and xv *Itinerary* miles from it. Whether the reason of the name be taken from some sign of a principal inn at the mansion, or from the figure of the town, or of the ways leading to it, or from what else, is not very material. I should be little solicitous about the name, provided I could be sure of the place. I shall not so much as name the several places, to which this *Roman* station has been assigned. If the same method be pursued, that has been hitherto taken, and the distance be set off along the right line, to which the supposed course of the military way seems to direct us; I find fifteen *Roman* miles by the scale will

^a *Ptolemy* has no intervening station between these two stations from some map of *Ptolemy*.
Venta and *Lindum*, as may be seen in the map of *Ptolemy* rectified. Possibly *Ravennas* has taken
^b *Ant. It.* p. 110. See also *Cam. Brit.* p. 444
^c *Ant. Itin.* p. 111.

will reach near to the island of *Mersey*, a place of strength; and where, as I have been informed by an ingenious gentleman^a, some pavements (I suppose *Roman*) have been found. But if we suppose the military ways to have met at *Colchester*, and coincided for five or six miles; the distance will bring us near to *Casterford*. Dr. *Stukeley* calls it *Chesterford* in his map, and by making it *Canonium*, supposes it to be *Roman*. It stands on the river now called *Blackwater*, formerly *Pant*, according to *Camden*^b. There is a conjecture, that the name may have been *Ad Pansam*, and that the antient name of this river may have been *Panse*. This conjecture suits my purpose, but I am not willing to make my self answerable for it. *Witham* is made *Ad ansam* in *Camden*^c, where we are told, “ that between the church and the street
“ are still visible the remains of a large old camp—About a mile from it, at
“ the *Manour place* in *Tauburn*, was found a silver coin of *Domitian*, dis-
“ covered under the very foundation of an old wall, built partly of *Roman*
“ brick.” If the station be at *Witham*, *Casterford* may signify the ford leading to the *Roman castrum*. And if for xv we read xx, the distance will answer with exactness according to the general scale. These antiquities about *Witham*, and the name *Casterford*, are a further proof that a military way has gone directly from *London* to *Colchester*, and have induced me to fix my *Ad ansam* here.

CAMULODUNUM, the celebrated *Roman* colony, is the next stage; and but at the small distance of six *Itinerary* miles from the foregoing station. These six miles bring us to the river *Blackwater*. I think the arguments are very strong, by which it may be proved, that *Camulodunum* must have been situated somewhere near this river, formerly called *Idumania* or *Idumanum*^d; though it may be difficult to ascertain the spot. *Malden*, since *Camden*'s time^e, has been most generally taken for the place. The likeness of name was, I believe, as usual with *Camden*, the principal inducement. Some part of the land is supposed to have been washed away near this river, particularly an antient *Roman* city called *Ithancester* near *Malden*^f. This by the account seems to have been situated on the south side of the river *Idumania*, and *Camden* supposes it to be the *Othona* in the *Notitia*, in which conjecture he seems to have been almost universally followed. This antient town is thought to have stood near *St. Peter's* chapel; and if I could suppose this part of the *iter* to have proceeded to the east, I would conclude this antient city, or one over against it, on the north side of the river, to have been *Camulodunum*; and *Malden* to have been *Canonium*, the following station. But I do not find any thing in the story which argues the city of *Ithancester* to be so far distant from *Malden* as *St. Peter's* chapel. The account, as quoted by *Camden*^g from *Ralph Niger* out of *Bede*, is thus: “ *Ceada*, the bishop, baptized the *East Saxons* near *Maldon* in the city of *Ithancester*, which stood upon the bank
“ of the river *Pant*, that runs near *Maldon* in the province of *Dengy*; but
“ that city has since been swallowed up in the river *Pant*.” *Dengy* hundred lies on the south side of the *Blackwater*, which may seem to intimate that *Ithancester* was also on the south side of that river. But notwithstanding any thing I see in the story, it might be nearer *Malden* than *St. Peter's* chapel. It is most likely to be the *Othona* in the *Notitia*, and yet may probably have arisen out of the more antient and more famous *Camulodunum*. If *Witham* be *Ad ansam*, and we proceed in that course; the neighbourhood of *Malden*, is at a very exact distance for *Camulodunum*: and after all my enquiries, I am most inclined to give into the common opinion, that *Camulodunum* is to be settled at *Malden*, or near it, perhaps a little to the north,

CAMVLÖDVNVM.

or

^a Mr. Gray of Colchester.

^b Pag. 415.

^c Pag. 419.

^d See Book 1. c. 2. p. 36.

^e See Camden, p. 416.

^f See Camd. p. 411.

^g Ibid.

or north-west from it. I should think *Camulodunum* was as likely to be known to *Ptolemy*, as any one place in the island. Now *Camulodunum*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, is placed by him in the same latitude with the mouth of the river *Idumania*, and fifty minutes of longitude east from it^a, between *Extensio* and *Idumaniae fluvii ostia*. The mouth of this river, as near as I can judge, seems to be placed by him near where the present *Malden* stands. And so much more longitude as *Ptolemy* gives to *Camulodunum*, would certainly carry us a good deal too far to the east. *Ptolemy* also places *Camulodunum* much south-east from *Venta Icenorum*. *Pliny* places *Camulodunum* at two hundred miles distance from *Mona*, to which our situation of it seems very well to agree. And I think in the general, that the placing *Camulodunum* hereabouts, seems to reconcile, as much as possible, all the antient accounts and authors one with another, and better to secure the credit of *Tacitus*, who tells us, that before the destruction of *Camulodunum*, “the appearance of “a colony destroyed was seen in the estuary of the *Thames*.” *Ptolemy* seems to have extended the estuary of the *Thames* as far as to the river *Idumania*. *Colonia* and *Camulodunum* have been supposed by good antiquaries to be one and the same place, but they plainly appear to me to be different. For in the fifth *iter* it is twenty four miles from *Colonia* to *Caesaromagus*, whereas in this it is only twenty one from *Camulodunum* to it. In the former no station intervenes, in this *Canonium* stands between them; and the number of miles may well be increased, but can never be diminished, by the intervention of another place in the rout. It is therefore very probable, that *Camulodunum* was some miles nearer than *Colonia*, to *Caesaromagus*, and consequently must be a different place. But the colony, and neighbouring forts might almost cover that part of the country. *Tacitus* speaks of awing the *Silures*, at the same time that he mentions the settlement of this colony; possibly the *Silures* might be mistaken for the *Iceni* or *Trinobantes*. I farther add, that the name is *Camulodunum* in the antient inscription, which mentions this colony; CENSITOR CIVIVM ROMANORVM COLONIAE VICTRICENSIS QVAE EST IN BRITANNIA CAMALODVNI^c. But I would shun, as much as possible, the repetition of any thing I have said before^d, and therefore shall pass on to the next station, after I have given a short description of *Malden*. *Malden* stands on the south bank of the *Chelmer*, on a gentle declivity, as *Colchester* stands above the *Colne*. There is a fortified camp west from the town, containing about twenty acres, three sides of which are yet visible. A gold *Nero* was found here, which Mr. *Salmon* tells us he has seen^e. It is however universally agreed, that there has been a *Roman* settlement near *Malden*, though I rather think it has been on the north side of the river, and that the camp, mentioned before, has been the *aestiva*. The *Roman* town might indeed, as usual, spread it self on both sides of the water.

CANONIUM. *CANONIUM* is the next station to *Camulodunum* in this *iter*, and only nine miles from it. If the ruined city of *Ithancester* be admitted for *Camulodunum*, this distance will bring us to the neighbourhood of *Malden* for *Canonium*, near which it seems to be placed in the *Roman* map of *Britain* prefixed to *Camden*. It also might farther be alledged in favour of this opinion, that according to some^f, a river called *Can* runs into the *Chelmer* at *Chelmsford*, and possibly the name *Can* might be continued to the united rivers as low

^a *Ἰδουμανία πρὸς ἐκβολαίς*, *Idumaniae fluvii ostia*, which is agreed to be the mouth of the united *Chelmer* and *Black water*, is placed by *Ptolemy* in 20° 10' longitude, and 55° latitude. *Καμυδολωνον*, *Camulodunum* is set by the same geographer in 21° longitude and 55° latitude.

^b Nulla palam causa delapsum *Camuloduni* simulacrum victoriae, ac retro conversum, quali cederet hostibus, et foeminae in furore turbatae adesse exitium caneant: externosque fremitus in

curia eorum auditos; consonuisse ululatibus theatrum; villamque speciem in aestuario *Tamesae* subversae coloniae; jam oceanum cruento aspectu, dilabente aestu humanorum corporum effluvia relictas, ut *Britanni* ad spem ita veterani ad metum traherent. *Tacit. Annal. Lib. xiv. c. 32.*

^c *Gruter cccxxxix. 5.*

^d See *Book I. c. 2.*

^e *New Survey, p. 133.*

^f See *Camd. p. 414.*

low down as *Malden*. But if we stick to *Malden* for *Camulodunum*, which I would rather chuse to do, we must then look out for a new *Canonium*; and in quest of it I am most inclined to bend my course southward towards the river *Crouch*. It seems very proper that the *Romans* should have one station in this part of *Essex*, between *Thames* and the *Black water*, and the distances seem to answer exactly. The station, I suppose, may have been near *North Fambridge*, and the way to it much the same with the present high road from *Malden* to *Rockford*. I think the regularity and uniformity of the military ways will be well enough preserved by this *hypothesis*. But as for *Roman* antiquities, or the evidences of a *Roman* station here, I confess I know of none; though perhaps, the true reason of this may be, that they have never yet been carefully sought for in this part of *Essex*. However there is one thing which I think worth the remarking, though I remember not to have met with the observation any where else; that whereas several, at least three, of the stations in the *Notitia*, on the *Saxon shore*, must have been on the coast of *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; so it may be presumed as certain, or very highly probable, that there has been a military way along or near to this coast, leading from one of these stations to the other, and perhaps from the stations in *Kent* to them: for I cannot think that the garrisons could be conveyed to these stations by sea^a. Perhaps a military way has lain from *Rocheſter*, or some station in *Kent*, directly to *Malden*, and a ferry over the *Thames*; but this must be owned to be very uncertain.

TWELVE *Itinerary* miles more bring us to *Caesaromagus*, which must, I think, have been nigh *Writtle* or *Chelmsford*, as I have shewn in the fifth *iter*, and here I need only observe, that the distance answers with the greatest exactness. CAESAROMAGVS.

DUROLITUM is the next station, xvi miles from *Caesaromagus*, and xv from *London*. The first syllable of the name signifies *water*, and the second sounds like the *Lea*. This has induced several antiquaries to seek for the station near the river *Lea*. *Camden* inclined to *Leiton* or *Leiton stone*, in which he is followed by Dr. *Gale*^b, and several others. I am apt to think, that the old *Roman* way has passed by *Stratford Longton*, and then the turn to *Leiton* would, I believe, require exactly the three additional miles in this *iter*, between *Caesaromagus* and *Londinium*^c. *Camden* takes notice of *Oldford* in the neighbourhood of *Leiton*; and since his time urns have been found, one in the church yard of the village, and several more between *Leiton* and *Stratford Longton*^d, which very much favours the conjecture I have mentioned just now. But then we must with Dr. *Gale*, suppose an x to be transferred, and read *Durolito xxvi Londinio v* DYROLITVM.

Thus each distance is rendered very exact, and this correction is pretty easy and natural. And on the whole, this old opinion appears to me more plausible than any new conjecture that has either occurred to my self, or been advanced by any other person.

<p>ITER X. A GLANOVENTA MEDIOLANVM M. P. CL.</p>	<p>The tenth rout from Lanchester in the county of Durham, to the station near Draiton on the borders of Shropshire 150 miles.</p>	
<p>[A GLANOVENTA GALAVA ALONE</p>	<p>M. P. XVIII. al. XXVIII M. P. XII</p>	<p>From Lanchester] Old town Whitley castle GALACVM</p>

^a New Survey, p. 16.
^b Pag. 116.
^c See Iter v.
^d See Camd. p. 406.

GALACVM	M. P. XIX	<i>Appleby</i>
BREMETONACIS	M. P. XXVII. <i>al.</i> XXXII	<i>Overborough</i>
COCCIO	M. P. XX <i>al.</i> XXV	<i>Ribchester</i>
MANCVNIO	M. P. XVII <i>al.</i> XXVII	<i>Manchester</i>
CONDATÉ	M. P. XVIII	Near <i>Northwich</i>
MEDIOLANO	M. P. XVIII <i>al.</i> XXVIII	Near <i>Draiton</i>

THE amount of the particulars here comes a mile short of the total prefixed. The learned Dr. *Gale* thinks this *iter* to be quite out of place, and suspects it to be an interpolation^a; but I see no reason, to suppose either the one or the other. I hope now sufficiently to settle and clear up this *iter*, in what I have to say; and for the order of it I must refer to what I have already said in the introduction to this *Essay*. *Camden*^b through mistake calls this the ninth *iter* instead of the tenth, and gives us but little assistance in settling the stations upon it; or rather has led a great many others into manifest mistakes.

THE range or course of this *iter* is plainly from the northeast to the southwest: and the places mentioned in it, which are in the northern counties of *England*, are four, *Glanoventa*, *Galava*, *Alone*, and *Galacum*. Of these four, only *Glanoventa* and *Alone* are mentioned in the *Notitia*, and both of them are there placed among the secondary stations *per lineam valli*; which, as I have shewn before, makes it probable that these two stations are pretty much in a line, nearly parallel to the wall, and at no great distance from it; as also that they are within, or on the south side of it. The very great and manifest confusion, which attends all the other conjectures I have met with concerning the first of these places, may dispose us the more easily to admit of a new one, which I have already advanced^c. I shall take notice of the principal conjectures of others, before I offer any thing farther to confirm my own. According to Dr. *Plot*, Dr. *Fulk* made this *iter* to pass through the county of *Stafford*, and took *Alone* to be *Coventry*, and *Lichfield* for *Galacum*. But this scheme is very justly rejected by Dr. *Plot*^d. Dr. *Gale*^e makes *Teverin* in *Glendale* to be *Glanoventa*; but this is on the north side of the wall, and at too great a distance, and upon no military way, that I know of. In a word, whoever has seen and known the country, will need no confutation of this conjecture. *Teverin*, it is true, is said to have been the seat of a northern king^f; though few would believe this, who see it at present: but I can discern nothing about it that looks like *Roman*, nor ever heard of any marks or appearance of *Roman* antiquity there. *Anterchester*, which the doctor says is in the neighbourhood of it, is, I doubt, an imaginary place (though it be in Mr. *Warburton*'s map of *Northumberland*, as well as in that of Mr. *Speed*) at least it is not only unknown to me, but to those who live in that neighbourhood, and are perfectly well acquainted with that part of the country. There are several barrows or cairns on the tops of the neighbouring hills, and among the rest some that are called *Harechesters* or *Harechester rings*. And this I am apt to think has been mistaken for the name of a village. The doctor has also been misinformed with relation to the rivers *Bowent* and *Glan*; for *Bowent* [or *Bowman*] is not the present name, and *Glan* [or rather *Glen*] the antient name of the same river: but *Bowman* after it has received another small river, not far from *Teverin*, takes the name of *Glen*, and so gives the name of *Glendale* to the country, through which this united river flows.

CAMDEN

^a Pag. 120.

^b Pag. 991.

^c Book I. c. 7.

^d *Natural history of Staffordshire*, p. 402. §. 17.

^e *Ant. It.* p. 116.

^f *Camd.* p. 1097.

CAMDEN^a places *Glanoventa* on the banks of the river *Wentsbeck*, which runs by the town of *Morpeth*. And Mr. *Warburton* in his map has fixed it at *Thornton*, about four or five miles from this town, but not very far from this river. He seems to have been led to this by the *Devil's causeway*, which ranges through the county of *Northumberland*, and passes by *Thornton*: but I could never see or hear of any evident remains of a station either at *Thornton*, or any other place on this causeway; or that there were any *Roman* antiquities found any where upon it or near it; and therefore am suspicious, that it is later than *Roman*. There are some small forts which seem to lie pretty much in a line; some oval, and others square (the square ones being very small) about two or three miles from this causeway; but these seem not to be *Roman*. However *Glanoventa* cannot have been here, as well for the reasons I have just now hinted, as because this station is mentioned in the *Notitia*, which, as I have often said, mentions no place north from the wall; and likewise because, if *Glanoventa* be set here, no place can be found for *Galava*, at a proper distance. Dr. *Stukeley*, in his map, seems to make *Castlesteads* or *Cambeck* fort in *Cumberland* to be *Glanoventa*, and *Galava* to be *Overborough*.

OTHERS place it at *Carvoran* on the wall, on account of a village there called *Glenwhelt*^b, and make *Wallwick* to be *Galava*; but this, instead of advancing towards *Alone*, is going almost directly from it. Besides it is to make the *iter* directly along the line of the wall, which is by no means to be admitted. And I shall afterwards demonstrate, that *Wallwick* neither is, nor can be *Galava*. I wonder no body has attempted to settle these stations somewhere on the *Maiden way*, continued beyond the wall. At *Beaucaastle* there has been a considerable *Roman* station and town, the remains of which are yet very large and conspicuous; but the distances will not any way answer to the *Itinerary*, and this scheme (if *Whitley castle* be *Alone*) must likewise make *Glanoventa* a long way north of the wall.

THAT there has been a *Roman* station at *South Shields* is out of all question. The altars that have been found there, and the military way which has gone from it, are convincing proofs of this. I once imagined this station might have been the old *Glanoventa* (which no doubt was the most easterly on this rout at that time) mentioned in the *Itinerary*, and in the *Notitia*, and that this *iter* had begun here and proceeded according to the military way leading from hence towards *Lanchester*. But the distances in the *Itinerary* are not to be reconciled to the distances between the respective stations on this way, if we begin at *South Shields*. Besides that the slender remains of the station and military way near to it, incline me to think that it has not been maintained so late as till the writing of the *Notitia*. That it was in being in the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, appears from the altar and inscription found here^c, if Dr. *Lister's* reading be just; but I am apt to think it was abandoned not very long after, perhaps at the building of *Severus's* wall, and the station erected at *Cousins's house*, or a little after. This station seems not to be named either in *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, or the *Notitia*; unless we suppose *Ostia Vedrae* in *Ptolemy* to be as well the name of the station, as of the river's mouth.

BUT as I have seen reason since to alter this opinion, I shall now proceed to deliver and farther confirm what I take to be the truth; which is, that the station at *Lanchester*, in the county of *Durham*, has been *Glanoventa*, and that this *iter* has mostly proceeded on a military way from *Lanchester* to *Oldtown*, and so on to the *Maiden way*, which it joins at *Whitley castle*, and from thence

GLANOVENTA.

^a Pag. 1092.

^b Camden, p. 1069.

^c Durham, N, II.

thence along it to the grand military way that passes by *Kirbythure*, and *Appleby*; which way it seems also to have crossed, as may appear afterwards. This, I think, suits very well the range or course of this *iter*, which is manifestly towards the southwest; ending in *Cheshire* or near it; and seems to be somewhat of the same kind with the first *iter* from *Riechester* to *Praetorium*; only as that inclined to the east, so this inclines to the west: but both of them, in a good measure, cross the country, though tending in the main to the south. I hope also to shew, that the distances between the several stations, as they appear in fact on this way, may with some easy corrections be reconciled to those, which are in the *Itinerary*. And this I think must very much favour and confirm the conjecture advanced. The *Roman* station and town at *Lanchester* have also been situated on a *lingula* between the river *Browning* [or *Brown*] and the rivulet *Smallup*. This rivulet runs into the river *Brown* a little below the station, and *Brown* again loses it self, and its name in the river *Were*, which it runs into at *Sunderland* bridge, two miles south from *Durham*. The station is about two furlongs distant from *Smallup*, and not so much from the river *Brown*. It has a high situation, and yet the prospect is bounded quite round about with hills or rising grounds, that are not at a very great distance. The same sort of situation I observed at *Elsdon*, in the county of *Northumberland*, and several other places. This situation has this manifest advantage, that an enemy could not come over these rising grounds, but they must immediately appear to the garrison. When I was last there, I looked at the pillars which had supported the floors of what is supposed to have been a *balneum*. They were not all alike, nor of a very regular figure; but yet there was some similitude and proportion between them. They are all about two foot and five inches high, perhaps two *Roman* foot and a half. The angles or corners of four square stones rested on each of these pillars, and between each two pillars was more than a yard's distance. Upon the square stones had been a plaistering about four inches thick, consisting of lime and small pieces of brick. The marks of fire and smoak were very visible, when they first discovered the place. I was also informed, that there was another set of pillars underneath, which supported another such floor, and some sort of metal upon it, on which the upper set of pillars rested. The lower pillars stood upon a blue clay, and the intervals between them were filled up with earth and rubbish. It was conjectured, that the first had failed, or had been destroyed, and that the second had been built on its ruins. Above this (according to the account I had, for there are no remains of it now) was a square room, having each side about four yards long, and the walls plaistered in the same manner, and with the same materials, as the floor. The altar mentioned in the collection^a was found at the east end of this room, with its back undressed towards the wall. I have been more particular in this description, because it has not been sufficiently given before; but the other remains and monuments here have been largely described already.

I AM apt to think, that the first name of this town has been *Glanchester*, composed, as usual, of the first syllable of the old *Roman* name, with the word *chester* annexed to it. The *G*, for the sake of an easier pronunciation, might be dropped. If *Glanoventa* signify a bank or hill near a river, *ven* or *vent* in the *British* tongue signifying a river, the situation of the station at *Lanchester* is not unsuitable to this etymology; for it stands on a high ground with a river on one side, and a rivulet on the other, and not far from either^b. I know two of our greatest modern antiquaries, *Roger Gale* Esq, and *Dr. Hunter* of *Durham*, suppose *Lanchester* to be the antient *Longovicus*, the affinity of name having, as I presume, inclined them to this opinion: but I have a pretty strong reason to offer, why this cannot be the *Longovicus* in the *Notitia* (garrisoned by the *numerus Longovicariorum*) which is this: It is evident, that some order is observed in the *Notitia*, in setting down the
several

^a *Durham*, N. xiv.

^b *Camden's Britannia*, p. 859.

several places; and *Longovicus* is set among the most southerly, that were under the *Dux Britanniarum*. It is put down as more to the south than *Lavatrac* or *Verterae*, and next to *Derventio*, all which are mentioned in the *Notitia* as well as in the *Itinerary*. And this suits much better with the situation of *Lancaster* in *Lancashire*, than *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*. And as none of the military ways, on which any of the *itinera* proceed, seem to have passed by *Lancaster*, so this may be a good reason why *Longovicus* is not mentioned in the *Itinerary*, though we have it in the *Notitia*. Upon the whole therefore, I see no place bids so fair to be the *Glanoventa* in the *Itinerary*, as *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*; especially if we consider, how the rest of the *iter* goes on, when this foundation is laid, as will appear by the sequel.

BUT before I proceed, it will not be improper for me to give some account of the military way called *Wreken-dike*, because this will afford some light to the following steps of this *iter*. This military way has, no doubt, terminated in the station at *South Shields*. It seems to have come from the station, and to have crossed the marsh (then possibly a branch of the river) not far from the station. Thence it has passed most probably through, or a little to the east of the house called *Lay-gate*; from whence it seems to have gone near the house call'd the *Barns*, the garden wall probably standing on it, and so on to the *Deen-bridge*, close by *Jarrow-slike*. For this space the traces of this way are very obscure and uncertain. In the field beyond this bridge the track of it is plain, and for near the full breadth of the enclosure, sensibly raised above the level of the rest of the ground, though it runs cross the ridges. On the west side of this field or enclosure there is a small descent, and in the bottom a lane, which is the high road leading from *Bowden* to *Shields*, and a small ascent on the other side, in the field joining to this lane. As the military way descends on the one side, and ascends on the other, it is bent into a curve, and then falls into the right line, in which it seems to be continued all the way to *Gateshead-fell*, for the space of five or six miles. From thence it goes towards *Lamesby* and *Kibbleworth*, which it leaves a little to the south. It was very visible all the way not many years ago, before Sir *Henry Liddall* inclosed and improved these grounds. And the gardener at *Cousins's house* (who had formerly wrought on *Gateshead-fell*) assured me, that he had seen and helped to dig up some stones out of *Wreken-dike* (which he called *Brachin-dike*) so that he was altogether of opinion, that this part of it had been paved. This way passes on towards *Bemish*, and I make no doubt has gone forward to *Lanchester*. It is indeed lost on the moor beyond *Bemish*; nor is it any great wonder that it should be so, considering how soft and mossy it is. I was assured at *Lanchester* that several trees had been dug up in this moor, which had been cut down with an ax, possibly to clear the way. And if these trees have been sunk so much below the surface into the ground, no wonder if a heavy military way be much more so. I have heard a traditionary account of this way's passing by *Stanley* towards *Lanchester*, though I know not how far this may be relied on. But how little of such military ways appear in some other places, where it might have been better expected? There is a remarkable *tumulus* near this way, not far from *Ravensthorpe*. Besides which, I observed another very considerable one, about a mile from *Lanchester*, called the *Maiden law*; and probably the military way has not been far from this *tumulus*. I am surprised to find the military way, which goes from *South Shields*, usually represented as passing near to *Durham*, sometimes on the east, and sometimes on the west side of it; when there is such plain demonstration not only of the reality of the way, but of the range and tendency of it. But I believe the military way, which is supposed to have gone from *Newcastle* to *Chester*, and from thence to *Watling street* near *Bitchester*, has occasioned the mistake. The gardener at *Cousins's house* told me, that he had observed, when he wrought thereabouts, this military way from
Newcastle

Newcastle to Chester, and that it lay to the west of the present high way through the *fell*. And Dr. *Hunter* was positive, that he had observed the same way upon this *fell*; as also some remaining tracks of a *via vicinalis* beyond *Chester*, between *Binchester* and *Branspeth castle* (as I remember) pointing towards *Chester*, which he therefore concluded, must have gone that way.

As for the name, I was thinking it might come from *Ickning dike*, after some such manner as I have conjectured the name of *Watling street* in *Scotland*, and the north, to have arisen from *Watling street* in the south. *Ickning* or *Icknild* seems sometimes to have been named or corrupted into *Rickning* or *Ricknild*, as appears from the names of some places, that are supposed to be derived from the name of this street^a. It is too great a force to suppose *Racking* corrupted from *Roman*, and *Racking-dike* from *Roman-dike*; and yet there does not appear much more violence in this, than in supposing *Raven* (in *Raven's dike* or *bank*) to have come from the word *Roman*; which our best antiquaries seem to agree in^b. From the like conjecture one might be inclined to think, that *Raven'sworth* is from *Romans-worth*: for the village of *Raven'sworth* is just by the military way, though the castle be at some greater distance. But I know no better conjecture, with respect to this etymology, than that it has been from *Warken-dike* [or *Wrought-dike*] that is, a dike of great labour and work, according to our northern pronunciation. It consists of firm gravel and sand, very hard and compact, so as to make a very good way at this time at all seasons of the year. I also believe it has had a mixture of stone, or somewhat of a pavement. But it is high time now to proceed on our journey.

GALAVA.

GALAVA is the next place mentioned in this *iter*. *Camden* has changed the name into *Gallana*, though by what authority^c, or for what reason, I know not. From affinity of name he places it at *Wallwick*, a village on the *wall* in *Northumberland*. But it is most evident, that *Wallwick* has its name from the *wall*, on which it stands, and not from *Gallana*. And it is very certain that *Wallwick* cannot be *Galava*, though it has been generally fixed at this place; for there is no station at *Wallwick*, nor does any military way cross the wall at that part. Besides, there are some common reasons against this opinion, which I have insisted on in other cases, and which are equally applicable to this. Particularly I have endeavoured to shew, that no station in the *Itinerary* is a station strictly on the wall: and as for *Galava*, it is not mentioned in the *Notitia* among the stations *per lineam valli*. *Watling street* crosses the wall near *Portgate*; and where it does so, there has been a square gate of twenty two yards, but no station, nor any thing like it. And the two stations that are nearest to *Wallwick* and *Portgate*, I have shewn, in my discourse on the wall, to be *Cilurnum* and *Hunnum*; and therefore neither the one nor the other can be *Galava*. It is evident, that the number of stations on the very wall, as they are set down in the *Notitia*, is very compleat and entire; and whatever might be the reason or occasion of it, no station that ever had been directly on the wall, seems to have wanted its garrison at the time of writing the *Notitia*. And there is one very obvious reason, why this should

^a Drayton in his *Poly-Olbion*, brings in *Watling-street* as speaking thus.
And Rickneld, forth thus raught from Cambria's farther shore,
Where South-Wales now shoots forth St. David's Promontore,
'And on his mid-way nere, did me in England meet;
Then in his oblique course the lusty stragling street

Soon overtook the Fosse; and toward the fall of Time,
Into the Germane sea dissolved at his decline.
Drayton mentions a different street, by the name of Ickning.

^b It. curios. p. 14.

^c Burton, a great admirer and close follower of *Camden*, observes that all the editions read *Galava*, though *Camden* would rather have it *Gallana*. *Anton. Itin.* p. 248.

should be so: because the wall being at that time the very boundary or their principal fence, it was necessary to have it well garrisoned. But for the further proof of this, I must refer to my account of the wall and of the stations upon it ^a.

AT *Old town*, near *Catten beacon*, on *Alon-water*, there are some ruins and remains of antiquity, and this I take to be *Galava*. This place Mr. *Warburton*, in his map, supposed to be *Alone*; but the military ways, and distances between the stations on each side, do not answer according to this opinion; and I have already proved, that *Alone* is *Whitley castle*. If this be *Galava*, the distances from *Lanchester* on the one hand, and *Whitley castle* on the other, will answer exactly enough, reckoning the *Roman* miles about the same length as before, and taking the direct line from *Lanchester* to *Old town*. This station is not near so considerable, nor the ruins of it so certain or so large, as either that at *Lanchester* or *Whitley castle*; which agrees very well with its not being mentioned in the *Notitia*, as having then been neglected, whilst both the other stations occur in that account, and from thence appear to have been kept in repair and garrisoned to the last ^b. None of these three places *Glanoventa*, *Galava*, *Alone*, are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, who probably had a greater regard to noted towns, than to stations or forts, where the town was not considerable. The *Roman* town at *Lanchester* seems indeed to have been very large, but perhaps it was not so in *Ptolemy's* time. As for the ancient name *Galava* (which *Camden* writes *Gallana*) I was thinking it may possibly have been *Galauna*, and perhaps relate to *Alauna*, *Alonwater*, on which it stands (though this be not the river to which *Ptolemy* gives the name of *Alauna*) *Glan Alauna* would be in the northern dialect the *Glen* of *Alon*. *Alauna* in *Ravennas* is possibly the same with *Galava* or *Galana* in the *Itinerary*. It is placed by *Ravennas* next *Juliocenor* and *Gabrocentio*, or *Tunnocelum* and *Gabrosentum*, as they are called in the *Notitia*.

THE uncertainty there is about the military way, is the greatest difficulty that attends this part of my scheme. I have heard of a causeway on the moors, that seems to point towards *Lanchester* one way, and *Old town* the other; but there is some just suspicion of its being too modern. It is very certain, that as the military way is quite lost for four or five miles east of *Lanchester*; so may it also be to the west, where the ground is soft and marshy. This military way (if real) would near *Old town* fall at a proper angle on the other branch, which seems to have come from the *Maiden way* near *Whitley castle*, and is very visible near *Old town*, and continues so for some few miles, but seems to point towards *Hexham*. This made me once suppose, that this *iter* might have proceeded from *Lanchester* along *Watling street* as far, or nearly as far as *Corbridge*, and there have met this other way, and so turned with it towards *Old town* and *Whitley castle*, and that *Hexham* might possibly be the station we want, or rather *Old town*. But then the distance, without the addition of an x to the number in the *Itinerary*, will by no means answer, though with this addition it agrees very exactly. As this military way is absolutely certain, I have chose to express it in the map, rather than the other, and leave every one to judge as he sees fit. The design of this *iter* however in part seems to be, to take in *Galava*, *Alone*, and some more stations, which could not well be comprehended in any other *iter*.

ALONE is the next place that occurs, at twelve miles distance from *Galava*: and I believe it is just about so many *Roman* miles (reckoned in the same proportion as before) from *Old town* to *Whitley castle*; where there is a *Roman*

ALONE.

^a Book 1. c. 7, 8.

^b The stations on the wall and near it mentioned in the *Notitia* are most probably those, which ac-

cording to the history were repaired or erected anew by Theodosius, who repaired the praetenturae in the reign of Valentinian the first. See Book 1. c. 5.

Roman fort, whose ramparts and ditches are still very visible, and where several inscriptions and *Roman* antiquities have been found; and among the rest, one inscription mentioning the *cohors tertia Nerviorum*, which according to the *Notitia* was quartered at *Alione*. This is a strong proof that *Alone* is rightly placed at *Whitley Castle*, which is also favoured by its being situated on *South Tine*, the antient name of which was probably *Alon*. The rivers that now bear that name are far from being very considerable: and the antient name of *South Tine* seems to be retained in *Aln burn*, the name of a rivulet that runs into *South Tine*, not far from *Whitley castle*^a; so that we have affinity of name on our side, as far as this can be relied on.

GALACVM.

THE next place mentioned is *Galacum*, at xix miles distance from *Alone*, and xxvii from *Bremetonacae*. This has generally (if not universally) since *Camden*'s time been placed at *Whellop castle* or *Kirby thure*, an imaginary affinity of name being all the foundation he seems to have built on^b; but as this proof is very slender, so I believe it will better suit the distance on both sides to fix *Galacum* at *Appleby*. There seems to be pretty good proof, that there has been a station at *Appleby*; both because it stands directly on the military way, and because some *Roman* antiquities have been found hereabouts. It has generally been supposed to be *Aballaba*, one of the stations *per lineam valli*, mentioned in the *Notitia*; but as I have fully shewn that *Aballaba* was nearer the wall, so I see no manner of objection against its being *Galacum*. And as for the station that has been at or near *Kirby thure*, or *Whellop castle*, I hope I have already proved that to be *Brovonacae*. I was surpris'd to find Dr. *Gale* inclined to alter both the numbers (that is, to take five miles from the distance between *Alone* and *Galacum*, and to add as many to the distance between *Galacum* and *Bremetonacae*) without the authority of any one copy of the *Itinerary*. Is it not much more reasonable to suppose that *Galacum* has been at *Appleby*, which is just about five *Roman* miles from *Kirby thure*? According to this supposition thirty two *Itinerary* miles should reach from *Kirby thure* to *Overborough*, and twenty seven (the number in the *Itinerary*) from *Appleby* to it, which Dr. *Gale* takes for granted, though in this too I believe he is mistaken, as I shall immediately have occasion to shew: but I find it exactly fourteen *Roman* miles from *Whitley castle* to *Kirby thure*, and five more to *Appleby*, making in all nineteen; which is just the distance in the *Itinerary* between *Alone* and *Galacum*. The *Maiden way* does not go directly to *Appleby*, but has come in to the other grand way from *Carlisle* near *Kirby thure*. It is now quite lost before it reaches this grand way; but according to tradition, and other circumstantial evidence, the one way is thought to have joined the other about a mile and a half to the north, or northwest from *Kirby thure*. And as for the military way from these parts leading towards *Overborough* and *Ribchester* in *Lancashire*, I can get no certain intelligence of it. I am afraid we have no remains that are sure and considerable to guide us here. Every one supposes a military way, but no body traces it out.

BREMETONACAE.

BREMETONACAE, the next mansion in this *iter*, has been generally placed at *Overborough*. The distance both by computed miles, and the general scale, is too great for the present numbers of the *Itinerary*: The change of the v into an x makes it exact, but the military way leading to *Overborough* must still remain in obscurity. The evidences of its being *Roman*, mentioned by Dr. *Gale*, are very strong. "Besides the name, *Roman* coins, stones, and " tessellated pavements fix the station here." *Camden* also observes, "that besides the tradition of the inhabitants concerning an old city, which stood
" near

^a I also am inclined to think that *Alston* in *Cumberland*, which stands on this river and near the head of it, has had its name from *Alon*, and been originally called *Alnston* or *Alon's town*.

^b *Camd. Brit.* p. 991.

^c Praeter nomen, nummi, lapides insculpti, et pavimenta tessellata Romanam hic signant stationem. *Anton. Itin.* p. 119.

“ near it, the place makes proof of its own antiquity by many antient monuments, inscriptions, chequered pavements, and *Roman* coins, as also by this name *Burrow*.”

Coccium has been seated at *Ribchester*, and I have no sufficient reason to remove it. The measure or computation of the miles between *Overborough* and *Ribchester* I know not, and so am obliged to have recourse to the general scale, which here again answers exactly with the addition of v to the xx; for I find it just about twenty five miles according to this scale from *Overborough* to *Ribchester*. I need not describe the *Roman* station at *Ribchester*, nor prove the certainty of it; for it is universally confessed, and the evidences are beyond all exception. But for the military way, we must still be content to be in the dark about it. In our next stage we are, according to the intelligence I have received, sure of our military way; and I cannot but think the visible military way from *Ribchester* to *Manchester* is a pretty strong argument, that it has been continued through the two preceding stages, though no certain discoveries have hitherto been made of it. But the distance between *Ribchester* and *Manchester* is certainly too great for the seventeen miles in the *Itinerary* between *Coccium* and *Mancunium*. It is twenty computed miles from *Ribchester* to *Manchester*. This answers to xxvii in the *Itinerary*. If therefore we add a single x to the present numerals, it will set us right as to our distance. But then considering the pretty good agreement in this *iter* between the sum total and the particulars, I would rather chuse to rank this and the two preceding among the original errors, if my conjectures should be admitted.

Coccivm.

FOR the three next stations, *Mancunium*, *Condate* and *Mediolanum*, see what has been said in the second *iter*.

BUT I would here remark, before I conclude this *iter*, that the *legio vice-sima*, which was quartered at *Chester*, appears by inscriptions to have been at *Lanchester*^a and *Whitley castle*^c, and to have been employed in rebuilding some work at this latter place. And this may seem to make it more probable, that there was a military way from *Lanchester* and *Whitley castle* to *Chester*, and so favours the general scheme I have advanced with respect to this *iter*. I would farther add, that if what has been said be true, that the fine way between *Northwich* and *Middlewich* be *Roman*, this would be a good reason why we should look out for more stations in this course; but I am not fully satisfied as to this matter.

ITER XI. A SEGONTIO DEVAM M. P. LXXXIII.

The eleventh rout from
the sea coast near Caernar-
ven to Chester 83 miles.

[A SEGONTIO
CONOVIO
VARIS
DEVA

M. P. XXIV
M. P. XIX al. XXI
M. P. XXXII al. XXII

Caernarven]
Caer Rhyn
Bodvary
West Chester

IN this short *iter* there is a considerable disagreement between the total at the top, and the amount of the particulars. The former is LXXXIII, and the latter no more than seventy five. In this case the smaller number must be the

^a Pag. 976.

^b See Durham N. xvi.

^c Northumberland N. cxi. See also Westmorland N. iv. which may favour the opinion of the way's passing near Appleby.

the righter, or else our modern maps are much in the wrong; for according to these, the smaller is too great. Perhaps the sum total is to be corrected by throwing out one x, and turning another into an v, so as to make it LXVIII. The sum is LXVII according to my correction of the particulars, which is thus: For XIX I read XXI, over against *Varis*: for XXXII I read XXII, over against *Deva*: and the XXIV over against *Conovio* makes LXVII.

SEGONTIVM. *SEGONTIUM*, the *terminus* of this *iter*, one would at first hearing have guessed to have been among the *Segontiaci*; but it is very certain that it was not. On the contrary, it is universally and justly agreed, to be on or near the sea coast, west from *Chester*, and over against *Anglesea*. The course of the military way from *Chester* to the sea coast may be certainly known, being yet very visible in several places, as I am assured by a good hand. It passes near *Bangor*, which it may do, and yet terminate near *Caernarven*, which is justly supposed to have arisen from the antient *Segontium*. The *Palatine* manuscripts of *Ptolemy*, as Dr. *Gale* observes, has Σεγαλίων λιμὴν, *Segantiorum portus*: this might easily be changed into *Setantiorum portus*; and therefore is supposed by the doctor to have been at or near the mouth of the river *Segont* or *Saint* (as in the map) and so near *Caernarven*. But *Ptolemy's* situation of the *portus Setantiorum* does not answer, as appears by the *Essay on Ptolemy*.

CONOVIVM. ACCORDING to the *Itinerary*, at twenty four miles distance from *Segontium* stood *Conovium*. And I think sixteen computed *English*, and twenty four *Roman* miles, bring us just from the coast to the river *Conway*, upon which no doubt *Conovium* has stood; and the antient name is with reason thought to remain in the name of the river. Dr. *Gale*^a with great probability places it at *Caer Rhyn* which signifies an antient city. Here are ruins and several bricks said to be found with LEG. X. impressed upon them. I strongly suspect it has been LEG. XX. But for this I must refer to the collection and observations.

VARAE. AT nineteen miles distance from *Conovium*, according to the *Itinerary*, stood *Varae*. Dr. *Gale* supposes the antient name to be *Varia*, which signifies a passage over a river; and he places it at *Bodvary*, on the river *Cluyd*. This river seems to be nearly at a due distance, the easy change of XIX into XXI makes it exact; and therefore it is not much to be doubted, but that the station has been upon it.

DEVA. THE distance of this river from *Chester* is too little for the XXXII miles in the *Itinerary*. If an x be thrown out, it becomes very exact; and as there is nothing to spare from any of the former distances, and we must dispense with this difficulty as well as we can, I see no way of settling this *iter* on any other course. *Helen's way* is supposed to be *Roman*^b, but I cannot see that it will do us any service. Several military ways (three at least) must have gone out from *Chester*, and yet this is no *terminus* of any other *iter*. If we suppose the way from *Segontium* to *Deva* to be as it were the principal stem, the ways from *Deva* to *Condate* and *Bovium* seem to shoot out like branches at the usual angle.

ITER XII.
A CALLEVA MVRIDVNVM
VRIOCONIVM M.P.CLXXXVI.

[A CALLEVA
VINDOMI
VENTA BELGARVM

M. P. XV
M. P. XXI

The twelfth rout from
Silchester by Eggerton to
Wroxeter 186 miles.

From Silchester]
Farnham
Winchester

BRIGE

^a Pag. 122:

^b Camd. Brit. p. 790.

BRIGE	M. P. XI <i>al.</i> IX	<i>Broughton</i>
SORVIOVNO	M. P. IX <i>al.</i> XI	<i>Old-Sarum</i>
VINDOCLADIA	M. P. XIII	Near <i>Cranburn</i>
DVRNQVARIA	M. P. VIII <i>al.</i> XXXVI	<i>Dorchester</i>
MVRIDVNO	M. P. XXXVI <i>al.</i> VIII	Near <i>Eggerton</i>
SCADVM NVNNIORVM	M. P. XV	Near <i>Chiselmorrough</i>
LEVCARO	M. P. XV	Near <i>Glassenbury</i>
BOMIO	M. P. XV	Near <i>Axbridge</i>
NIDO	M. P. XV	Near <i>Portbury</i>
ISCALEGVA AVGVSTA	M. P. XV	<i>Caerleon</i>
BVRRIO	M. P. IX	<i>Usk</i>
GOBANNIO	M. P. XII	<i>Abergavenny</i>
MAGNIS	M. P. XXII	<i>Kenchester</i>
BRAVINIO	M. P. XXIV	<i>Ludlow</i>
VRIOCONIO	M. P. XXVII	<i>Wroxeter</i>

THERE is plainly an hundred omitted in the total prefixed to this *iter*; for the amount of the particulars is just CCLXXXII, whereas the total prefixed is CLXXXVI: so that besides this, there is also a difference of four, and the excess on the side of the total. Dr. *Gale* believes that two *itineræ* are here united or thrown into one; but I am inclined to think (contrary to the general opinion) that the latter part of this *iter* has been directly from *Isca Dumnoniorum* to *Isca Silurum*, and so on to *Urioconium*. And I take the true meaning of the title, *a Calleva Muridunum Urioconium*, to be a rout from *Calleva* to *Urioconium* by *Muridunum*, and so is designed for one *iter* making that circuit. Dr. *Gale*^a has it *a Calleva Muriduno Urioconium*; and others observe, that according to one copy it is *a Calleva per Muridunum Urioconium*, which makes the meaning easy and certain^b.

THE first thing necessary to be done with respect to this *iter*, is to settle the *terminus* from whence it begins. This in my opinion appears so manifestly to be *Silchester*; that I cannot help expressing some surprize, that it should hitherto have escaped the observation of so many excellent antiquaries, and that I should now be singular in my opinion: however, I hope the evidence on the side of this sentiment will balance the general authority, that is opposite to it. But before I attempt to prove *Calleva* in this *iter* to be *Silchester*, I would remark, that in all probability it is the same with *Calleva Atrebatum* in the seventh *iter*. The names agree, and if there be no occasion to suppose this to be a different place; that alone is a sufficient reason, why we should conclude them to be one and the same. So we have *Isurium* with the addition of *Brigantum* in one *iter*, and without it in another^c. On the other hand I observe, that where we have two places of the same name, belonging to different people, they are always distinguished in the *Itinerary* by the addition of the people's names to whom they respectively belonged. So we meet with *Venta Silurum*, *Venta Icenorum*, and *Venta Belgarum*; *Isca* (*Silurum*) distinguished by adding *Leg. II. Aug.* and *Isca Dumnoniorum*. It is said indeed, that *Silchester* was antiently called *Caer Segonte*^d, which seems to imply, that it belonged to the *Segontiaci*, and not to the *Atrebates*. But the name *Caer Segonte* depends, I think, on the authority of *Ninnius*, and is not altogether certain. Besides the *Segontiaci* are not mentioned at all by *Ptolemy*; and possibly in his time, and also when the *Itinerary* was written, might be joined to the *Atrebates*, and looked upon only as a part of that people: so that what was before a city of the *Segontiaci*, might then justly
be

^a Pag. 124.

^b See Anton. Iter. Britan. prefixed to Camden's Britannia.

^c It. II, v.

^d Camd. p. 147.

be termed a city of the *Atrebates*. *Ptolemy* indeed places *Calleva Atrebatum* in a more northern latitude than *London*; but he seems to be a little out as to this city, as well as a great many others; for the situation he assigns to it sets him at an irreconcilable difference with the *Itinerary*, since the numbers expressing the distance of *Calleva Atrebatum* from *Londinium* and *Venta Belgarum*, will by no means agree to this situation: but *Silchester*, and this only, seems to answer all the demands of the *Itinerary*. It is just on the borders of *Berkshire*, which county is generally allotted to the *Atrebates*: and if we suppose it to have been the capital of the *Atrebates*, when the *Itinerary* was written, it seems not to have been unusual to place the capitals nearer the borders than the center of the country; and this must have been the case here, for there are only twenty two *Itinerary* miles between *Calleva Atrebatum* and *Venta Belgarum*^a. I believe generally these places so distinguished were capitals, and perhaps always, when there was only one place of that name, as *Isurium Brigantum*, and here *Calleva Atrebatum*. But I shall now endeavour more directly to prove, that *Silchester* must be the *Calleva* of the *Itinerary*.

CALLEVA.

It appears from what has been already said, that *Calleva* was, in all probability, a very considerable place, and perhaps a capital. This is farther confirmed by its being the *terminus* of the four last *itineræ*. The same consideration shews, that several military ways must have intersected at, or issued from it. Its distance of twenty two miles from *Venta Belgarum*, and forty four from *Londinium*, as in the seventh *iter*, and of fifteen from *Spinae*, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth (all which places are very certain) may plainly guide us to *Calleva*. In which we may be also farther assisted, by comparing the distances of *Vindomis*, and some other places more remote, but more certain. If all these evidences conspire and unite in *Silchester*, it is certainly little less than a demonstration of its being *Calleva*. This place has the situation, and all the evidences of a large *Roman* city. It is seated on the north side of the river, about six miles south from *Reading*; and the very name, according to *Camden*, signifies a *great city*, as *Selwood* means a *great wood*^b. The walls are about two miles in compass, which I take to be much the same circuit with those of *Isurium*, the capital of the *Brigantes*. There are yet great remains of the walls, and large ruins. Abundance of *Roman* remains, and *Roman* coins, called *Onion-pennies* (from one *Onion*, an imaginary giant and inhabitant of this city) have been dug up here; and in a word, as there are all the evidences of a great city, so all our antiquaries agree, that it has been one. How much more probable is it then, that this should be *Calleva* than *Vindomis*, which seems only to be mentioned, as it were, by the bye, and manifestly appears by the numbers to be only a side station? And yet *Vindomis* has been the current *Roman* name of *Silchester*, ever since *Camden*^c first stamped it with his authority. Again, the number of military ways, some yet visible and certain, and others very probable, that lead to and from *Silchester*, strongly argue it to be the *Calleva*, which is the *terminus* of so many *itineræ*. There is one of these yet visible that leads toward *Winchester*, another seems to have gone directly to *Old Sarum*; a third to *Speen* near *Newbury*; another towards *London*; and another (as is supposed by Dr. *Stukeley*) has gone towards *Farnham*. The former, if either of these, must have passed by *Stratfield*. Most of these I shall have occasion to speak to afterwards. The way from *Silchester* to *Winchester*, *Camden* tells us, was very visible^d in his time, and it still continues to be so in some places. He also farther affirms, that there is another *Roman* military way which goes westward from *Silchester* through *Pamber*, near *Lichfield*, and so to the forest of *Chute*, where the paved ridge is plainly visible, though here and there interrupted^e. This I imagine to

^a See *Iter vii.*

^b *Pag.* 149.

^c *Pag.* 147.

^d *Ibid.*

^e *Pag.* 150.

to have been the short cut or direct road from *Silchester* to *Old Sarum*, and the continuation of Dr. *Stukeley's Icening street*; for I cannot find that any *iter* has proceeded upon it, nor is this pretended by any, that I know of. I believe it also to be what Dr. *Stukeley*^a calls here *Icening street*, which he says is called *Chute causeway* in *Chute* forest, and goes directly to the eastern gate of *Old Sarum*. We have decisive evidence from the exactly correspondent distances on all sides, according to the *Itinerary*, from *London*, *Winchester*, *Speen*, and *Farnham* (which I believe to be *Vindomis*) as also from the *Bath*, and some other more remote places. This has been already shewn with respect to *London* and *Winchester*, and the other distances will soon fall under our consideration; and this evidence, added to that of the number of military ways centring in *Silchester*, confessedly and visibly equal to the number required, seems to put this matter out of doubt.

VINDOMIS is xv *Itinerary* miles from *Calleva*, and *Farnham* in *Surrey* is just the same number of small miles by the scale in *Camden's* map, distant from *Silchester*. *Farnham* stands on the river *Wey*, which may be imagined to have some affinity with the first syllable in *Vindomis*. Dr. *Stukeley* calls it *Calleva Atrebatum*^b, and *Silchester Vindomis*; I beg leave to change the names, and am persuaded it will make the whole affair more easy and natural.

VINDOMIS.

VENTA BELGARUM, our next stage, at xxi miles from the preceding, has been spoken to before, and is justly agreed to be *Winchester*. The certain visible remains of the *Roman* way between *Farnham* and *Alton*, and in several places between *Alresford* and *Alton*, tending towards *Winchester*, are very remarkable^c; and a great confirmation of this part of the scheme. The distance from *Farnham* to *Winchester* answers exactly enough to twenty one miles in the *Itinerary*. Twenty small miles by the scale reach to the borders of *Surrey* very nearly, and *Farnham* seems not to be above a mile or two at most from the borders. Thus the proper distances are sufficiently secured; and by placing *Vindomis* at *Farnham*, and *Regnum* at *Chichester*, the disposition of the stations seems to be rendered more regular.

VENTA
BELGARVM.

BRIGE is the next place situated between *Venta Belgarum* and *Sorbiodunum*, at the distance of xi miles from the former, and viii, as in the fifteenth, or ix, as in this, from the latter, according to the *Itinerary*. Dr. *Gale* places it at *Broughton*, which is not unlikely: however I think we may be as sure of this as we are of *Venta* and *Sorbiodunum*, and of the numbers in the *Itinerary*; especially since the military way from *Old Sarum*, by *Broughton* to *Winchester*, is still visible, and has been rode along, and traced out by so good a judge as Mr. *Gale*. I would only observe, that the numbers here must, I think, be transposed, and the reading should be

BRIGE.

BRIGE VIII

SORBIODVNVM XI

For thus I find the distances will suit the numbers with the utmost exactness.

SORBIODUNUM (or *Sorviodunum*, as some editions have it) *Old Sarum*, is a long mile from *Salisbury* up the river towards *Ambresby*. They called it there *Old castle*. I did not think its figure, and the form of its ramparts to be very *Roman* like, but I yield to the general opinion of others, that it must have been *Roman*. The ramparts are prodigious bulky, and the ditch very deep. There is an inner oval fort full of green hillocks of rubbish or ruins, having only one entry; and an outer one of a double or triple diameter, with two entries and double ramparts and ditches. The inner fort is exactly in the middle of the other, and is of the usual *Danish* size. Dr. *Stukeley* supposes it

SORBIODVNVM.

^a It. curios. p. 175.

^b Ibid. p. 196.

^c See Dr. *Stukeley*, Ibid.

it to have been originally *British*, and has given us an accurate draught and description of it.

BEFORE I farther pursue the rest of this journey, I would willingly determine the course according to which I am to proceed. I had not an opportunity of tracing the military way my self, when I was in that country; but this has been done with so much diligence and accuracy by Dr *Stukeley*, that it will be sufficient to give an abstract of his account. "From the gate of "*Sorbiodunum* the *Icening street* (says the doctor) goes from north-east to south-west, by the name of *Port-lane*, over the river *Avon* at *Stretford*. "Then ascends the hill, and passes the united *Nadre* and *Willy* near *Bemerton*, "where the stony ford is still very perfect; then it goes across my Lord *Pembroke's* horse-race course and hare-warren: then it traverses the brook at "*Fenny-Stretford*, and so along the great downs to *Cranburn chace*. As it "enters the chace there is a most remarkable *diverticulum*, and which notoriously demonstrates, that it was begun from the south. Across the woods "its ridge is very perfect and made of stone: when it has passed through the woods of *Cranburn-chace*, and approaches *Woodyates*, you see a great dike "and *vallum* upon the edges of the hills to the left, by *Pentridge*. Its high "ridge is then inclosed within a pasture, just at *Woodyates*; then becomes "the common road for half a mile, but immediately passes forwards upon a "down, the road going off to the right. I continued the *Roman* road for "two or three miles where it is rarely visited. It is very beautiful, smooth "on both sides, broad at top, the holes remaining whence it was taken, with "a ditch on each hand: It is made of gravel, flint, or such stuff as happened "in the way most convenient and lasting. The road is all along called "*Ickling-dike*." Having thus described the course of the military way from the doctor, I shall now with him look out for the next station.

VINDOCLADIA.

VINDOCLADIA, according to this *iter*, is XIII miles from *Sorbiodunum*; in the fifteenth but XII. Now twelve *Itinerary* miles set off, as I have done all along, reach into *Dorsetshire*, to *Cranburn-chace*, near *Pentridge*. *Cranburn* is well watered, and is ten computed miles from *Salisbury*. We are told in *Camden*, that "on *Hambleton* hill, at the end of *Cranburn-chace*, is "an ancient camp, and another near it on *Hod-hill*; in or near the first of "which, *Roman* coins are said to have been dug up." Hereabout, which is not far from *Cranburn* (nor from two *Winburns*, if affinity of name be of any moment) am I most inclined to place *Vindocladia*. Dr. *Stukeley* seems inclinable to fix it at *Boroston*^a; but as the doctor did not see that old city himself, and I find no account of it any where else, I am not fond of trusting much to it: besides I think it suits not the distance, nor does it stand directly on the way. I take the greater number thirteen to be the truer, and better to suit this interval. Dr. *Stukeley* informs us, that he continued to pursue the *Roman* road, but it was not long before he absolutely lost it in great woods beyond *Long Crechill*, but by information he learnt, that it passed the *Stour* at *Crayford* bridge below *Blandford*. The doctor adds afterwards, "near the "passage of the *Icening street*, at *Crayford*, is *Badbury*, a vast *Roman* camp, "where antiquities have been found." *Badbury* is a hill entrenched with a triple ditch, where, according to tradition, a castle formerly stood. Coins, a *Roman* sword, and urns have been dug up here; and a military way goes directly from hence to *Old Sarum*. This shews it to have been a *Roman* encampment; but I cannot say, that it looks like a mansion or station.

I CAN discover but little more light as to the continuance of the military way from *Crayford* to *Dorchester*. All that Dr. *Stukeley* says is in these words;

^a It. curios. p. 175.

^b It. curios. p. 180.

^c Pag. 64.

^d Itin. cur. p. 180.

^e It. cur. p. 181.

words : " By what I could see or learn in travelling over this intricate country, " the *Roman* road passes upon a division between *Pimpenn* and *Bere* hundred " to *Bere* ". However it is generally agreed, and I see no reason to doubt but that it has gone forward to *Dorchester*.

DORCHESTER has, with one consent of antiquaries, been pronounced the *Roman Durnovaria*. The name, and yet visible remains, leave no room to doubt of its having been *Roman*. Dr. *Stukeley* informs us, " that great part " of the old *Roman* wall is standing twelve foot thick, made of rag stone, " laid side by side and obliquely, then covered over with very strong mortar. " The next course generally leans the contrary way ; now and then three " horizontal ones for binding, for much flint is used withal ^b." The *Roman* money found here is called *Dorn-pennies*, or king *Dor's* money. Dr. *Stukeley* has also given us a particular account of the *Roman* camps in the neighbourhood, and of the *Roman* amphitheatre at *Dorchester* ^c. The town stands on the south side of the river. *Poundbury* camp of a square figure is half a mile west of *Dorchester*, on the brink of the river. The camp called *Maiden* castle takes in the whole summit of a great hill, having a double ditch and rampart, in some places triple. " Two camps seem to be comprehended within it, " a ditch and *vallum* running across, with each its entry of very perplexed " work ; several ditches with cross entries reaching over one another ^d." The manner of building the wall of this *Roman* city, is not unlike the manner of building the *Roman* wall in the north of *England*, only no flint was used in that. And the form of the last camp appears by the description, to be like one we have on the borders, at a place called *Gamblespeth*. But I must now endeavour to ascertain the *Roman* name of *Dorchester*.

DURNNOVARIA.

It is, I think, generally agreed, that the numbers in the *Itinerary*, at this part, are more or less out of order ; nor can I see any way of reconciling them to matter of fact without some alterations : and yet these numbers seem to be confirmed by being mentioned both in this and the fifteenth *iter* ; and by the near agreement of the particulars in this latter, with the sum total prefixed to it. The easiest way of removing this difficulty is, I think, to suppose a transposition of the numbers annexed to *Durnovaria* and *Muridunum*, so as to make it xxxvi miles from *Vindocladia* to *Durnovaria*, and viii or ix from *Durnovaria* to *Muridunum*. I observe the computed miles in *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire* are very long, and that nearly the *ratio* of two to three must be followed. According to the general scale it is just thirty six *Roman* miles from my *Vindocladia* to *Dorchester* ; so that by this means the distance may be preserved with great exactness, and *Dorchester* still continue in possession of the name *Durnovaria*, supposed to signify a passage over a river ^e.

According to Dr. *Stukeley*, " many *Roman* roads issue out from *Dorchester*, " beside *Icening street*, passing directly on the meadows to *Walton* ; one goes " by the amphitheatre southward to *Weymouth* ; another by *Poundbury* and " *Stretton*, to *Yeovil* and *Ischalis* ; another probably to *Wareham* ^f." But as we at present only want one which can be relied on, so I would freely quit all the rest to have this ascertained. What the doctor calls *Icening street*, seems to be the surest ; for he tells us, " that a little north of *Bridport* he " found the great *Icening street* going to *Dorchester*, which he accompanied " with no small pleasure. I imagine (adds he) that it has gone a little farther up the country than I had travelled, and hereabouts may properly be " said to begin, probably meeting the *Fosse* at *Moridunum*. It is called the " *Ridgeway*. The composition of the road is wholly of flints gathered off " the

^a It. curios. p. 181.

^b Ibid. p. 153.

^c Ibid. p. 154, &c.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid. p. 153.

^f Pag. 154.

"the lands, or taken from near the surface. It goes to *Eggardon* hill, as they tell me, north of *Bridport*. It enters the city of *Dorchester*, by the north of *Winterburn*, at *West gate*." This is a sure account of this military way, which I am resolved to take for my guide; and I think it highly probable, from the title of this *iter*, that the principal turn has been made at *Muridunum*.

MVRIDVNVM.

MURIDUNUM I therefore believe to be near *Eggerton* hill. Dr. *Stukeley*, speaking of the military way, has the following passage. "As I rode along, I found it (the military way) frequently made great curves to avoid passing over valleys, and industriously keeps on the highest ground, and commands the prospect of the country every where. It goes to *Eggardon* hill, as they tell me, north of *Bridport*; and here I suppose is a camp, whence the whole hundred is denominated. Whether from this camp, or from this road, it is plain the old *Latin* word is retained *agger*. Therefore *Aggerdon*, as it ought to be wrote, is the hill entrenched, or the down where the high road runs." *Muridunum* is perhaps the same in sense with *Aggerdon*, according to these two etymologies. The hundred, which takes its name from hence, lies between *Bridport* and *Dorchester*. We are also told in *Camden*, of antiquities found hereabout. *Dunium* is the only place which *Ptolemy* mentions among the *Durotriges*. This made me suppose it to be the capital of this people in *Ptolemy's* time, and therefore once suspected it to be *Dorchester*: but as I take it for granted, that *Ptolemy's Dunium* is the same with our *Muridunum* in the *Itinerary*; so I think the situation I have assigned to it will suit better than *Dorchester*, *Ptolemy's* position, the course of the road and *iter*, and also the etymology.

ISCA DVNNONIO-
RVM.

IF we were certain, that *Isca Dumnoniorum* was *Exeter*; it might be of some service: but general opinion, and some seeming affinity of names is the principal foundation, on which this depends; and the distance of it, and the supposed intermediate stations, are no way, as far as I can yet see, reconcilable to the numbers in the *Itinerary*. It is true *Exeter* appears to be *Roman*, both from the name, and antiquities that have been found there: but I could never yet hear of any military way leading to it or from it, nor indeed the least evidence of any farther west than what Dr. *Stukeley* gives the account of quoted just before; and I see nothing material said to prove *Seaton* to be *Roman*. It is not easy to know what to make of *Ptolemy*, if his authority should be admitted as decisive in this case, as I suppose it will not. I have some suspicion that his *Uxela* is intended for *Exeter*; however he has *legio secunda Augusta*, *Isca* and *Ischalis*, as three different places. If *Ischalis* had not been placed on the south side of the *Severn*, I should have taken it for granted, that it was designed for *Isca Silurum*, corruptly called *Isca legua* in this *iter*; but what to think now, I know not. *Ptolemy's* confounding the two *Isca's*, and making *legio secunda Augusta* a distinct place, or the name of any place, is, in my opinion, the only manifest and very material error committed by him in this part of *England*. Perhaps some part of the error is to be ascribed not to the author, but to the transcriber: however it is evident, that *Ptolemy's Isca* does not answer in situation to *Exeter*, if his *Ostia Isacae* be the mouth of the river *Ex* on which *Exeter* stands: for *Isca*, according to him, must be about twenty or thirty miles northeast from the mouth of that river. This reaches to the river *Ax*, and near the place which I have chose for my *Isca*. This also shews how far the *Dumnonii* reached according to *Ptolemy*. Besides these he has *Dunium*, *Kenta*, and *Aquae calidae*; and it is not very difficult to reconcile his situation of these with the numbers in the *Itinerary* in a tolerable manner. *Dunium* is the same with *Muridunum*, and it is placed by *Ptolemy* among the *Durotriges*. It is true he has also *Muridunum*

* It. curios. p. 153.

* Ibid.

* Pag. 53.

dunum among the *Demetae*, west from the *Silures*: but I think it is generally agreed, both that this is *Caermarthen*, and that it is different from the *Moridunum* in the fifteenth *iter*, and consequently, as I suppose, in this also; for I cannot see the least reason to suspect that *Moridunum* in the fifteenth, and *Muridunum* in this, are different places. In both it goes immediately before *Isca Dumnoniorum* at the distance of fifteen miles; and therefore, I think, cannot possibly be *Caermarthen* in either. A like argument may be drawn from the stations preceding *Moridunum* in both these *itineraria*, but in so plain a case it is needless to enlarge any farther. If then *Muridunum* belonged to the *Durotriges*, though near the borders of that people, this suits the place I have assigned to it; but is disagreeable to *Seaton*, which by the consent of all stands within the borders of the *Dumnonii*. But I must now proceed more directly to consider the true situation of *Isca Dumnoniorum* (here corruptly written *Scadum Nunniorum*) and which though generally, yet as I think erroneously, has been hitherto settled at *Exeter*. The town *Ilchester* in *Somersetshire* must certainly have been not only *Roman*, but also a considerable place in the time of the *Romans*. The name, situation on the *Fosse*, and other evidences of *Roman* antiquity and grandure, confirm this to be true. Dr. *Stukeley*'s account of this town^a, deserves our regard. It is situated on the south side of the river *Ivel* or *Yeovil*, which, according to the doctor, is the *Velox* of *Ravennas*. The *Fosse* passing directly through the town, retains its name there, and makes the principal street. The river runs on the north-east side of the town, where Dr. *Stukeley* saw the foundations of the wall here and there, which he traced quite round, and took up several *Roman* bricks in searching for it. Several coins have been found here. In all the gardens by the *Borough-green* they find foundations of old houses, and some part of a tessellated pavement was discovered in a garden near the river. I was very unwilling therefore to quit a place so certainly *Roman*, and so considerable as this seems to have been; especially when we are also sure, of its being seated on a military way. And if we assign any name to it from the *Itinerary*, I know none so suitable as *Isca Dumnoniorum*. *Ischalis*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is the name it has long been possessed of; but *Wells* seemed to me to have a situation more agreeable to that of *Ptolemy*'s *Ischalis*; and is it not possible the present name *Wells* may have arisen from that of *Ischalis*? I think all agree, that there are no remarkable wells or waters at this place, that can be thought to have occasioned the name. *Ptolemy* indeed places *Ischalis* among the *Belgae*; but by the *Itinerary*, *Isca* appears to have been among the *Dumnonii*; and both might be true, if the former be *Wells*, and the latter *Ilchester*: for I believe the more southern part of *Somersetshire* has belonged to the *Dumnonii*, and the more northern to the *Belgae*. This supposition to me seems to render the situation and boundaries of the ancient countries more uniform and regular; and to place *Isca* at *Ilchester*, or somewhere in these parts, is, in my opinion, to give it a situation much nearer to that assigned it by *Ptolemy*, than what it would have at *Exeter*. The name of the river *Ex*, on which *Exeter* stands, may argue in favour of its being *Isca*, but I see there are several rivers hercabout called *Ex* or *Ax*; so that *Isca* has possibly been a common name to most of the rivers in this part of ancient *Britain*^b. It is true also, that the present numerals xv in the *Itinerary*, which express the distance between *Muridunum* and *Isca*, do not suit *Ilchester*; but the easy change of a single v into an x, so as to read xx for xv, renders it, I believe, pretty exact, and better reconciles the particulars to the total. If we had a military way here for our guide, we might go on more safely: but I think the last account we have of the course of the military way in *Dorsetshire*, which can be relied on, is that it passes to the north of *Bridport*; but which way it bends its course afterwards, is not yet determined in any account I have met with: but on the other side Dr. *Stukeley* informs us^c,
that

^a It. curios. p. 146, 147.

which is a dialect of the British.

^b The word signifies water in the Irish language.

^c It. curios. p. 147, 148.

that after he had left *Ilchester*, " he continued his journey along the *Fosse*,
 " which he observed paved with the original work in many parts. It
 " is composed of the flat quarry stones of the country, of a good breadth, laid
 " edge wise, and so close that it looks like the side of a wall fallen down. On
 " the left hand was *Montacute hill*, and another hill near it of much the
 " same figure. Between them and the *Fosse*, upon the same hilly ridge is a
 " Roman camp called *Hambden hill*, with a double ditch about it, to which
 " leads a vicinal Roman way from the *Fosse* through *Stoke*. The *Fosse* is
 " very plain and straight hitherto, and to *Petherton* bridge near *South Pe-*
 " *therton*. In a field not far off, two years ago, a pot full of Roman coin,
 " to the quantity of six pecks, was dug up. Beyond this the *Fosse* grows
 " intricate and obscure." I have transcribed thus much from the doctor, be-
 cause it is an account of what he saw and observed himself. Now if we com-
 pare with this what I have said before, that the last sure account of the mili-
 tary way from *Dorchester* westward, was as far only as to the north of
Bridport; these two accounts compared together, seem to me to make it
 highly probable, that the military way, according to which this *iter* proceeds,
 has made its turn near *Eggerton*, and struck into the *Fosse* near *South Pether-*
ton, or a little more to the north. Perhaps the vicinal way the doctor men-
 tions, as passing through *Stoke* near *Hambden hill*, has been the very road I am
 speaking of.

IF we pay so much regard to authority as to leave *Ilchester* in possession
 of the name *Ischalis*, and resolve to stick to the present number xv in the
Itinerary, then the course of the military way, and this distance, will conduct
 us towards *South Petherton*, though the distance will not reach so far by about
 two or three miles. If *Ilchester* be quitted, I would chuse to place *Isca* in
 the neighbourhood of *Hambden hill*, about two or three miles south or south-
 west from *South Petherton*. Besides the camp on *Hambden hill*, I see a place
 called *Chiselborough*, which sounds like antiquity, and not very unlike *Isca*,
 as to the former part of the name. *Chiselborough* stands near the river *Par-*
ret, but *Isca* seems to have been a common name for most of the rivers
 hereabouts; and one river still bearing the name of *Ax* is not far off; and I
 make no doubt but, as I hinted before, this part of *Somersetshire*, so near
 the borders, antiently belonged to the country of the *Dumnonii*. I have there-
 fore on the whole given the preference to this rather than *Ilchester*.

LEVCAIVM. IF we suppose *Isca* to have been near *Chiselborough*, or *Hambden hill*, and
 that the way of this *iter* has crossed the *Fosse* immediately, the distance will
 bring us near *Glassenbury* for *Leucarum*. As near as I can judge, the direction
 of the vicinal way, Dr. *Stukeley* speaks of as passing through *Stoke*, will point
 towards *Glassenbury*; and I saw a place called *Street*, on the south side of
 the river over against *Glassenbury*, which may give some reason to conclude
 that a military way has taken this course. When the doctor travelled from
North Cabury, as I take it, to *Glassenbury*, he observed a great bank crossing
 the road, which seemed to be a Roman way; and he guesses there was a
 Roman road from *Bristol* through *Axbridge*, *Bridgewater* and *Taunton*, pa-
 rallel to the *Fosse*, and nearer to the ocean*. I think the distance of fifteen
 miles is not sufficient to bring us fully up to *Glassenbury*, but this is not
 material. The station might be at a mile or two distance, and yet the town
 may have risen out of its ruins.

BOMIVM. *BOMIVM* is xv miles distance from *Leucarum*, and *Axbridge* I take to
 be eleven computed miles from *Glassenbury*. The distance between these two
 places by the scale, is rather too little for fifteen miles in the *Itinerary*. But
 if we suppose the former station to have been a little south east from *Glassen-*
bury, the distance will then answer with very great exactness. I confess I know
 little

* Itin. curios. p. 143.

little of *Axbridge*, and therefore shall not pretend to say much about it; and I am far from being positive as to these particular stages in this part of my journey.

FIFTEEN *Itinerary* miles more will bring us near to the mouth of the *Avon*, and here then must we look for *Nidus*. *Portbury* is promising as to name and distance, but I know nothing more of it, and therefore shall only observe, that the *Roman* camps and antiquities in general, which have been found in *Somersetshire*, do render it the more probable that some *iter* must have passed through it ^a. NIDVS.

ISCA LEGUA AUGUSTA is, no doubt, corruptly written for *ISCA LEG. II. AVGVSTA*, which is the *Isca* of the *Silures*, as appears by its nearness to *Venta Silurum*, though not here expressly so called. It is agreed, and well confirmed by a variety of evidences, to be *Caerleon* in *Monmouthshire*. The distances in the *Itinerary* answer on both sides. The antient name *Isca* is pretty much retained in the present name of the river *Usk*, on which *Caerleon* is situated, as is the word *legio* in the latter part of the present name of the town. Several inscriptions mentioning the *legio secunda Augusta*, have been found at this place, which may be seen in the collection ^b. All which put together render it very certain, that *Caerleon* must be the *Isca* here mentioned. Before I proceed, I must repeat a remark hinted at before, that the computed miles along this western side of *England* are very long, and that the constant *ratio* of the number of computed miles to the number of *Itinerary* miles is two to three from hence to the end of this *iter*. ISCA LEG. II. AVG.

BURRIUM is our next stage, ix miles from *Isca*, according to the *Itinerary*. This, I think, is generally and justly settled at *Usk* ^c, which is six computed miles from *Caerleon*. BVRRIVM.

GOBANNIUM is in the *Itinerary* xii miles from *Burrium*, and *Abergavenny* is just eight computed miles from *Usk*, so that here we have the same proportion again. *Abergavenny* signifies the *mouth of Gavenny*; and *Gavenny* is the name of the river, near the confluence of which with another the town is seated. Several *Roman* antiquities, and coins, have been found at *Abergavenny*, a short account of which I have given before in the observations on the *Monmouthshire* inscriptions; and much of the antient name remains in the present name of the river and town: so that I see not the least reason to question the truth of the common opinion, that *Gobannium* is *Abergavenny*. GOBANNIVM.

I AM fully persuaded, that the following part of this *iter* has proceeded directly from *Abergavenny*, by *Kenchester* and *Ludlow*, to *Wroxeter*; and *Kenchester* I take to be *Magna*. I believe I am singular in my opinion concerning this matter; for *Magna* has generally been placed at *Old Radnor*, and *Kenchester* supposed to be *Ariconium* in the thirteenth *iter*. But I am as sure as I well can be from my own inspection, and a strict enquiry, that there never has been a *Roman* station at *Old Radnor*, nor any military way leading to it: nor will the distances in the *Itinerary* answer in any tolerable manner, if *Old Radnor* be *Magna*, and *Kenchester* be made *Ariconium*; besides the strange turns that must be made in the military way on this supposition, altogether inconsistent with that regularity which I have generally observed in the course of it: whereas if *Magna* be placed at *Kenchester*, all these inconveniencies will be removed, and no new difficulties, as far as I can see, arise in their stead. MAGNA.

Kenchester

^a See Camden in *Somersetshire*, and Dr. Stukeley *Itin. curios.* p. 141, &c.

^b See *Monmouthshire and the observations there*.

^c See some account of these places in the observations on the *Monmouthshire inscriptions*, p. 320.

Kenchester is large enough to merit the name *Magna*. It has the usual situation not far from the confluence of two rivers. Dr. *Stukeley* has given us a curious account and draught of this station, to which I would refer^a. So remarkable a station as this must, without dispute, have had military ways leading both to it and from it; and I make no doubt, but one has come directly from *Abergavenny*. Dr. *Stukeley* says, the *Roman* road from *Abergavenny* goes "by *Dowre*, across the *golden vale*, and *Archenfield*, to the "river *Wye*, which it passes at *Eaton*, where is a *Roman* camp for security, "and a bridge for convenience of the passage^b." There is a *Stretton* a little east, and a *Stretford* west from *Kenchester*, so that probably some military ways have taken these courses, but these we have nothing to do with at present. As for the distance, that seems to answer with sufficient exactness: for it is fifteen computed miles from *Abergavenny* to *Hereford*; and it must be much the same, though rather less, to *Kenchester*. This answers in the proportion I have mentioned before with great exactness to twenty two in the *Itinerary*, the distance between *Gobannium* and *Magna*.

BRAVINIUM.

BRAVINIUM is the next station to *Magna*, and at xxiv miles distance from it. The military way northward from *Kenchester* must certainly have gone near *Ludlow*. One *Stretford* is much in a line between *Kenchester* and *Ludlow*, and Dr. *Stukeley* says expressly, that it has gone by this place^c, which the name very much confirms. *Ludlow* seems to be reckoned only fifteen computed miles from *Hereford*; but I find by the large scale in the map of *Herefordshire* in *Camden*, that it is above sixteen such miles from *Kenchester* to *Ludlow*: so that the distance seems to answer very well for *Bravinium*. The situation of *Ludlow* is very proper for a *Roman* station, and perhaps part of the antient name *Bravinium* remains in that of the river *Onny*^d, which runs into the *Teme*, not far from *Ludlow*. This antient and considerable town stands on the *Teme* (which is justly supposed to have been a common *British* name for rivers) where another river, called *Corne*, runs into it. Dr. *Stukeley* describes this town and castle very accurately^e. I believe no great search has ever yet been made for remains or evidences of a *Roman* station at *Ludlow*, or near it; but in case there should now be no visible remains, it is not at all to be wondered at, that a station should be quite buried and lost in so large a town.

URIOCONIUM.

URIOCONIUM, *Wroxeter*, is the last stage in this journey. I have described the place under the second *iter*, and therefore shall here only take notice of the distance and way. *Wroxeter* seems to be just eighteen computed miles from *Ludlow*, which answer exactly in the aforesaid *ratio* to xxvii, the distance in the *Itinerary*^f. The greater part of the military way between these two places I have rode along my self. The three *Strettons* which stand near it, no doubt have taken their name from it. This road is called *Watling street* by the people in the country, of whom I enquired about it. *Camden* gives it the same name^g; and *Ogilby*, in his survey, calls it so too^h. It is very straight, and the remains of the *Roman* pavement and way are in several parts very visible. I enquired for *Roman* antiquities at the *Strettons*, but found none. *Ald Stretton* and *Church Stretton* are about a quarter of a mile from the *Roman* street, but *Little Stretton* is nearer it. The military way hereabout runs for three or four miles between the mountains, or ridges of mountains, which I think they called *Long-mill-forest*, and *Ridgewell*. We rode also by an old castle, which they called *Cardock*ⁱ castle; but as this is not so material, I shall here put an end to this winding and tedious journey.

ITER

^a It. curios. p. 66.^b Ibid.^c Ibid.^d This is more remarkable if *Bravonium* or *Brannonium* be the true reading, as in Ant. It. prefixed so *Camden's* *Britannia*, and in the book itself. p. 622.^e Pag. 78.^f In *Camden's* map of *Shropshire*, two computed miles answer to three measured according to the scales in that map. This confirms the proportion I have already laid down.^g Pag. 653.^h Map 57.ⁱ Possibly from *Caradoc* the supposed *British* name of *Caractacus*.

ITER XIII.
AB ISCA CALLEVAM
M. P. CIX.

*The thirteenth rout is from
Caerleon to Silchester 109
miles.*

[AB ISCA	
BVRRIO	M. P. IX
BLESTIO	M. P. XI
ARICONIO	M. P. XI
CLEVO	M. P. XV
DVROCORNIO	M. P. XIV
SPINIS	M. P. XV
CALLEVA	M. P. XV

From *Caerleon*
Usk
Monmouth
Near *Rosse*
Gloucester
Cirencester
Speen
Silchester

THIS and the following *iter* have, I believe, been designed for two several passages over the *Severn*, one more direct and by a ferry, the other by a bridge, but a little more about; so as that the *Romans* might use either the one or the other, as best suited their occasions. Somewhat of the same nature seems to have been done at the *Humber*, as may be seen in the first and fifth *itineraria* compared. Besides these two passages over the *Severn*, I have shewn in the foregoing *iter*, that there probably was also another from *Somersetshire*. The *termini* of this and the following *iter* are exactly the same; the one is a shorter cut than the other, and each takes in some stations, that are mentioned in no other *iter*.

THERE is a considerable disagreement between the amount of the particulars of this *iter*, and the sum total prefixed to it; for the amount is but xc, whereas the sum prefixed is cix. The particular numbers are certainly erroneous, for the amount of these falls short of the distance in the following *iter*, though that be the shorter cut. Indeed the particulars in both seem to be wrong, for as the amount falls short of the sum prefixed to them, so the larger sums (all things considered) are found rather too little for the general distance, as will more clearly appear afterwards. If *Clevum* be *Gloucester*, *Duricornovium* *Cirencester*, and *Spinae* *Spinham* or *Speen* near *Newbury*; there is an absolute necessity of enlarging the particular numbers; and I think, besides the general consent of antiquaries, the evidence in favour of each of these places is pretty strong, as I shall shew when I come to speak to each in their order.

BURRIUM, *Usk*, I have spoken to in the foregoing *iter*.

BVRRIVM.

BLESTIUM is the next stage to *Burrium*, distant xi *Roman* miles from it, according to the *Itinerary*. This has generally been placed at *Old-town*, on a military way, supposed to lead to *Kenchester*; but I believe the name, which seems to import antiquity in it, is the only foundation of this opinion. As for the military way leading from *Abergavenny* to *Kenchester*, I have taken notice of it in the preceding *iter*; and *Old-town* has perhaps stood on that way: but as the distance of *Old-town* from *Usk* is too great for the *Itinerary* numbers, so I think it does not lie in the way of this *iter*. I rather chuse to bend my course towards *Monmouth*; the distance, situation, and publick road favour the conjecture. The town it self is ancient; and near *Doward*, in *Whitchurch* parish is a camp or fortification, which some take to be *Roman* *. This is in *Herefordshire*, but not far from *Monmouth*, and possibly may have been the *aestiva* for this station, at or near *Monmouth*. If *Blestium* be fixed

BLESTIVM.

at

* See Cam. p. 692. and New Survey p. 707.

at *Monmouth*, or near it, the usual regularity of the *Itinerary* will, as far as I can judge, be exactly preserved.

ARICONIVM. *ARICONIUM* is our next station at XI *Roman* miles distance from *Blestium*, as says the *Itinerary*. As I have dislodged this from *Kenchester*, where it had been seated with a general consent of antiquaries, I must now seek out a new situation for it. If we set off the proper distances from *Gloucester* and *Monmouth*, we shall be directed to the river *Wye*, not far from *Rosse*. The particular maps and scales in *Camden*, in the counties of *Herefordshire* and *Gloucestershire*, seem widely to vary from the general maps of *England*, and are not to be relied on. Near *Brockhampton*, on *Capellar hill*, is a camp supposed to be *Roman*; It is double ditched, half a mile long, but not near so broad, and is called *Wobury*^a. *Wilton-castle* is near *Rosse*, though on the other side of the river. *Camden* takes a particular notice of it^b. Somewhere hereabouts would I chuse to fix *Ariconium*. It has generally been thought, that a military way had gone from *Gloucester* to *Kenchester*; but this, I believe, was only conjectural: and there is no certain account, of its continuation or visible remains that I know of; which makes it more probable, that it has turned off, and taken some other course. Dr. *Gale*^c argues in favour of *Kenchester*, from the name *Archinfield*. *Irchinfield*, or *Archenfield* (as it is in *Domesday* book) is the name of that part of *Herefordshire*, which lies between the *Doier* and the *Wye*; and therefore the name will equally favour any situation of *Ariconium*, that is between these two rivers; and be more favourable to a place so situated, than to *Kenchester*, which lies without this compass, and on the north side of the *Wye*, though not far from it. I saw a place in the map of *Herefordshire*, called *Aconbury*, lying in *Archenfield*. They who build much upon affinity of names, would perhaps, without any other evidence, settle *Ariconium* here. But till it appear that the military way has taken this course, that there are some better evidences of a station than purely the termination *bury*, and also that the distance is somewhat promising; I shall beg leave at least to suspend my assent, and only farther observe, that as the winding course of this part of the *iter* seems designed to pass the *Wye* and *Severn* by bridges, so it is well contrived for this purpose.

CLEVVM. *CLEVUM* (or *Glevum* as some copies write it^d) our antiquaries, with one consent, pronounce to be *Gloucester*. The name and situation on a certain *Roman* way plainly prove it to be *Roman*, and probably one of the stations of the *Itinerary*. The *British* name of it *Gloui*, and other circumstances strongly argue it to be *Glevum*^e. Thus far we have got on our journey without making any change in the numbers of the *Itinerary*, which we shall be obliged to do in our next stages.

DVROCORNIVM *DUROCORNIVM* is, according to the *Itinerary*, but XIV miles distant from *Clevum*. This has generally, and I think justly, been placed at *Cirencester*. The course of the military way from *Gloucester* to *Cirencester* is certain, and in many places yet very visible and grand. And *Cirencester* stands where this *Roman* way intersects and crosses the *Fosse*. It is rational to suppose, that there would be a station here; and *Cirencester* has all the marks and evidences of one, that can well be desired^f. It stands on the river *Churn*, which flows on the northeast side, and gives name to the town. The ancient *Roman* name has probably been derived from it too. The numbers in the *Itinerary*, expressing the distance, seem to be deficient here; but the easy alteration of XIV into XIX will reconcile exactly the numbers to the matter of fact.

SPINAE

^a Camden, p. 691.

^b Ibid.

^c Ant. It. p. 128.

^d See *Somersetshire inscriptions*.

^e See *Gale's Ant. It.* p. 129. and *Camd.* p. 273.

^f See *Dr. Stukeley's It. curiol.* p. 62.

SPINAE, the next station, has generally been placed at *Speen* near *Newbury*. SPINAE. The affinity of name might probably be the first inducement. The name *Newbury* also implies some prior *burgh* or fort, which probably has been the station at *Speen*; and part of *Newbury* is called *Spinham-land**. The river *Kennet* runs on the south side of it. In the *Itinerary*, according to the present number, it is only xv miles from *Durocornovium* to *Spinae*; but as the disagreement between the particulars and the sum in this *iter* shew the numbers be erroneous, so the addition of xx, to make it xxxv, will render the numbers exactly agreeable to the distance in fact. The distance on the other side from *Silchester*, my *Calleva*, answers exactly.

ITER XIV.
ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB
ISCA CALLEVAM M. P. CIII.

The fourteenth rout is
also from *Caerleon* to *Sil-*
chester, by another way
103 miles.

[AB ISCA	
VENTA SILVRVM	M. P. IX
ABONE	M. P. IX
TRAIECTVS	M. P. IX
AQVIS SOLIS	M. P. VI
VERLVCIONE	M. P. XV
CVNETIONE	M. P. XX
SPINIS	M. P. XV al. XX
CALLEVA	M. P. XV

From *Caerleon*]
Caergwent
Aunsbury
Henham
Bath
Near *Leckham*
Marlborough
Speen
Silchester

THIS *iter* has the same *termini* with the former, but crosses the *Severn* lower down, and by a ferry. Here is also a disagreement between the particulars and the sum prefixed; the former make in all but xcviij, whereas the other is ciii.

ISCA, *Caerleon*, I have spoken to before. The coins, tessellated pavements (part of which I saw my self) *Roman* bricks, and other monuments of *Roman* antiquity, demonstrate the place to be *Roman*; and the inscriptions mentioning the *legio secunda Augusta* confirm it to be *Isca*. The military way from hence to *Caergwent* is mostly very grand and conspicuous. I rode along it with a great deal of pleasure, when I went to visit the following station. ISCA.

VENTA SILVRVM.
VENTA SILVRVM is universally and very justly agreed to be *Caergwent*, where there are large remains, mosaics, and vast numbers of coins, and other sure evidences of a considerable *Roman* station and town. The ancient name remains in the present, and the church and village (for it is now no more) are contained within the ancient ramparts; so that here I think we are very certain: for the way is sure, and the distance very exact, ix miles in the *Itinerary*, and six computed in *Monmouthshire*, which is according to the usual *ratio* here. The military way running eastward from *Caergwent*, is also large and remarkable. I observed it to leave the high way to *Chepstow*, and inclining to the south to bend its course towards the *Severn*: but being obliged to go to *Chepstow* that evening for lodging, I had no opportunity of tracing it to the side of the river; nor do I know if it continue visible till it come to the *Severn*, or where it has crossed it. The name of *Old-Passage* may not have so distant a retrospect as the *Roman trajectus*, at least this is what I shall not pretend to affirm: but yet I conclude, from the course of the military

* See Camden, p. 166.

military way, which I observed my self, that the *Roman* passage has been below the mouth of the *Wye*, and I scarce think the landing place on the south side can have been near so high as *Oldbury*, though this is generally supposed; and for this reason *Oldbury* has got the name of *Trajectus*, a transposition of names being now more generally admitted.

ABONE. *ABONE*^a stands next at present in the *Itinerary* at ix miles distance from *Venta*. Dr. *Stukeley* makes it to be *Henbury*^b: others, as *Camden*, place it at *Alvington* or *Aventon*, as he writes the name; and says, "that *Antoninus's* "*Abone*, or *Avone*, is not yet wholly deprived of its name". But if we are to be guided by name only, I should give the preference to *Aunsbury*, which might very easily arise from *Avonsbury*. All the pretensions that *Oldbury* has to be either *Abone* or *Trajectus*, seem to be grounded only on the name: for it seems to me, to lie out of the way of the *Roman* passage; and the distances on this supposition will not answer, unless the numbers be altered in the *Itinerary*. *Aunsbury* I take to be more directly in the course of the *iter*, and the distances on both sides answer without any change in the numbers. Next to this *Henbury* answers the best. It is by no means necessary to suppose, that the station next to the passage should be near or close to the river, for this does not hold true in any one instance I know of, either on the *Severn* or *Humber*; where the water being too broad for a bridge, a ferry has been made use of. It is generally supposed, that there has been here a transposition of the names *Trajectus* and *Abone*; but I see no necessity for this alteration. *Trajectus* may perhaps relate to the passage over the river *Avon*, which I am now going to consider.

TRAJECTVS. *TRAJECTUS* is ix miles distant from *Abone*, according to the *Itinerary*. This number of *Roman* miles will bring us up to the *Avon*, near *Hanham*, which Dr. *Gale* supposes to be *Roman*, whilst he makes it *Abone*^d. At this passage therefore over the river *Avon*, am I inclined to settle *Trajectus*, near *Hanham* or *Kanesham*.

AQUAE SOLIS. *AQUAE SOLIS* is by universal consent the *Bath*. The antiquities of this place are largely described in my observations on the *Somersetshire* inscriptions; to which I need not add any thing more in this place: and the distance of vi *Roman* miles from *Trajectus*, answers with the greatest exactness to the distance of the *Bath* from the passage over the *Avon* at *Kanesham*; so that here again we are certain.

VERLUCIO. *VERLUCIO*, our next stage, is xv *Roman* miles from *Bath*. We must now immediately enter into *Wiltshire*, which abounds with *Roman* antiquities. *Roman* coins, tessellated pavements, &c. have been found at several places, which argue, that the *Romans* must have had some settlements here, and some military ways passing through the county. Dr. *Stukeley*^e has accurately traced out the military way, along which this *iter* proceeds; which I shall give some account of, because I am always fond of taking such a way for my guide. It passes, according to him, a little to the north of *Hedington*, coinciding with *Wansdike*, which the doctor concludes must have been prior to it. It passes just by *Calston* lime kiln, where it is parted from *Wansdike*; and then by *Runway hill*. Before it comes to *Beckhampton* the ridge is very plain and beautiful. A barrow or two have here been defaced by it, which therefore the doctor concludes to be older than the *Roman* way, and to have been *Celtic*, or of the *Druids*. It goes on the south of *Beckhampton*, lying directly east and west. It runs on the south side of *Silbury hill*, and passes *Overton hill*, and

^a *Abone* is generally supposed to be the name of this place, but since it is probably the ablative here, like a great many other of much the same form in the *Itinerary*; the name may have been *Abo*, or *Abon*.

^b *It. curios. p. 136.*

^c *Pag. 270.*

^d *Ant. It. p. 132.*

^e *It. cur. p. 132, &c.*

and near *Abury* the visible ridge of it is a little to the north of the present road. It keeps afterwards on the north side of the river *Kennet*, till it comes to *Marlborough*. Having thus described the road from so good a hand, I shall now endeavour to proceed in my journey. *Verlucio* is placed by Dr. *Gale*^a at *Westbury*, and by Dr. *Stukeley*^b at *Hedington*. The former is off the military way, and the distance of the latter from *Bath* is too great, and from *Marlborough* too little. Dr. *Stukeley* is pleased to say, that the distance between *Bath* and *Marlborough* is notoriously too much, and instead of xx would read only x in the *Itinerary*, over against *Cunetio*^c; but in this I must likewise beg leave to differ from him. For, as far as I can discern, the distance between *Bath* and *Marlborough* answers, both by the scale and general ratio of computed miles, to thirty five *Itinerary* miles with much exactness. And this is the distance between *Aquae solis* and *Cunetio* in the *Itinerary*, and *Hedington* is certainly more than ten *Roman* miles from *Marlborough*^d. As therefore the distance between *Bath* and *Marlborough* is exact, I would chuse to divide this distance proportionably to the numbers in the *Itinerary*, and conclude *Verlucio* to be near the part, where we are directed to by such a division. Now I find by this method, that fifteen *Itinerary* miles will bring us to the east of the river *Avon*, though not very much. I see also in the map a place called *Aldford*, through which perhaps the way to the antient ford has lain. *Leckham*, which is upon the *Avon*, though somewhat out of the line of the way, as Dr. *Stukeley* represents it, may seem to retain something of the name *Verlucio*. Here, we are told in *Camden*, *Roman* coins are very often found. *Lacock* is also not far from it, and on the same river, and much in the line of the military way; and “in a field hard by this place, “as *Leland* says, much *Roman* money used to be found, from whence it “was called *Silverfield*.” I therefore make no great doubt, but that *Verlucio* has stood in the neighbourhood of one of these places, though perhaps on the other side of the river. I see the middle scale in *Camden*’s map of *Wiltshire* suits the computed miles. This, if not attended to, may easily mislead those persons, who would determine the distances by the help of these scales.

CUNETIO is xx *Roman* miles from *Verlucio*, which distance, if I am not much mistaken, suits *Marlborough* with the greatest exactness. The *Roman* way leading to it I have already described from Dr. *Stukeley*, and the account and evidences of a *Roman castrum* at *Marlborough* may also be seen in the same author^e. My Lord *Hertford*’s seat is where the scite of it was; one angle being yet very manifest, with the ditch and rampart entire. *Roman* coins have also been found here; besides all this, the name *Cunetio* is retained in *Kennet*, the name of the river on which *Marlborough* stands^f. The *Saxon* name of the river was *Cynetan*. The *Roman* road continues from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*, and so to *Silchester*, as the doctor supposes^g.

SPINAE is our next station. “A little west of *Newbury* (says doctor *Stukeley*) is a village called *Speen*; and doubtless *Spinæ* was where now “stands the north part of the town of *Newbury*, still called *Spinham*. *Newbury* has derived it self and name from the ruins of the old one^h.” It is indeed fifteen computed miles from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*, and near nineteen measured, according to *Ogilby*. I believe therefore, that instead of xv we should read xx, over against *Spinis*. Thus the particulars will be exactly reconciled to the sum total, and both to the matter of fact.

CALLEVA

^a Ant. Itin. p. 134.

^b It. curios. p. 134.

^c Ibid. p. 136.

^d If I could be convinced that *Hedington* was *Verlucio*, I should be for *Ramesbury* for my *Cunetio* (See *Camden* p. 130.) and retain the present numbers of the *Itinerary*, which would do pretty exactly.

But the other scheme I think is better supported.

^e See *Camd.* p. 107.

^f Itin. cur. p. 60.

^g *Camd.* p. 127.

^h It. curios. p. 60.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 59.

CALLEVA. CALLEVA is again the end of our journey. And xv Roman miles, as in the *Itinerary*, brings us just to *Silchester*, concerning which I have already spoken at large.

ITER XV.

A CALLEVA ISCAM DVM-
NONIORVM M. P. CXXXVI.

*The fifteenth rout is from
Silchester to Chiselborough
in Somersetshire 136 miles.*

[A CALLEVA

VINDOMI

M. P. XV

VENTA BELGARVM

M. P. XXI

BRIGE

M. P. XI

SORBIODVNI

M. P. VIII

VINDOCLADIA

M. P. XII

DVRNOVARIA

M. P. IX

MORIDVNO

M. P. XXXVI

ISCA DVMNONIORVM

M. P. XV

From *Silchester*]*Farnham**Winchester**Broughton**Old Sarum*Near *Cranburn**Dorchester**Eggerton**Chiselborough*

THIS *iter* contains no names, but what I have had occasion to speak to before. There is a difference of nine miles between the sum and particulars; the sum prefixed being cxxxvi, and the amount of the particulars only cxxvii. There is also some small variation in the names and numbers which have been considered under the twelfth *iter*; so that I need add nothing more on this subject.

CHAPTER III.

An Essay on the Notitia, so far as it relates to Britain.

Containing I. Some general account of the work. II. A transcript of such sections or chapters, as relate to Britain, from the original Latin, with an English version. III. A short account of the several Roman provinces into which Britain was divided according to the Notitia. IV. A particular inquiry into the several Roman stations in Britain, that are mentioned in this work.

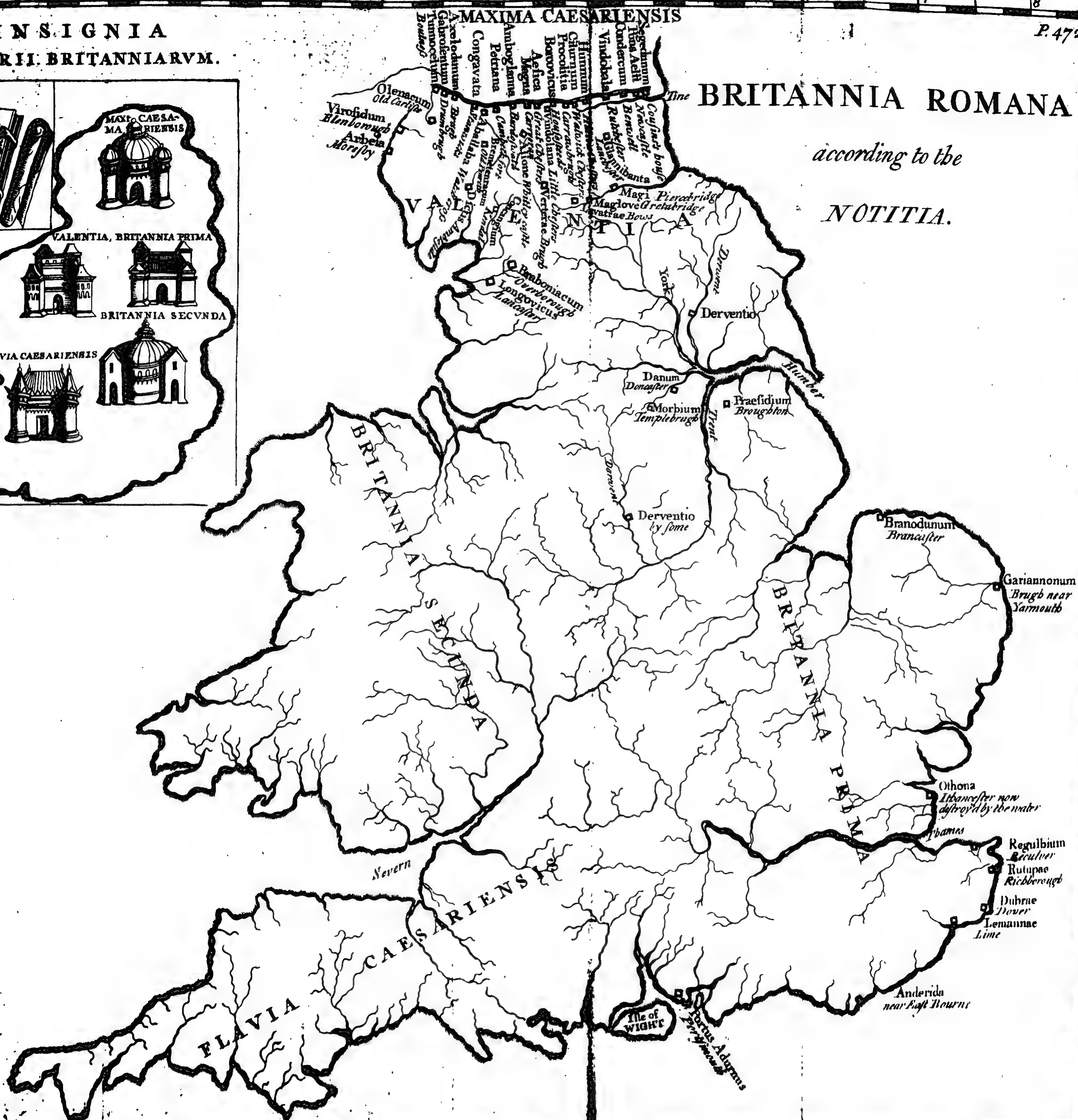
I. **T**HE title of the *Notitia*, as it is published by *Pancirollus*, runs thus: *Notitia utraque dignitatum cum orientis tum occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorisque tempora*. And agreeably to this title the book itself is a sort of list of the several military and civil officers and magistrates, both in the eastern and western empires, lower down than the reign of these two emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*.

It is uncertain both by whom this work was composed, and at what time; but as it was undoubtedly written after the *Itinerary*, I have given it a place accordingly. It might not possibly be all written by the same person, nor at one

INSIGNIA
VICARII BRITANNIARVM.



BRITANNIA ROMANA
according to the
NOTITIA.



one time; though as to the stile and manner, it seems to me to be much of a piece, and all of it very low in the empire. I shall content my self with giving an *English* version of what *Pancirollus* has said of it in the preface to his edition. "I am (says he) of opinion, that the *Notitia* was written towards the end of the reign of *Theodosius* the younger; for under the governor of *Egypt* he mentions the *ala Theodosiana* lately established, that is in his reign. He mentions also the *limes Saxonicus per Britanniam*" [it is the *littus Saxonicum* in the book] "which name begun to be used in the year 400, when the *Saxons* invaded *Britain*. He makes no mention of the *vicarius Illyrici*, because that country was wasted by the *Huns* in the year 445, under the same *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* the third. The very words mentioned in the title^a shew that it was written after the year 425, when *Honorius* died: nor could it be written after the year 453; when, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Marcellinus*, *Concordia* and *Aquileia* were destroyed by *Attila*; because it mentions the buildings of the one, and the treasures of the other, and the money coined there. I therefore suppose it might be written near the end of the reign of *Theodosius* the younger; and *Alciatus* (though I know not where he read it) calls it *Breviarium Theodosii Junioris*." I only add, that it is certain, from the contents of it, that it must be written before the *Romans* abandoned this island.

THE *Notitia* therefore having been written so late, it will be no wonder, if the names of the same places have undergone some alteration in the interval between the writing of the *Itinerary* and this work; though where the names differ much, I would rarely suppose the same place to be intended in both: nor can it be thought strange to any, who have read the history; if in this time some forts or stations were neglected and abandoned, and perhaps some new ones erected. And I have already endeavoured to assign the reasons, why so very few places mentioned in the *Notitia* appear to agree with any either in *Ptolemy* or the *Itinerary*.

ONE great advantage we have from this treatise, is the knowledge of the stations *per lineam valli*, though the advantage of it is not confined to these, but extends itself to some other places and stations. For though we have not the assistance of the particular distances, which we are furnished with in the *Itinerary*; yet here they are manifestly set down in some order, and those that were near to each other are placed together; so that if we are sure of one or two in a set, we may guess with some probability whereabouts the rest of them stood. And these stations, no doubt, have communicated with each other by military ways, the ruins of which in some places are still very visible. This has obliged me to use the term *Notitia ways*, as well as *Notitia stations*: but the *Notitia* is most frequently appealed to on the account of the soldiers, which kept garrison at particular places: for at the same time that it names the places, it also names the troops which were in garrison there; so that when any inscriptions are discovered at any place, mentioning such a cohort, or other body of soldiers, this is looked on as a probable argument, that this place must be the same with that which is named in the *Notitia*, as having the same troops quartered at it.

THERE is indeed one obvious, and seemingly very material objection against this way of arguing; and that is, the *Notitia* having been written so late in the empire, a cohort might very well be at one place, when the inscription was erected, and at another at the time of writing the *Notitia*: for no doubt they might shift their quarters, and the same cohorts might very probably, at different times, be quartered in different places. And this objection

^a Ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora.

objection may be strengthened by undeniable instances, for we find in fact inscriptions erected by the same legions and auxiliary cohorts at very distant places. Several instances of this kind occur, with respect to all the three legions that were statedly in this island; as also with respect to several of the auxiliary cohorts, as the *cohors prima Tungrorum*, *cohors quarta Gallorum*, and others. To which may be added, that in some cases no inscriptions are discovered belonging to such a legion or cohort, at the places where the *Notitia* fixes them; when perhaps several inscriptions are found, erected by them at some other places at a good distance from them. Thus the *legio secunda Augusta* is placed at *Rutupae*, or *Richborough*, in the *Notitia*; whereas it appears by several inscriptions, that their stated quarters before had been at *Caerleon* in south *Wales*. So also there is an inscription erected at *Brugh* in *Richmondshire*, by the *cohors sexta Nerviorum*; and by the same inscription the antient name of that place seems to have been *Brachium*; though that place is not near enough the *linea valli* to be *Virofidum*, where this cohort is placed in the *Notitia*: so that it is probable this cohort had removed from *Brachium* after the reign of *Severus*, under which the inscription was erected, and fixed at *Virofidum* before the writing of the *Notitia*. It would be easy to produce some other instances of the same sort, were it necessary: and yet after all, this difficulty is not so great, as it appears at first sight, and the probability of the reasoning above mentioned is greater than one would imagine; though it must necessarily be owned that the later the inscription appears to have been erected, and so the nearer to the time of the *Notitia*, the stronger must the argument be. For though it be now customary with us, even in a time of peace, to be frequently relieving and changing garrisons; yet this practice seems not to have obtained among the *Romans*, with respect to their conquered provinces. This appears evidently from the number of inscriptions erected at the same place by the same cohort, under several different commanders and different emperors. A single inscription might be set up, while they were on their march, or doing duty occasionally at some other places; but their stated quarters were the most likely places for them to erect inscriptions at; and perhaps the only places where they ever erected a number under different prefects. How long did the *legio sexta victrix* continue at *York*, as their stated quarters? *Ptolemy* places them there; so does the *Itinerary*, and the *Notitia* too. For though *Eboracum* is not mentioned expressly in the *Notitia*, yet it is plainly meant and intended; for after *praefectus legionis sextae* comes *praefectus equitum Dalmatarum Praesidio*^a, and *praefectus equitum Crispianorum Dano*^b, which shews, that the *legio sexta victrix* must have been thereabout, and so doubtless at *York*, where it seems to have statedly been from first to last. The *legio xx. v. v.* is placed at *Devana* (or *Deva*) by *Ptolemy*, and continued there statedly for a long time, though it is not mentioned in the *Notitia*. The *legio secunda Augusta*, no doubt, was at *Caerleon* in *Ptolemy*'s time, though he plainly mistakes one *Isca* for the other; and it appears by inscriptions to have continued there for a very long time, though it was removed from thence before the writing of the *Notitia*. These legions were indeed occasionally employed, and did erect inscriptions at other places; but as soon as their work, or expedition, was over, they returned to their settled quarters again. The legions were usually employed in the most considerable works (as building the walls and the like) and in the principal battles; and as the auxiliary cohorts did mostly supply, or defend the garrisoned places, so I believe they were more rarely called away from their stations. Dr. Gale^c speaking of *Alone* (*Whitley castle*) and the *cohors tertia Nerviorum*, which according to the *Notitia* was in garrison there, observes, that “this cohort held this station a long time, “that they erected a temple here in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, and had “not left the place in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger.” The former

part

^a Broughton in Lincolnshire.^b Doncaster.^c *Welcheller*, which place appears by one of Geta's coins to have had the name of *Colonia Devana*.^d *Dururno* satis tempore stationem hanc cohortis hanc tenuit, quae sub Antonino Pro aedem hic posuit, nec dum reliquerant illam, imperante Theodosio juniore. Ant. It. p. 118

part of the observation is confirmed by an inscription, which may be seen in the collection^a; and though that learned gentleman mistakes the emperor (for the inscription is not to *Antoninus Pius*, but to *Caracalla*) yet the remark is judicious, and deserves our regard; for it is a long time, even from *Caracalla* to *Theodosius junior*, when the *Notitia* is supposed to have been written, and all this time the same cohort seems to have been at this place. I could give other instances of this kind, but I must not stay to produce them.

ONE would indeed be surprised to see so few places mentioned in the *Notitia*, and so many omitted, which once were very considerable; as *Londinium*, *Verulamium*, *Camulodunum*, *Isurium*, and others; besides *Deva*, and all in the west. The whole force, or most of it, seems to have been placed on the eastern coast, towards the *Thames* and *Kent*, to guard that against the invasion of the *Saxons*; and on the northern barrier, to guard it against the inroads of the more northerly people. Some stations about *Yorkshire* had also garrisons in them; but these seem mostly to have been of horse, and detachments of foot called *numeri*, just enough to keep the country in awe. Excepting the stations *per lineam valli*, which were mostly garrisoned by cohorts, I see not another cohort in the whole island, but one at *Regulbium*, according to the account in the *Notitia*, which is remarkable. The *Roman* forces therefore seem at that time to have been in a good measure withdrawn; for I think it can scarcely be supposed, that the stations in the western parts of *England* were supplied with garrisons, and yet the author of the *Notitia* be ignorant of it. It is more probable, that part of the forces were removed from hence, and posted where their presence was more necessary at that time.

II. I shall now proceed to give such parts of this work in the original *Latin*, as relate to *Britain*, with an *English* version of them in an opposite column. The *Latin* is taken from *Labbe's* edition, whose text, as well as sections or chapters, I have constantly followed, except in a very few instances, of which notice is given in the margin.

SECTIO XLIX.

CHAPTER XLIX.

SUB dispositione viri spectabilis VICARII^b BRITANNIARUM: " UNDER the government of the honourable " the VICEGERENT of *BRITAIN* are;

CONSULARES^c,

" CONSULAR governors of those parts of " *Britain* called

Maximae Caesariensis,
Valentiae;

" *Maxima Caesariensis,*
" *Valentia;*

PRÆSIDES,

PRESIDIAL governors of the parts called

Britanniae primae,
Britanniae secundae,
Flaviae Caesariensis.

" *Britannia prima,*
" *Britannia secunda,*
" *Flavia Caesariensis.*

OFFICIUM autem habet idem vir spectabilis vicarius hoc modo:

" THIS same honourable vicegerent has his " court composed in the following manner:

Principem de "schola agentum in rebus^d ex ducentariis,

" A principal officer of the agents, chosen out " of the *ducentarii*, or under officers,

A

^a Northumberland N. cxiii.

^b The vicarii were state officers under the praefecti praetorio, and had the chief government in those provinces, over which they were appointed. The title *spectabilis* was a degree lower than *illustris*, and higher than *clarissimus*, next to which was *perfectissimus*, and below that *egregius*, as appears by the order in the *Notitia*.

^c Consulares, in the lower empire were of two sorts, such who had served the office of consul, and others who had the same title and privileges conferred on them by the emperors, although they had

never served the office. Of the latter *Justinian* speaks in his Code, Lib. xii. t. 3. l. 4. *Pancirollus* seems to think these consulares in the provinces were superior to the praetides in rank. Lib. i. cap. 155. p. 106.

^d In the lower empire certain bodies or sets of persons, employed in the service of the publick, were called *scholae*. The *Notitia* mentions ten of them.

^e *Exducentarii*: The justness of this version will best appear by consulting *Justinian's* Code, Lib. xii. t. 20. de agentibus in rebus, and t. xxii. de principibus agentium in rebus.

" A principal clerk or Secretary,	<i>Cornicularium</i> ^a ,
" Two chief accomptants or auditors,	<i>Numerarios duos</i> ,
" A master of the prisons,	<i>Commentariensem</i> ^b ,
" A notary,	<i>Ab actis</i> ^c ,
" A secretary for dispatches,	<i>Curam epistolarum</i> ,
" An assistant or surrogate,	<i>Adjutorem</i> ,
" Under-assistants,	<i>Subadjuvas</i> ,
" Clerks for appeals,	<i>Exceptores</i> ^d
" Serjeants, and other inferior officers.	<i>Singulares, et reliquos officiales</i> ^e .

CHAPTER LII.

" UNDER the government of the honourable
 " the COUNT of the SAXON SHOAR in
 " BRITAIN:

SECTIO LII.

*SUB dispositione viri spectabilis
 COMITIS LITTORIS SAXONICI
 per BRITANNIAM:*

" THE commander of a detachment of For- " <i>tenses</i> at <i>Othona</i> ,	<i>PRAEPOSITUS numeri</i> ^f <i>For-</i> <i>tensium</i> ^g <i>Othonae</i> ,
" The commander of the <i>Tungrian</i> soldiers " at <i>Dover</i> ,	<i>Praepositus militum</i> ^h <i>Tungrica-</i> <i>norum Dubris</i> ,
" The commander of a detachment of soldiers " of <i>Tournay</i> at <i>Lime</i> ,	<i>Praepositus numeri</i> ⁱ <i>Turnacen-</i> <i>sium Lemannis</i> ,
" The commander of the <i>Dalmatian</i> horse " stiled <i>Branodunensis</i> ^j at <i>Brancafter</i> (in " <i>Norfolk</i>),	<i>Praepositus equitum Dalmata-</i> <i>rum Branodunensis, Brano-</i> <i>duno</i> ,
" The commander of the <i>Stablesian</i> horse stiled " <i>Gariannonensis</i> at <i>Borough castle</i> (near <i>Tar-</i> " <i>mouth</i>)	<i>Praepositus equitum Stablesi-</i> <i>an. Gariannonensis Garian-</i> <i>nono</i> ,
" The tribune of the first cohort of <i>Vetastians</i> " (or <i>Betastians</i>) at <i>Reculver</i> ,	<i>Tribunus cohortis primae</i> ^k <i>Ve-</i> <i>tastiorum Regulbio</i> ,
" The commander of the second legion called " <i>Augusta</i> at <i>Richborough</i> ,	<i>Praepositus legionis secundae</i> <i>Augustae Rutupis</i> ,
" The commander of a detachment of the " <i>Abulci</i> at <i>Anderida</i> ,	<i>Praepositus numeri Abulcorum</i> <i>Anderidae</i> ,
" The commander of a detachment of scouts " at <i>Portsmouth</i> .	<i>Praepositus numeri explorato-</i> <i>rum portu Adurni</i> .
" THERE belong to the court of this ho- " nourable count as follows:	<i>OFFICIUM autem habet idem</i> <i>vir spectabilis comes hoc modo.</i>
" A principal officer from the court of the " general of foot in ordinary attendance,	<i>Principem ex officio magistri</i> <i>praesentalium a parte pedi-</i> <i>tum</i> ,
" Two auditors, as before, from the above " mentioned court,	<i>Numerarios duos, ut supra, ex</i> <i>officio supradicto</i> ,
" A master of the prisons from the same court,	<i>Commentariensem ex officio su-</i> <i>pradicto</i> ,
" A Clerk,	<i>Cornicularium</i> ,
" An assistant,	<i>Adjutorem</i> ,
" An under-assistant.	<i>Subadjuvam</i> ,

Regerendarium,

^a *Cornicularius*: See what is said of this officer, Book II. p. 229.

^b *Ad commentariensem receptarum personarum custodia observatioque pertineat. L. 4. C. de custod. reorum.*

^c *Ab actis, the same with actarius, of whom I have spoken before, Book II. p. 133.*

^d *Exceptores acta judiciorum in causis appellationum scribebant. Pancirollus L. 1. cap. 19.*

^e *Mandata praefecti per provincias nunciabant, et delinquentes inquirebant, inventosque in carcerem ducebant. Idem, cap. 20.*

^f *Fortia, as Pancirollus says, Lib. 1. c. 38. was a town of Asiatic Sarmatia, from whence these soldiers are called here Fortenses, but by others Foretenses.*

^g *Othona is generally supposed to be Ithancester, now lost in the Black-water in Essex, of which afterwards.*

^h *The Tungri, here called Tungricani are mentioned in several inscriptions. See Book I. c. 6. p. 89.*

ⁱ *Alciat reads Tornacensium.*

^j *See the inscriptions, Cumberland N. LXV. with the observations on it.*

Regerendarium, " A register ^a,
Exceptores, " Clerks of appeals,
Singulares, et reliquos officiales. " Serjeants, and other under officers.

SECTIO LIII.

CHAPTER LIII.

SUB dispositione viri spectabilis " UNDER the government of the honourable
COMITIS BRITANNIARUM: " the COUNT of *BRITAIN:*

PROVINCIA Britanniae. " THE province of *Britain.*
OFFICIUM autem habet idem vir " THE court of the same honourable count
spectabilis comes hoc modo: " is as follows:
Principem ex officio magistri " A principal officer from the court of the
militum ^b *praesentalium al-* " general of the soldiers in ordinary atten-
ternis annis, " dance, changed every year,
Commentariensem ut supra, " A master of the prisons, as before,
Numerarios duos singulos ex " Two auditors, one from each court above
utroque officio supradicto, " mentioned,
Adjutorem, " An assistant,
Subadjuvam, " An under-assistant,
Exceptores, " Clerks of appeals,
Singulares et reliquos officiales. " Serjeants, and other under officers.

SECTIO LXIII.

CHAPTER LXIII.

SUB dispositione viri spectabilis " UNDER the government of the honourable
DUCIS BRITANNIARUM: " the DUKE of *BRITAIN,*

Praefectus legionis sextae, " THE prefect of the sixth legion (at *Tork*,)
Praefectus equitum Dalmatarum Praesidio, " The prefect of the *Dalmatian* horse at
Praefectus equitum Crispianorum Dano, " The prefect of *Crispian*^c horse at *Doncas-*
Praefectus equitum cataphractariorum Morbio, " The prefect of a body of cuirassiers at *Tem-*
Praefectus numeri Barcariorum " The prefect of a detachment of the *Bar-*
Tigrisiensium Arbeia, " *carii Tigrisienses*^d at *Moresby*,
Praefectus numeri Nerviorum " The prefect of a detachment of the *Nervii*
Dietsensium Dietsi, " called *Dietsenses* at *Ambleside*,
Praefectus numeri vigilum Concangio^e, " The prefect of a detachment of soldiers em-
Praefectus numeri exploratorum Lavatris^f, " ployed on the watch at *Kendal*,
Praefectus numeri directorum " The prefect of a detachment of scouts at
Verteris^g, " *Bowes*,
Praefectus numeri defensorum " The prefect of a detachment styled *direc-*
Braboniaco, " *tores*^h at *Brugh*,
Praefectus numeri Solensium " The prefect of a detachment called *defen-*
*Maglove*ⁱ, " *sores* at *Overborough*,
" *Greta-bridge*,
" The

^a Regerendarius dicebatur quod scripta regereret, seu in codicem referret. Pancirollus Lib. I. c. 18.

^b Concerning these magistri militum, see Vegetius, Lib. II. c. 9.

^c Crispiana is a town in Pannonia, from whence these horse were denominated.

^d I can meet with nothing satisfactory about these Bararii Tigrisienses.

^e All the editions here read Concangios, except Alciat, who reads Concangios; but as I take it to be a town, I have ventured to put it in the ablative.

^f All the editions here have Lavatres; but I have put it Lavatris, for the like reason as before.

^g Labbe reads Directorum veterum Veneris.

^h Pancirollus Lib. II. c. 89. thinks these directores were so called from some town, rather than from any employment or office. But I am inclined to think that directores here, as well as defensores in the next article, express some quality or employment of the soldiers. Whether the one might often be employed as guides, and the other in defending passes, or what else, I cannot determine. The places where they were posted, are proper enough for such purposes.

ⁱ Pancirollus and Labbe read Maglovae, but Alciat, Maglove, whom I have chose to follow.

^k Solenses are probably so denominated from a town in Cilicia.

- " The prefect of a detachment of * *Pacenses* at *Pierce-bridge*.
Praefectus numeri Pacensium Magis,
 " The prefect of a detachment of *Longovica-*
Praefectus numeri Longovica-
rii at *Lancaster*,
rriorum Longovico,
 " The prefect of a detachment stiled *Derven-*
Praefectus numeri Derventio-
tionensis at a station on the river *Derwent*.
nensis Derventione.
Also along the line of the wall^b:
 " The tribune of the fourth cohort of the
Tribunus cohortis quartae Ler-
Lergi at *Cousin's-house*,
gorum Segeduno,
 " The tribune of a cohort of the *Cornovii* at
Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum
Newcastle,
Ponte Aelii,
 " The prefect of the first wing of the *Asti* at
Praefectus alae primae Asto-
Berwell-hill.
rum Conderco,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of the *Fri-*
Tribunus cohortis primae Fri-
xagi at *Rutchester*,
xagorum Vindobala,
 " The prefect of the wing stiled *Saviniana* at
Praefectus alae Savinianae
Halton-chesters,
Hunno,
 " The prefect of the second wing of the *Asti*
Praefectus alae secundae Asto-
at Walwick-chesters,
rum Cilurno,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of the *Bata-*
Tribunus cohortis primae Ba-
vi at *Carraw-brugh*,
tavorum Procolitia,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of the *Tungri*
Tribunus cohortis primae Tun-
at House-steeds,
grorum Borcovico,
 " The tribune of the fourth cohort of
Tribunus cohortis quartae Gal-
Gauls at *Little-chesters*,
lorum Vindolana,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of the *Asti*
Tribunus cohortis primae Asto-
at Great-chesters,
rum Aesica,
 " The tribune of the second cohort of *Dal-*
Tribunus cohortis secundae Dal-
matians at *Carvoran*,
matarum Magnis,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of *Dacians*,
Tribunus cohortis primae Aeliae
called Aelia at *Burdoswald*,
Dacorum Amboglanna,
 " The prefect of the wing called *Petriana* at
Praefectus alae Petrianae Pe-
Cambeck-fort,
trianis,
 " The prefect of a detachment of *Moors* stiled
Praefectus numeri Maurorum
Aureliani at *Watch-cross*,
Aureliatorum Aballaba,
 " The tribune of the second cohort of the
Tribunus cohortis secundae Ler-
Lergi at *Stamwicks*,
gorum Congavata,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of *Spaniards*
Tribunus cohortis primae Hi-
at Brugh,
spanorum Axeloduno,
 " The tribune of the second cohort of *Thra-*
Tribunus cohortis secundae
cians at *Drumbrugh*,
Thracum Gabrosenti,
 " The tribune of the first marine cohort stiled
Tribunus cohortis primae Aeliae
Aelia at *Boulness*,
classicae Tunnoceto,
 " The tribune of the first cohort of the *Mo-*
Tribunus cohortis primae Moxi-
rini at *Lanchester*,
norum Glannibanta,
 " The tribune of the third cohort of the *Nervii*
Tribunus cohortis tertiae Ner-
at Whitley-castle,
viorum Alione,
 " A body of men in armour at *Old Penreth*,
Cuneus armaturarum Bremeten-
or Brampton,
raco,
 " The prefect of the first wing called *Herculea*
Praefectus alae primae Her-
at Old Carlisle, or Elenborough,
culeae Olenaco,
 " The tribune of the sixth cohort of the *Nervii*
Tribunus cohortis sextae Ner-
at Elenborough or Old-Carlisle,
viorum Virofido,
 " THE same honourable duke has his court
OFFICIUM autem habet idem
made up of the following officers:
vir spectabilis dux hoc modo:
Principem

* The *Pacenses*, according to *Pancirollus*, are so named from a town in *Lutitania*. L. ii. c. 89.

^b For a farther account of the stations *per lineam valli*, and the several garrisons along the wall, I must refer to Book i. c. 7.

<i>Principem ex officiis magistrorum militum praesentalium alternis annis,</i>	" A principal officer from the courts of the " generals of the soldiers in ordinary attendance, changed yearly,
<i>Commentariensem utrumque,</i>	" Masters of the prisons from both,
<i>Numerarios ex utrisque officiis omni anno,</i>	" Auditors yearly from both the courts,
<i>Adjutorem,</i>	" An assistant,
<i>Subadjuvam,</i>	" An under-assistant,
<i>Regerendarium,</i>	" A register,
<i>Exceptores,</i>	" Clerks of appeals,
<i>Singulares, et reliquos officiales.</i>	" Serjeants, and other under officers.

THERE are two or three incidental passages more, which relate to *Britain*; but as I may have occasion to cite them afterwards, I shall forbear to insert them here.

III. BUT before I begin to enquire into the particular stations mentioned in these sections of the *Notitia*, it will not be amiss to consider very briefly the general division of *Britain*, at the time this work was written. And from what has been transcribed out of it, *Britain* appears to have been divided into two consular provinces, *Maxima Caesariensis* and *Valentia*; and three presidial, *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, and *Flavia Caesariensis*. To what parts of *Britain* these names, as I apprehend, ought to be applied, will appear by the map prefixed to this *Essay*.

As to the *insignia vicarii Britanniarum*, which I have added to the map from the *Notitia*; *Maxima Caesariensis*, and *Flavia Caesariensis*, may perhaps be rightly enough set in this figure, but the rest, I think, are misplaced. The reason of the mistake may possibly have been occasioned from the author's endeavouring to follow the same order, in which the provinces are mentioned in the *Notitia*. But I think no great stress can be laid on that: for as the *Notitia* begins with the most northerly provinces, had that method been continued, *Britannia secunda* must have been mentioned before *Britannia prima*; which appearing somewhat harsh and unnatural, might perhaps induce the writer to express them in the contrary order. We have seen in the first book¹, that *Theodosius* gave the name *Valentia* to a part of this island in honour of the emperor *Valentinian*. He assigned it that name, after he had repaired the *praetentura*, and the forts near that boundary; and gave it to a province which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, but was now recovered by him. This strongly argues, that *Valentia* must have been near the *Roman* wall in the north of *England*, if not beyond it; but I rather incline to think it was within the wall, and *Maxima Caesariensis* beyond it, comprehending, suitably to the name *Maxima*, the large tract from the wall, to the end of the island. The enemy, before they were repelled by *Theodosius*, had broke through the more southern wall, or the wall of *Severus*, and possessed themselves of that part of *England*, which was next to it. This wall and the forts near it were most probably the *praetentura* and forts repaired by *Theodosius*, and therefore to this part I think must the name *Valentia* be affixed; so that the province *Valentia* seems to have been under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*, who presided over the stations *per lineam valli* and the other garrisons in the north of *England*. Very probably the most northern province of *Maxima Caesariensis* might also be titularly under him; but I have observed before, that there was not really one station or garrison possessed by the *Romans* north of the wall of *Severus*, at the time when the *Notitia* was written. According to this supposition *Maxima Caesariensis*, which is first mentioned, was the most northerly province, and *Valentia* next to it. And that there were but

¹ Chap. 5. see the passage there quoted from Marcellinus.

but four provinces in *Britain* till that time, is plain from *Sextus Rufus*, who wrote his *Breviary* of the *Roman* affairs under the reign of *Valentinian*^a.

At first sight one would be ready to suspect, that *Britannia prima* and *Britannia secunda*, were sometimes intended by *Britanniae* in the plural, as where we meet with *dux Britanniarum*^b. But as *Britannia prima* and *secunda* were not, I think, under the *dux Britanniarum*, so no stress can be laid on the word *Britanniarum* being in the plural; for *Britannia* in the singular, and *Britanniae* in the plural, are promiscuously used by the *Roman* writers, as well as *Gallia* and *Galliae*, *Hispania* and *Hispaniae*; and he who in one place is called *dux Britanniarum*, is in another called *dux Britanniae*^c. So we have also *comes Britanniae*, and *comes Britanniarum*^d; and also *comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*^e, and *per Britannias*^f. I cannot but think, that *Britannia prima* and *Britannia secunda* must answer in some measure to *Dion Cassius's* lower and upper Britain^g: so that *Britannia prima*, or lower Britain, signifies that part which is next the continent, or the south east part of *England*; *Britannia secunda*, or upper Britain, as appears from *Dion*, takes in *West-Chester*, and so must include the west side of *England*. *Britannia prima* seems therefore to have been under the *comes littoris Saxonici*, and *Britannia secunda* under the *comes Britanniae*, who had not at last one garrison under him. I say at last, because it seems from another part of the *Notitia*, that he once had some forces under his command, and this as late as the reign of *Honorius*; for among the rest there are mentioned the *equites Honoriani*^h. This looks as if chapter LIII, which relates more directly to the *comes Britanniae*, was later written than chapter XL, which I have cited in the margin; and consequently later than the reign of *Honorius*, agreeable to the words in the title of the book, *ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora*. The *equites Stablesiani* (if the same body) must also have removed from under this *comes* to the *comes littoris Saxonici*, under whose command we find them at *Gariannonum* near *Tarmouth*. This has made me suspect, that the *provincia Britanniae*, which was under the government of the *comes Britanniae*, may perhaps have extended eastward as far as *Derbyshire* (if not farther) and that the *Roman* places there have belonged to him, though the garrisons were withdrawn before the latest part of the *Notitia* was written, for which reason these places are not mentioned in it. The *equites cataphractarii* (if the same body) had not according to this supposition removed far; for they continued at *Morbium*, or *Templebrugh*, though this place was under the government of the *dux Britanniarum*.

As for the province *Flavia Caesariensis*, that in the *insignia vicarii Britanniarum* is, as I suppose, rightly placed near the south west part of *England*. It is supposed by some to have received the name *Flavia* from *Constantine* the great, whose *praenomen* was *Flavius*ⁱ. This province, at the time when the *Notitia* was written, might perhaps have been under the command of the *comes Britanniae*, and is one of the three, which seem then to have had no garrisons in them; for of the five, I think, only *Britannia prima* and *Valentia* were provided with soldiers.

To

^a In *Britannia* [provinciae sunt] *Maxima Caesariensis*, *Flavia Caesariensis*, *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*. In *Breviar*.

^b *Notit.* Sect. LXIII.

^c *Ib.* Sect. XXXIV.

^d *Ib.* Sect. LIII.

^e *Ib.* Sect. LII.

^f *Ib.* Sect. XXXIV.

^g See the passage quoted Book I. c. 6. p. 83. See also the observations on the *Yorkshire inscriptions*, N. v.

^h *Cum viro spectabili comite Britanniarum.*

Victores juniores Britannici.

Primani juniores.

Secundani juniores.

Intra Britannias cum viro spectabili comite Britanniarum.

Equites cataphractarii juniores.

Equites scutarii Aureliaci.

Equites Honoriani seniores.

Equites Stablesiani.

Equites Syri.

Equites Talsali. Sect. XI.

ⁱ See *Pancirollus*, Lib. II. c. 69.

To fix the precise limits of these several provinces would, I believe, now be very difficult, at least it appears so to me, and therefore I have not ventured to separate them by any boundary lines in the map.

IV. I SHALL now proceed to my inquiry into the particular stations; and I chuse to begin with those, which were under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*, though that chapter does not stand first in the *Notitia*; because it will better prepare the way for some things, I shall afterwards have occasion to observe with respect to those commanded by the *comes littoris Saxonici*. I have hinted already that the author of the *Notitia* appears manifestly to have set down all these places together in his account, which were situated near to one another; and seems also to have proceeded in some order. Thus in the stations under the title *per lineam valli*, he proceeds right on from east to west along the line of the wall, and then advancing a little south, begins and goes on again in another line much after the same manner*. This makes it the more probable, that some such order has been observed in the other set, which precedes them in the same chapter, so that they may be said to be stations *per Britannias*.

It is but reasonable to suppose, that the forts or stations, which were in being at the time when the *Notitia* was written, must generally then have the most considerable and greatest remains. No doubt several of these stations are intirely lost in great towns, which have risen out of their ruins; but where this is not the case, I would look on very large remains as one criterion, whereby we may distinguish a *Notitia* station. However the matter of fact, with respect to those places which are the most certain, may be considered, and from them a better judgment be formed concerning the justness of this remark: and if all the stations, of which there now remain any evidences, especially any that are very considerable, were sought out and laid down in the proper situations; perhaps it would not be difficult to determine, with a good deal of probability, almost all the places which we meet with in the *Notitia*.

IN the set which I have last mentioned, the first was garrisoned by the *legio sexta victrix*; and though no place be mentioned, yet it evidently appears from the *Itinerary*, *Ptolemy*, and other arguments, that *York* was the stated quarters of this legion. And this seems here to suit very well with the other places, in conjunction with which it is mentioned: for it is very probable, that the forces, said to be quartered at the following places, were the auxiliaries of this legion; and by inspecting the map it will appear, that they lie round about *York*, which was a very proper situation, if upon any occasion it should have been necessary to call them together.

THE next three places were garrisoned by horse; namely, *Praesidium*, *Danum*, and *Morbium*. *Praesidium* is probably supposed to be the same with *Praetorium* in the *Itinerary*. The two names differ not very much either as to meaning or sound, and both suit the name *Broughton* in *Lincolnshire*, which I suppose to be the place, rather than the *Roman* town near *Leeds*, which Mr. *Thoresby* gives some account of in the *Transactions*†.

PRAESIDIUM.

DANUM

* See Book 1. c. 7. In that chapter I have endeavoured to determine all the stations *per lineam valli*, and described the military ways belonging to them, particularly that which goes from Carlisle through old Carlisle to Elenborough. I see no reason to change my sentiments concerning any one of those stations, except that I am more inclinable to yield to the common opinion, that *Bremetenracum* is at *Brampton*, and to think that *Olenacum* and

Virofidum are transposed; so that *Olenacum* may be *Elenborough* on the river *Elen*, and *Virofidum* old *Carlisle* on the *Wiza*. And if the military way near the wall, which goes by *Watchcross*, has led to *Brampton*, as the country people suppose; this might still make it more probable, that *Brampton* is *Bremetenracum*.

† N. 282.

DANVM. *DANUM* is known from the *Itinerary* to be *Doncaster*, which makes it probable, that *Praesidium* and *Morbium* are not far distant; and consequently that *Morbium* cannot well be *Moresby* in *Cumberland*, as I remember *Camden* conjectured it was: nor for the same reason can it well be any where near *Ptolemy's* estuary of *Moricambe*.

MORBIVM. BETWEEN *Rotherham* and *Tinsley*, about three miles from *Sheffield*, are the sure remains and evidences of a *Roman* station, usually called *Templebrugh*, situated near the river *Don*. An account is given of it in *Camden*^a, where it is said to be about two hundred paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad, and the trench very large, being thirty seven paces deep from the middle of the rampart to the bottom. I have also had a particular account of it transmitted to me by an ingenious friend^b. According to him “the area of
“the fortification is not half so large as represented in *Camden*, and the
“nearest part of it to the river is about thirty or forty yards distant from it.
“The fortified ground is called *Castlegarth*, and *Templebrugh* is the name of
“a meadow adjoining to it. The fort is still very entire, the rampart and
“ditch very large: it is now in pasture, but was in tillage about fifteen or
“sixteen years ago; when it was said a great number of coins were thrown
“up by the plow, and some urns were also discovered. The ground is very
“stony, and pieces of *Roman* pots and bricks are every where very visible.” Perhaps the meadow ground, called *Templebrugh*, has also been fortified, or the town may have stood there. As I find no name for this station and town in *Ptolemy*, or the *Itinerary*, I chuse to assign the name *Morbium* to it. The order of the *Notitia*, and as far as I can discern, other circumstances too, concur to strengthen the conjecture. Particularly the military way (if it be one) which seems to have come from *Doncaster* to this station, is very favourable to this opinion. The account in *Camden* is a little confused; however I must refer to what is there said^c of *Winco-bank*, *Danes-bank*, and *Kemp-bank*, having had no opportunity of viewing and examining it my self.

THESE three stations lie in a curve, the *Notitia* beginning at the most easterly.

I HAVE had certain information of two military ways in *Cumberland*, which go one of them southwest from old *Penreth*, and the other south east from *Elenborough*. And as we are sure of a military way near *Ambleside*, pointing towards *Elenborough*, so I think it cannot well be doubted, but it must have gone that way: and I believe it is no less certain, that the other way from old *Penreth* has joined this not far from *Keswick*; for this, as I am certainly informed, is the course of it. The military way from *Appleby*, by *Brugh*, to *Bowes*, is certain; and from *Appleby* to *Overborough* very probable, as I have shewn in my *Essay* on the *Itinerary*. And by these, and other such ways, the communication might be kept between the several stations, which I shall next endeavour to settle; but besides these ways, I have observed once and again, what I took to be the remains of a military way near *Bernard-castle*, and thought it visible on both sides the town. And I remember Mr. *Salmon* somewhere observes, that the name *Stratford* near *Bernard-castle*; and *Streetham*, in the county of *Durham*, make it probable, that a *Roman* road has lain that way. If such a way has gone by *Bernard-castle*, I am apt to think it has led from *Bowes* to *Lanchester*, or however to some part of our northern *Watlingstreet*, and so been designed for a communication between these stations of the *Notitia*.

ARHEIA

^a Pag. 847.

^b The reverend Mr. Anger.

^c Pag. 847.

ARBEIA appears to me to have been the most northerly of the stations, which were next to those *per lineam valli*: for after the mention of these stations garrisoned by horse, which, as I have just now shewn, were in the southern part of *Yorkshire*, the *Notitia* sets down those which were garrisoned by several *numeri*; and of these *Arbeia* is the first. *Camden*, from affinity of names, took this for *Ferby* in *Cumberland*; but as there are no remains of a station at *Ferby*, so I could never learn upon inquiry, that there were any other *Roman* antiquities ever found there: and the argument, from affinity of names, is of less force; because there is another place of the same name in *Lancashire*, near the borders of *Yorkshire* and *Westmorland*. *Harby-brow* or *Harby-brugh*, by the name might bid as fair at least, as *Ferby*, from which it is distant about two or three miles; but I found the same objections lie against that. I met with the like disappointment at *Workington*, where some have said, that there must have been a *Roman* station: for I could discover no appearance of it; nor hear of any *Roman* coins, inscriptions, or other antiquities found thereabout. The *Borough walls*, where the station is supposed to have been, is about a mile from the town, and not much less from the river, but on the opposite side. A good part of the walls are yet standing, by which it appears to have been only one of these old towns, which we so frequently see in the north, and which sometimes bear the name of *Burgh* or *Brugh*. I saw no appearance of a ditch, no remains of other buildings about it, or near it; and in short, nothing that looked like a *Roman* station or town. If it has ever been a *Roman* fort of any kind, I think it must only have been one of those small exploratory *castella*, which some observe to have been placed along the coast. It has a large prospect into the sea, but little towards the land. At *Moresby* I met with evident proofs, though little remains, of a station. In a field which lies between that town and *Barton*, called the *crofts*, they continually plow up stones and cement, which have all the usual appearance of being *Roman*: and besides the *Roman* inscriptions mentioned in *Camden*^a, I saw two other monuments of that nature my self, which I have described in their place^b; yet it is not easy now to discern the limits of the station. The field, in which the stones are now plowed up, looked to me rather like the place of the town, than the station. There appeared, as I thought, somewhat like two sides of a fort near the church. Perhaps the station, or part of it, has been destroyed, or washed away by the sea, towards which there is a very large prospect. The order, in which *Arbeia* is mentioned in the *Notitia*, suits very well with the supposition that this is the place; for *Moresby* is nine or ten computed miles from *Elenborough*, which station I take to be the last of those contained under the title *per lineam valli*. The remains indeed are not so large and conspicuous, as might be expected in a *Notitia* station; but those have different degrees as well as others. According to the *Notitia*, the *Numerus Barcariorum Tigritensium* were in garrison at *Arbeia*.

ARBEIA.

THE next station which appears this way, is at *Ambleside* in *Westmorland*. To this place I believe the military ways have gone, which pass by *Pap-castle*, and through *Graystock* park. We have this general account of it in *Camden's Britannia*^c. "At the upper corner of the lake *Winander mere*, lies the castle, if I may so say, of an antient city, with large ruins of walls, and the rubbish of old buildings in many places. The fort has been of an oblong figure, fortified with a ditch and rampire, in length one hundred and thirty two ells, and in breadth eighty. That it was a work of the *Romans*, the bricks, urns, vials, *Roman* coins, and millstones, &c. and the paved way leading to it, are undeniable testimonies." This seems to come in a proper place for the antient *Diētis*^d, which in the *Notitia* is set next to *Arbeia*,

DIETI.

^a Pag. 1004.

^b Pag. 285.

^c Pag. 986.

^d I think *Diētis* must have been the name, and *Diēti* the ablative case, as the other names are.

Arbeia; and where, according to the same author, the *numerus Nerviorum Dictensum* was in garrison: and this makes it the more probable, that the other stations hereabout have also been *Notitia* stations. I was once inclined to suspect, from the inscriptions found in *Richmondshire*, mentioning the *cohors Nerviorum*, that *Dictis* might be there. But the *Nervii Dictenses* were perhaps no part of that cohort; and if they were, the cohort was afterwards removed to *Virofidum*.

CONCANGIVM.

THE next which appears is that at *Watercrook*, about a mile south from *Kendal*. *Watercrook* has its name from the crookedness or winding of the river *Kent*, near this place. I say *Kent*, for though *Camden*, *Gale*, and others, call it *Can* (I suppose to bring it nearer in sound to *Concangium*) yet it is certain, that the name it now goes by is *Kent* or *Ken*, and no doubt from hence is the name *Kendal*. There are undeniable evidences of a *Roman* station yet to be seen at this place. The *Roman* inscriptions and altars which still remain here, I have described in their proper place. Urns have been found in a bank that was laid open by the river. Stones, and pieces of *Roman* bricks continue to be thrown up by the plow in abundance. Several *Roman* coins and seals have been found here, some of which are yet in the possession of Mr. *Guy*, the present proprietor. One of them, which is very curious, I take to be *Janus Quadrifrons*. There is also a medal of *Faustina* in the same gentleman's hands. The ramparts of the fort are very discernible; and there is a faint appearance of the ditch, though now much levelled. The station has been of the larger size, measuring about six chains from north to south, and eight from east to west; and so must have contained almost five acres of ground. The town, I believe, has chiefly stood between the fort and the water on the west side; for here they still plow up cement and stones. These are of free stone, such as the *Romans* always made use of; though at this place they have plenty of lime-stone at hand, whereas free stone is scarce, and at a distance. There are also two or three *tumuli* within sight of the station, and not very far from it. The situation of this fort is like that at *Elfdon*, and some others which I have seen, overlooking a vale, or *dale* as they usually call it when a river runs through it, encompassed with high hills, which on all sides terminate the view from the station. There is on the west side of *Kendal* a round artificial mount, called *Castle hill*, which has been within sight of this station. It is very like the exploratory mounts I have seen in other places, especially near the military ways; but whether it be *Roman*, and relates to the station, or more modern, and erected with a view to the castle, over against which it is placed at about half a mile's distance, I cannot determine. This station seems to come very properly for *Concangium*, the next after *Dictis*, where the *numerus vigilum* lay. And considering the situation of the place, a garrison of *vigiles* seem very proper for it. Others have also supposed this to be *Concangium*^a. Dr. *Gale* indeed would have *Kendal* to be *Brovonacae*^b; but the reasons he gives for it are such, as now require no answer^c. The name *Concangium* may create a suspicion, that this *Roman* station must have been among the *Cangi*: but these people were too far south for this station, if we have any regard to the order of the *Notitia*; so that I must still adhere to the opinion, that *Kendal* is *Concangium*, for thus the *Notitia* proceeds with some regularity.

THE three last stations are pretty much in a line, pointing southwest and northeast; and the reckoning in the *Notitia* begins at the most northerly.

LAVATRAE.
VERTERAE.

BRABONIACVM. and *Braboniacum*. The two first are settled by the *Itinerary*^d, and no doubt are

^a Camd. p. 985.
^b Ant. Itin. p. 40.

^c See the essay on Antonine's Itinerary in this book.

^d Iter II.

are *Bowes* in *Yorkshire*, and *Brugh* upon *Stanemoor* in *Westmorland*; the former lying southeast from the latter. And I know no sufficient argument against the conjecture, that *Braboniacum* is the same also with *Bremetonacae* in the *Itinerary*, or *Overborough* in the borders of *Lancashire*.

HERE the order of the *Notitia* seems to proceed in a kind of a round, beginning at the most easterly station; as in the three before, which were garrisoned by horse.

THE next two stations are *Maglove*, and *Magi* or *Magae*, as I read them, supposing both to be in the ablative, as the other names of places generally are. It is true that *Gabrosenti*, in this chapter, is generally supposed to be in the genitive, and I have complied with the common custom, and authority of others, in calling it *Gabrosentum*, though it may perhaps have been *Gabrosentis*. But however this be, there are two, as yet, nameless *Roman* stations, which seem to answer very well in situation and order to *Maglove* and *Magae* in the *Notitia*; I mean, *Gretabridge* and *Piercebridge*. These two places lie much in a line with *Brugh* and *Bowes*, and I am persuaded, that neither of them are mentioned in the *Itinerary*. Perhaps when *Cataraet* was abandoned (for it is not mentioned in the *Notitia*) these two more northern stations were thought proper to be erected: and the remains at both these places are more considerable than at *Cataraet*; which favours the opinion, that they have continued later than that: but I shall give a more distinct account of each of these stations apart.

I HAVE several times viewed *Gretabridge*, and have already given an account* of the *Roman* monuments, which remain thereabout. I was told of some more, lately come to light; but the last time I was there, I found the pretended discoveries of new inscriptions were altogether imaginary: however I discovered, by the help of my landlord at *Rookby*, what had given rise to the story. The altar N. v. *Yorkshire*, was taken up by my landlord about two years ago, close by the banks of the river *Tees*, about two hundred yards below its confluence with the river *Greta*. The information Dr. *Hunter* had received (as he told me himself) was this: That a new inscription had been found in a cave, or hollow rock, by the water side, supposed to be *Roman*; and this altar was found on the bank of the river, hard by the yet remaining foundations of two houses or buildings near the water. My landlord gave them the name of *chapel* and *parsonage*. That which he called the *parsonage*, had stood close by the bank of the river, about two hundred yards below the union of the *Tees* and *Greta*. Its length was parallel to the bank or course of the river, and measured about seven yards, its breadth about five. The foundation stones of the side wall next the river, were wrought out, and carried away by him. Some part of the foundation of the other side was remaining. The building had been of square stones, and most probably *Roman*. He farther assured me, that a great many very fine stones had been got out of the ruins of this and the neighbouring building, which he called the *chapel*, and is about forty or fifty yards south from the other, and has not stood so near to the river. It is about nineteen or twenty yards long, and eight broad. The altar now at *Morton* was found (as I have hinted before) a few yards to the north or northwest of the former building. These must be the buildings, which have been mistaken for the cells of the *Nymphs*; for I was well assured by others (and I made some search myself) that there were no artificial cavities in any of the rocks. Though the river is for some miles hemmed in by rocks and banks, pleasantly adorned and furnished with trees, so as to render it an agreeable residence for such imaginary *Nymphs*; but all has been prepared by nature alone. There has, no doubt, been a *Roman* fort and

MAGLOVE!

* Book II.

and town near *Gretabridge*, situated on a *lingula* near the confluence of the *Tees* and *Greta*. The fort is yet very visible, and of the usual regular figure. The ramparts quite round, and the four entries are very conspicuous. It contains about four or five acres, and stands in a field called the *Holme* (which word, Mr. *Salmon* says, signifies a *river island*) near the modern village, on the north, or northwest side of the river *Greta*. There is a small rivulet, which runs through *Rookby* park, called *Tutta*: the station is between this rivulet and *Greta*, a situation which I observe to have been frequently chosen by the *Romans*. Within this fort, or near it, they dig up vast quantities of dressed stones. The fort itself has not reached within the park, but the military way has gone through it, and crossed the *Greta* a little below the present bridge, nearer to *Morton*, and falls in again with the high road, at an house a little south from *Greta-bridge*. It leaves the fort about a furlong or two on the southwest side. The *Roman* town seems to have been of a much larger extent, and to have reached as far as *Rookby* and *Morton*. The *Kirk-croft*, which lies between *Rookby hall*, and the river *Greta*, near its confluence with the *Tees*, is full of old buildings and ruins. The rivulet *Tutta* runs into the river *Greta* in *Rookby* park, and this into the river *Tees*, a little below *Rookby* church, where there is a small bridge built over the *Greta*, by which one may pass from *Morton* to *Rookby*. The *Tees* runs pretty directly from *Bernard castle* to this place, and almost all the way from thence to *Piercebridge* has its banks clothed with trees; and rolls over many rocks, and is often enclosed between rocks.

MAGI. AT *Piercebridge* also there has been a considerable station. A large number of coins have been found (several of which are in Dr. *Hunter's* hands, and some I purchased myself) and the remains are considerable. An aqueduct (if I am not mistaken) has gone just through the present town, and the foundations of houses every where appear, especially when the earth is any way opened, or even well watered with rain; and after a shower the coins also are discovered, and gathered up in abundance. A large stone coffin was also found here, and other antiquities. The last time I viewed the place, I was inclined to think, that a sort of garden, with some trees in it, which I once imagined might be enclosed in part with some of the ramparts of the station, has rather been the *praetorium* only. This station and town have been on the north side of the *Tees*, but there is another rivulet on the north side of the station; so that it has had the usual situation, on a *lingula*, between a greater and a smaller river, and near their confluence; yet there is high ground both to the north and south of the station. As I went from *Durham* to *Piercebridge*, I saw two seeming *tumuli*, one a mile from the town on the left, the other near the entrance to the town on the right. The military way from *Binchester* to this place is very visible, especially near *Piercebridge*. My landlord called it the *broad way*. He also told me of a bridge, some of the wood of which was yet remaining. There was an elevation very visible beyond this bridge (which was over the rivulet) but I took this to be rather the continuance of the military way, than any part of the ramparts of the station. The way points directly to the *Tofts*, the field in which the station has probably been, and from whence the coins have the name of *Toft-pieces*. The houses which stand here, are called the *Bury* or *Carlebury*; perhaps it has been *Castlebury*. I therefore take *Piercebridge* to be *Magae* in the *Notitia*. Dr. *Gale** supposes this to be the same with *Magna* in the *Itinerary*, which he places at *Old Radnor*; but this is vastly too far to the south, if we observe the order in the *Notitia*. Besides I have already shewn, that *Old Radnor* is no *Roman* station.

LONGOVICUS. LONGOVICUS, the next station, has had long possession of *Lancaster*; and if I should attempt to dislodge it, I know not how to dispose of it better.

* Ant. It. p. 127.

better. Dr. *Hunter's* opinion of its being *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*, has been already considered^a.

DERVENTIO, the last of this set, is, I think, a station in the *Itinerary*, and appears from that to be not far from *York*, I suppose east from it, and on the river *Derwent*. And as it is both in the *Notitia* and the *Itinerary*, one would expect large remains, though these are yet undiscovered. It is much in a line with *York* and *Lancaster*.

DERVENTIO.

NEXT to this set of stations already described, follow those *per lineam valli*, which take up the remaining part of this chapter; but of these so full an account has been given already in the first book^b, that nothing farther need be said of them here.

It is evident that all the stations, except *Praesidium*, mentioned in this chapter of the *Notitia*, are in *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, and the four northern counties. It appears also, that there was at that time but one *Roman* garrison more southerly than *Yorkshire*; excepting a few on the coast, which then had got the name of *Saxon*, from the invasions of the *Saxons*. From whence it follows, that at this time the concern and design of the *Romans*, was only to assist the *Britons* to guard the wall, and western coast in the northern counties, against the inroads of the *Caledonians*, and the eastern coast, in the southern counties, against the invasions of the *Saxons*. I shall only farther remark, that the three places mentioned in the beginning of the chapter are the most southerly stations, and for this reason had horse in them, that they might be more ready and expeditious, and move to the *Saxon* coast, or any other part of the island, as there was occasion, they being nearly in the center.

I NOW proceed to consider those stations in the *Notitia*, which were under the command of the count of the *Saxon* shoar. And the first observation which offers is, that the two most northern stations of this set were garrisoned by horse, though they are not mentioned in the first place. The reason for placing the horse here, might very probably be the same, which I have just now given with respect to the three most southern stations that belonged to the *dux Britanniarum*.

THE three first stations, which occur to us in this chapter, are *Othona*, *Dubrae*, and *Lemannae*, which two last places are in the *Itinerary*, and must be *Dover* and *Lime*: and as *Dubrae* is more northerly than *Lemannae*, so probably *Othona* was more northerly than either; the order in these three being from north to south. *Othona* has been generally placed, since *Camden*, in *Essex*, at *Ithancester*, now ruined and swallowed up in *Blackwater* (the river which runs by *Malden*) or else by the sea^c. A late author would still have it farther north, at *Aldborough* in *Suffolk*: but the only difficulty, with respect to the former situation is, I think, that it is too far north to be immediately joined to *Dubrae* and *Lemannae*; and that *Richborough* and *Reculver* lie between *Ithancester* and *Dover*. This objection is more strong against *Aldborough*; and the reason why *Regulbium* and *Rutupae* are not set amongst these in the *Notitia* may be, that these two places were garrisoned by a different sort of soldiers, a cohort and a legion. I think there is no doubt but *Regulbium* must be *Reculver*, and *Rutupae* is in the *Itinerary*, and known to be *Richborough*. These two are set down together in the *Notitia*, and they stand not far from one another. *Regulbium* is first mentioned, as it is the more northerly of the two.

OTHONA.
DVBRAE.
LEMANNAE.

REGVLBIVM,
RVTVPÆ.

BETWEEN

^a See Chap. II. of this Book.

^b Chap. VII.

^c See essay on the Itinerary.

BRANODUNVM. BETWEEN these two and the former three are set down in the *Notitia*,
 GARIANNONVM. *Branodunum* and *Gariannonum*; and I see no reason to question the common opinion, that the former is *Brancaſter* in *Norfolk*, and the latter near *Tarmouth*, on the river *Tare*, which is juſtly thought to be *Ptolemy's Garuenum*. Both theſe places were gariſoned by horſe, and are, as I have ſaid, the moſt northern ſtations in this ſet; and *Branodunum*, which is the more northerly of the two, is again firſt mentioned in the *Notitia*. Mr. *Gale* informed me of a way near *Tarmouth*, called the *Jews-way*, which he ſuppoſed to be *Roman*. I ſaw alſo in the map *Ufford* (perhaps for *Oldford*) and *Stratford*, which names are indications of a military way, the courſe of which would tend toward *Tarmouth*. I know not whether it can have been continued from *Reculver*, and croſſed the larger rivers by ferries.

ANDERIDA. THE only two remaining places are *Anderida* and *Portus Adurnus*; which
 PORTVS ADVR- are, I think, univerſally agreed to be the moſt ſoutherly ſtations. *Portus*
 NVS. *Adurnus* I would ſettle at *Portsmouth* or *Portcheſter*, near it. The name *Portsmouth* may be imagined to retain ſomewhat of the antient name *Portus*. *Arundel*, on the river *Aru*, is thought by ſome to retain ſomewhat of the name of *Adurnus* in it, the letters being a little changed or tranſpoſed. And the military ways that lead from *Arundel* to *Chicheſter*, and towards *London*, may farther confirm this conjecture, if we were ſure of theſe ways. *Anderida* has certainly ſtood in or near the *Silva Anderida*, in the *Saxon*, *Androſwald*, in *Britiſh*, *Coid-Andrid*. But as this wood is of a vaſt extent, according to ſome an hundred and twenty miles in length, and thirty in breadth*, it leaves us room enough to wander in it till we loſe ourſelves. Dr. *Tabor*, having given a good account of ſome *Roman* towns and camps in *Suſſex*, rejects *Camden's* opinion about *Anderida* being at *Newenden*, and pitches on a place near *East-Bourne*. Here a bath, pavement, coins, and bricks have been diſcovered, and large foundations of a conſiderable extent, which he thinks ſufficiently prove a *Roman* ſettlement here^b. Every thing, according to his account, appears very agreeable, and the *Roman* remains, which ſeem to be certain, do readily procure my aſſent.

IT would be eaſy to ſhew a regularity as to the ſeveral ſeries of ſtations in the *Notitia*, according to the ſcheme which I have advanced, though the lines of each ſeries do not lie directly either in the length or breadth of the kingdom, but are moſtly croſs and oblique, with reſpect both to the one and the other. Theſe are all the gariſons which ſeem to have been maintained and ſupplied at the time when the *Notitia* was written. Some of them might perhaps be poſted for the defence of particular paſſes: but, the principal deſign of thoſe gariſons under the *comes littoris Saxonici* was manifeſtly to guard that coaſt, which was moſt expoſed to the deſcent of the *Saxons*; as the chief deſign of thoſe under the *dux Britanniarum* was to prevent the inroads or invaſions of the *Picts* and *Caledonians*. But though the moſt ſoutherly of theſe gariſons appear in ſuch a manner more to the north than the moſt northern of the other, as if there might be ſome little interval; yet it does not ſeem to me, that the command of the *comes Britanniae* extended any where to the eaſtern coaſt. The province of *Britain* is aſcribed to him, with moſt of the ſame officers to attend his court, as the other two; but not a ſingle gariſon under his command: ſo that he had really the leaſt power, though the largeſt extent of ground. I believe his province included the midland and western part of *England*. I look on it as certain, that there have been ſome *Roman* ſettlements in *Derbyſhire*, as may appear from *Camden*, and what I have ſaid my ſelf in the ſecond book in the obſervations on *Derbyſhire*. I am informed by an ingenious gentleman, that a *Roman* way appears in ſeveral places about four or five miles from *Derby* in the road to *Lichfield*.

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* *Camd.* p. 195.^b *Philos. Trans.* N. 356.

I know not but this may have been continued to *Templebrugh*, since it goes northward from *Little-chester* to *Horeston-castle*. Dr. *Stukeley* ^a has given us a curious description of *Little-chester* a mile below *Derby*, and on good grounds pronounces it *Roman*. The *Roman* way which goes by it is called the *Ricning-street*, between which and the river *Derwent* are the ruins of a square *Roman* fort, where coins and several other *Roman* antiquities have been found. The doctor thinks the name of it was *Derventio*, but different, as I suppose, from the *Derventio* in the *Itinerary*. This might be, and both places be named from the neighbouring rivers, for both are called *Derwent*, or nearly so. I have supposed the *Derventio* in the *Notitia* to be the same with that in the *Itinerary*, but leave every one to judge for themselves. If *Little-chester* near *Derby* be the *Derventio* in the *Notitia*, then of course *Derbyshire* must have been a part of the country subject to the *dux Britanniarum*; but if we should suppose this county to have been at that time destitute of *Roman* garrisons, it might possibly have been under the *comes Britanniae*. However the name of one station in this county has perhaps been *Braciaca*, though this name occurs no where but in an inscription ^b.

THE several sets or *series* of stations in the *Notitia* seem to be well contrived and situated for the defence of the limits, passes, and coasts, as well against the *Caledonian* inroads as any descent of the *Saxons*.

C H A P T E R IV.

An Essay on the Chorography of Britain, by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna.

Containing I. Some account of the author and his work. II. The Latin text of this writer. III. Remarks upon many of the places mentioned by him, and more particularly of such as seem to be the same with the stations per lineam valli in the *Notitia*.

I. **T**HE author of this work, and the time in which it was composed, are both very doubtful. Mr. *Salmon* has a peculiar conjecture, which I shall transcribe. “ *Gallio* of *Ravenna* having been the last Roman here with a command, it seems probable, that the chorography of *Britain*, handed down to us by a monk, is the work of that general, and that the preface belongs to the monk. *Gallio* would doubtless inform himself of the state of the country, and had a rationary and maps by him. The names are corrupted and barbarous. And if we consider the confusion in which *Britain* had been, the inroads and devastations of the *Picts*, who razed *Roman* towns so as to carry off a part of their name, we need not wonder at the change. This by the name of *Ravennas* is thought to have been compiled for the use of the eastern empire, because of the *Greek* copy it is manifestly taken from. *Gallio* might be the compiler of it for that purpose, or some body under him. It may have its name from *Gallio's* being called of *Ravenna*, or it may have been found there

^a It. curios. p. 50, 51.

^b See the observations on *Derbyshire*.

“ there by a monk of that place, or some body else. It is plain the monk
 “ had no intention to gain a name by it for himself, for he has not put his
 “ own to it.”

DR. STUKELEY supposes *Ravennas* may really have been this author's name, taken from the place *Ravenna*, to which he belonged. But he is commonly stiled the *anonymous Ravennas*, this word being thought to import the place of his nativity or residence.

THE time in which this author wrote is as uncertain, as the author himself. His introduction to his chorography of *Great Britain* may possibly give some light with respect to the antiquity, or novelty of it.

II. I SHALL therefore proceed to give the original of that part of the work, from the edition of Dr. Gale^a, as I did before in *Antonine's Itinerary*.

ANONYMI RAVENNATIS BRITANNIAE CHOROGRAPHIA.

IN oceano verò occidentali est insula, quae dicitur Britannia, ubi^b olim gens Saxonum, veniens ab antiquâ Saxoniâ cum principe suo, nomine^c Anschis, in eâ habitare videtur. Quamvis insulam, ut diximus, quidam^d Gothorum philosophi^e quasi^f Microsmi appellaverunt. Nam nos tam magnam insulam, neque in supra scripto mari magno, neque in praefato oceano dilatissimo, neque in quo praediximus sinu oceani, legendam nullo modo reperimus. In qua Britannia plurimas fuisse legimus^g civitates, et castra, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est,

Prima pars
Britanniae.

GIANO.

ELTABO.

NEMETOTACIO.

TAMARIS.

DVROCORONAVIS.

PILAIS.

VERNALIS.

ARDVA.

RAVENNATONE.

DEVIONISSO.

STATIO DEVENTIA.

STENE.

DVRIARNO.

VXELIS.

VERTEVIA.

MELARNONI seu

MELAMONI.

Tamerton.

Dorchester.

Lestwithiel.

Giano eltabo. Vat.

Nemetotatio. Vat.

Purocoronavis. V.

Vernilis. V.

Stadio deventiafieno V.

Melamoni. Vat.

SCADUM

^a The value of this edition we may learn from the title page, where the learned editor has prefixed these words: Cum autographo Regis Galliae M^{ts}. et codice Vaticano collata; adjiciuntur conjecturae plurimae, cum nominibus locorum Anglicis, quotquot illi assignari potuerint. I have therefore published it in the same manner, as it stands in that edition; and if afterwards in my remarks upon particular places I differ in my opinion, with respect to some of the English names, such is

the known candour of that gentleman, that I persuade myself I need make no apology for it.

^b Elongens. Vat.

^c Anschis modo habitare. Vat.

^d Graecorum Philosophi quasi Microsmi. Vat.

^e Qui. M^s. R. G.

^f Microcosmum, vel Imicosmon pro Himicosmon. Vid. praefationem Gronovii in Melam. Lugd. 1696.

^g Civitates ex quibus. Vat.

SCADVM NAMORVM.

Exeter.

Scadoniorum. Mss. R. G.
pro *Isca Damnoniorum.*
Scadumnamorani. V.

TERMONIN.

MOSTEVIA.

Mestevia. Mss. R. G. po-
test in Vatic. legi *Me-*
scenia.

MILIDVNVM.

APAVNARIS.

ALONGIVM.

Apuanaris. Mss. R. G.
Aloungium. Mss. R. G.
Alovergium. V.

^a *Item juxta superscriptam civitatem* ^b *Scadoniorum est civitas, quae dicitur,*

MORIDVNO.

Scaton.

ALAVNA SYLVA.

OMIRE.

TEDERTIS.

LONDINIS.

Omire tedertis.

Landinis. Mss. R. G.
Lindinis V.

CANCA.

DOLOCINDO.

CLAVINIO.

MORIONIO.

BOLVELAVNIO.

ALAVNA.

COLONEAS.

ARANVS.

ANICETIS.

MOIEZO.

Dolotindo. Mss. R. G.
Clavimo V.

Aramis V.

Meiezo. Mss. R. G.
Melezo. V.

IBERNIO.

BINDOGLADIA.

NOVIOMAGNO.

ONNA.

VENTA VELGARVM.

ARMIS.

ARDAONEON.

RAVIMAGO.

REGENTIVM.

Winborn.

Winchester.

Sylchester.

} Woodcote, in Surrey.

Ventavelgarum V.

Pro *Noviomago Regen-*
tium. *Navimagore*
gentium V.

LEVCOMAGO.

CIMETZONE.

PVNCTVOBICE.

VENTA SILVRVM.

IVPANIA.

METAMBALA.

ALBINVNNO.

Logher.

Cowbridge.

Caer Gwent.

Leucu magna V.

Cunetzone V.

Pontuobice.

Ventas luxum. V.

Albinumno. V. forte *Caer*
Nonou. Vid. Monast.
Ang. vol. 111. p. 209. a.

ISCA AVGVSTA.

BANNIO.

BRENNA.

ALABVM.

CICVTIO.

Caer Leon.

Abergavenny.

Breubege, vel Brynabege.

Pro *Gobannio.*

Bremia. V.

MAGNIS

^a Iterum. Vat.

^b Scadonionum. Vat.

MAGNIS.	Old Radnor.	
BRANOGENIVM.	Worcester.	
EPOCESSA.		
YPOCESSA.		
MACATONION.	Kenchester.	Pro Ariconium.
GLEBON COLONIA.	Gloucester.	Glebon, Colonia V. Vid.
ARGISTILLVM.	Arwyfli.	Monast. Ang. v. 11. p.
		47. et Add. in Camde-
		num, Lond. 1695.
		p. 653.
VERTIS.		
SALINIS.		Salmis. V.
CORINIVM DOBVNORVM.	Cirencester.	Cironium. V.
CALEBA ATREBATVM.	Henley.	Caleba, Arbat. V.
ANDERESIO.	Amberley.	Andereliomiba. V.
MIBA.	Midhurst.	Pro Mida.
MVTVANTONIS.		Mantuanonis. V.
LEMANIS.	Lyme.	
DVBRIS.	Dover.	
DVROVERNO CANTIA-	Canterbury.	Duroaverno, Cantia-
CORVM.		rum. V.
RVTVPIS.	Stoner.	
DVROBRABIS.	Rocheſter.	
LONDINI.	London.	Landini.
TAMESE.	Kingſton upon Thames.	
BRINAVIS.		
ALAVNA.	Aulceſter.	
VTRICONION. CORNO-	Wroxceter.	UrioconiumCornaviorum.
NINORVM.		Cornoviorum. V.
LAVOBRINTA.		
MEDIOMANVM.	Mainturog.	
SEGVNTIO.	Cacnarnon.	
CANVBIO.	Conwey.	Conovio.
MEDIOLANO.	Meivod.	Mediolana V.
SANDONIO.		Saudonio. V.
DEVA VICTRIX.	Weiſtcheſter.	Devavicttris. V.
VERATINO.		
LVTVDARVM.		Lugudarum. Mſs. R. G.
		Lutudaron. V.
DERBENTIONE.	Little Cheſter near Derby.	
SALINIS.	Nantwich.	Salmis. Vat.
CONDATE.	Congleton.	
RATECORION.	Leiceſter.	Ratae Coritanorum.
ELTANORI.		Eltavori. V.
LECTOCETO.	Litchfield.	Leſto, Ceto. V.
IACIO.	}	Statio Dulma. Jaciodul-
DVLMA.		ma. V.
VIROLANIVM.	Verulam.	
LONDINIVM AVGVSTA.	London.	Londinium Auguſti. V.
CAESAROMAGVM.	Writtle, vel Witham.	Caesaromago. V.
CAMVLODVLO COLONIA.	Saffron Walden.	Camuloduno. Manulodulo
		Colonia V.
DVRCINATE.		
DVROVIGVTO.		Durojugato. Mſ. R. G.
DVROBRISIN.		
VENTA CENOMVM.	Cafter.	Venta Icenorum. Venta-
		cenomum. V.
LINDVM COLONIA.	Lincoln.	
		BANOvallvm.

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BANOVALVUM.	Benwall.	<i>Bannovallum. Bannovā-lum. V.</i>
NAVIONE.		
AQVIS.	Aidon Castle.	Vid. inscript. <i>Camd.</i> p. 666.
ARNEMEZA.		
ZERDOTALIA.		
MANTIO.		<i>Mansio. Mantio. V.</i>
ALVNNA.	Allenton, or Whetley.	
CAMVLODVNO.	Almonbury.	<i>Caluvio. V.</i>
CALVNIO.	Coln.	<i>Colanea.</i>
GALLVNIO.	Whaley.	<i>Galluvio. V.</i>
MODIBOGDO.		<i>Medibogdo. V.</i>
CANTIVMETI.		<i>Cantaventi.</i>
JVLIOCENON.		
GABROCENTIO.	Gateshead.	<i>Gabrosento.</i>
ALAVNA.		
BRIBRA.		
MAIO.		
OLERICA.		<i>Blerica. Mss. R. G.</i>
DERVENTIONE.	<i>Fortè Pap Castle non pro-cul à fluvio Derwent in Cumbriâ.</i>	
RAVONIA.	Ravonglassè.	
BRESNETENATI VETERA-	Overburrow.	<i>Bremetonaca fortè Anto-nini. Bresnetenaci. V.</i>
NORVM.		<i>An Pampocalia Lagen-tium?</i>
PAMPOCALIA.		<i>Laguentium. V.</i>
LAGENTIVM.		<i>Verteris.</i>
VALTERIS.	Burgh Castle.	<i>Voreda.</i>
BEREDA.	Perith.	<i>Luguvallium. Laguba-bami. V.</i>
LUGVBALVM.	Old Carlisle.	<i>Promagnis Castris.</i>
MAGNIS.	Boulnessè.	<i>Pro Amboglannâ. Gaba-glanda. V.</i>
BABAGLANDA.	Ambleside.	
VINDOLANDE.	Dolande.	
LINEOIVGLA.		
VINONIA.	Binchester.	<i>Vinovia. V.</i>
LAVARIS.	Bowes.	<i>Lavatris.</i>
CATARACTONION.	Cattarick.	<i>Catabactlonion. V.</i>
EBVRACVM.	York.	
DECVARIA.	Aldby.	<i>Petuaria.</i>
DEVOVICIA.	Wighton.	<i>Delgovicia. Devovitia. V.</i>
DIXIO.		<i>Dixio lugunduno. V.</i>
COGANGES.	Cayngham.	<i>Ceganges. V.</i>
CORIE.	Patrington.	<i>Curia, aliter Praetori-um.</i>
LAPOCARIVM.		

Iterum sunt civitates ipsâ in Britannîâ, quae recto tramite de unâ parte in aliâ, id est à de oceano in oceano, et Sisluntiaci dividunt in tertiâ portione ipsam Britanniam; id est,

SERDVNO.		
CONDERCO.		<i>Condecor. V.</i>
		<i>VINDOVALA.</i>

*Tertia pars
Britanniae.*

• Fortè legendum est, de oceano in oceanum, et ad Iunan. Eden fl. juxta Carleolum

VINDOVALA.	Winchester.	<i>Hunno.</i> Notit. Imp.
ONNO.	Seavenshale.	<i>Celumno.</i> V.
CELVNNO.	Colerton.	<i>Procolitia.</i>
PROCOLITI.		<i>Velurtion.</i> V.
VOLVRTION.		<i>Esica.</i> V.
AESICA.	Netherby <i>ad Aesicam</i> fl.	
BANNA.		
VXELVDIANO.	Hexham.	<i>Axeloduno. Uxelludiano.</i> V.
		<i>Avalana.</i> Mfs. R. G. <i>an</i> <i>pro Gallanâ Avalana.</i> V.
AVALARIA.	Walwick.	
MAIA.		<i>Fanocodi.</i> Mfs. R. G. <i>Fa-</i> <i>nococidi.</i> V.
FANOCEDI.		<i>Brocavum Antonino.</i>
BROCARA.	Brougham.	
CROVCINGO.	Crosby.	
STODOION.		
SINETRIADV.M.		
CLIDV.M.	Glasgow.	<i>Clindum.</i> V.
CARBANTIV.M.	Cacr Lavarock.	<i>Carbantorigum.</i> Ptolem.
TADORITON.		
MAPORITON.		
ALITACENON.	Elgin.	<i>Alithacenon.</i> V.
LOXA.	Innerlochy.	
LOCATRENE.		<i>Locatreve.</i> V.
CANIBROIANA.		<i>Cambroianna.</i> V.
SMETRI.		
VXELA.		
LVCOTION.	Whitern.	Ptolem. <i>Leucopibia. Can-</i> <i>dida Casa.</i> v. Camd. p. 692. <i>Lucocion.</i> V.
CORDA.	On Lough Cure.	
CAMVLOSESSA	} Camulon.	<i>An Camulon sextae [le-</i> <i>gionis] praesidium.</i>
PRAESIDIUM.		Ptolemaco <i>Rerigonium,</i> <i>et Berigonium.</i>
BRIGOMONO.	Bargeny.	
ABISSON.		
EBIO.		
CORIOTIOTAR.		<i>Fortè pro Curia Otade-</i> <i>norum.</i> <i>Celovion.</i> V.
CELERION.	Calendar Castle.	
ITVCODON.		
MAREMAGO.		<i>Maromago.</i> V.
DVABLISIS.	Duplin.	<i>Duabfissis.</i> V.
VENVSIO.	Banscy.	<i>Baratia fortè Ptolemaci.</i>
TRIMVNTIV.M.	Atturith.	<i>Triminitium.</i> V.
EBVROCASSVM.		
BREMENIV.M.	Brampton.	
COCVNEDA.	Coquet.	<i>Coqueda. Cocenneda.</i> V.
ALAVNA.	Alnewick.	
OLEICLAVIS.	Ogle Castle.	<i>Oleaclavis.</i> V.
EIVDENSICA.		<i>Potest in Vatic. legi Evi-</i> <i>densca.</i>
RVMABO.	Drumbugh Castle.	

Iterum sunt civitates^a in ipsâ Britannia^b [retrò tramite, una alteri connexa, ubi et ipsa Britannia] plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dignoscitur, id est,

*Quarta pars
Britanniae.*

VELVNIA.		
VOLITANIO.		
PEXA.		
BEGESSE.		
COLANICA.	Coldingham, vel Colce-	Colania fortè Ptolemaco.
	ster.	Coldana Bedac.
MEDIO.	}	Medionemetum. Mfs. R.
NEMETVM.		G. et V.
SVBDOBIADON.		
LITANA.		
CIBRA.		
CREDIGONE.		

Iterum est civitas quae dicitur.

IANO.		Lano. V.
MAVLION.		
DEMEROSESA.	Dumfries.	
CINDOCELLVM.		
CERMO.		Cerma. V.
VEROMO.		Potest etiam in Vat. legi Veronio.
MATOVION.		
VGRVLENTVM.		
RANATONIVM.		Ravatonium. V.
IBERRAN.		
PRAEMATIS.		Pinnatis. V.
TVESSIS.	Barwick.	
LEDONE.	Dunbar in Lothian.	Lodone. Mfs. R. G. et V.
LITINOMAGO.	Linlithquo.	
DEVONI.		
MEMANTVRVM.		
DECHA.		
BOGRANDIVM.		
VGVESTE.		
LEVIODANVM.	Levingston.	Leviodynamum.
PORREO CLASSIS.	Forfar aut Barry.	
LEVIOXANA.	Lenox.	Levioxava. V.
CERMIVM.		
VICTORIAE.	Baughiddor, aut Wickton.	
MARCOTAXON.		
TAGEA.	Menteith.	Taichia.
VORAN.	an Caer Voran?	

Sunt autem in ipsâ Britannia diversa loca^c (ex quibus aliquanta nominari volumus) id est,

MAPONI.	Post Maponi habet Mixa, Vat.
PANOVIVS.	Panonius V.
MINOX.	

TABLA.

^a In ipsâ Britannia recto tramite una alterius connexae, ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angust. Vat.

^b Ita legit Mfs. R. G.
^c Mfs. R. G. et Vat.

TABA.
MANAVI.
SEGLOES.
DAVNONI.

Fortè Tava aestuarium
Ptolem.

Dannom. V.

Currunt autem per ipsam Britanniam plurima flumina, ex quibus aliquanta nominare volumus, id est,

FRAXULA.	Ashbourn.	<i>Fraxula. M. V.</i>
AXIVM.	Axe.	
MAINA.	Mintern.	<i>Mavia.</i>
SARVA.	Severn.	<i>Savra. v. Lhydii Archæol. p. 22. c. 3. Sarna. V.</i>
TAMARIS.	Tamar.	
NAVRVM.	Nader <i>in Wiltoniâ.</i>	
ABONA.	Avon <i>inter Belgas.</i>	
ISCA.	Ex.	<i>V. Lhydii. Arch. Brit. p. 22. c. 3.</i>
TAMION.	Tavy.	<i>Taimon. V.</i>
AVENTIO.	Aun.	
LEVCA.	Low.	
IVCTIVS.		
LEVGOSENA.		
COANTIA.	Kentsey.	
DORVATIVM.	Dart <i>vel</i> Darent.	<i>Dorvantium. Mss. R. G. et V.</i>
ANTRVM.	Arm.	<i>Post Dorvantium codex Vatic. inserit. Anava, Bdora, Novitia, Adron, Certisnassa, Intraum.</i>
TINOA.	Tcing.	<i>Tinea. V.</i>
LIAR.	Liver.	
LENDÆ.		
VIVIDIN.	Fawey. Foath. <i>Britan.</i>	
DVROLANI.	Lenham River.	<i>Durolam. V.</i>
ALAVNA.		<i>Fluvius fortè qui ad novum Portum (Newhaven) in oceanum exoneratur.</i>
COGVVENSVRON.	Soar.	<i>Coguvensuron. V.</i>
DVRBIS.	Dour <i>ad</i> Dubras.	<i>Durbislemana. V.</i>
LEMANA.		<i>Fluvius infra oppidum Lyme.</i>
ROVIA.	Rother.	<i>Novia. V.</i>
RACTOMESSA.	Racon.	<i>Rartomeffa. V.</i>
SENVÆ.		
CIMIA.		<i>An hinc Cimenshore?</i>
VELOX.		<i>Cunia Velox. V.</i>

Finitur autem ipsa Britannia, à facie orientis, ^a habens insulam ^b Thyle, vel insulam ^c Dorcadas; à facie occidentis, ex parte provinciae Galliam, et promontorium ^d Pyrenaei; à facie ^e septentrionalis, insulam Scotiam; à facie meridionali Germaniam antiquam.

^a Habet. V.
^b Thile. V.

^c Orcades.
^d Septentrionali.

I SHALL not stay to criticize on the several barbarous words and expressions in the introduction, nor to enquire who *Anschis* was. I would only leave it to the reader to consider, whether the whole passage, and particularly *olim gens Saxonum in ea habitare videtur*, does not strongly imply, that not only our author himself, but even those he consulted and borrowed from, must have been considerably later than the *Saxon* invasions. And indeed I did not intend at first to have concerned my self with this geographer. The author and time in which the book was written are both so uncertain, I could not but look on the authority of this performance as very doubtful; but somewhat has lately happened, that may perhaps conciliate some farther regard to this unknown author, and his work, which is what follows.

A CURIOUS piece of antiquity (generally supposed to be an antique cup) was discovered in *Wiltshire*, and is now in my Lord *Hertford's* possession; and with his Lordship's permission a draught of it is inserted in my collection. Around the brim of this vase are written the names of some of the stations *per lineam valli*; and most of these names are pretty near the same with what they are in *Ravennas*, though different from what they are in the *Notitia*. *Banna* is exactly the same in both, which in the *Notitia*, as I have shewn, is named *Petriana*. Now if we suppose *Petriana* to be right, and *Banna* to be only a corruption of it, it is strange that two, who can by no means be supposed to have borrowed from one another, should to a letter hit on the same corrupt way of writing this name, so different from the true orthography. But if we look on *Banna* to be another name of the same place more ancient than *Petriana*, this would argue very strongly that *Ravennas* had got some of his names from authors older than the *Notitia*, though we perhaps are not able to tell who they were. This latter supposition may be thought perhaps to be farther strengthened by the omission of *Congavata*, both in *Ravennas* and in the aforesaid inscription; for *Congavata* in the *Notitia* is placed between *Aballaba* and *Axelodunum*, both which latter are expressed in the inscription. If then *Congavata* was a garrison at the time when this cup was made, it is hard to account for its being omitted in the inscription: but if it was not built or garrisoned till *Luguvallium* was abandoned (as I have hinted before) then this vase might be prior to the erecting the station of *Congavata*; which therefore could not be mentioned in the inscription. Perhaps *Congavata* might be abandoned, and *Luguvallium* remain as a town, though not garrisoned. Since then *Luguvallium* is named by *Ravennas*, and not *Congavata*; this seems again to favour the opinion, that the names of these places in him were taken from authors more ancient than the *Notitia*. And yet it is certain, I think, that he has taken the names of many places from the *Notitia*, or from other writers, who copied them from it: and if it was possible to strip the names in *Ravennas* of all their disguise, and then to have them carefully compared with *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, and the *Notitia*; I believe few would remain in the one, but what appear in the others.

III. BUT as this appears to me wholly impracticable, I shall content my self with making some short remarks upon such places, as seem capable of being determined with some degree at least of probability; and more especially the stations *per lineam valli*, as they stand in this author, with which I shall begin.

THE main body of these stations being mentioned together, our author, I think, must have intended to set down this series in their proper order. The title prefixed to these stations, and the rest that follow after, is in these words: *Iterum sunt civitates ipsa in Britannia, quae recto tramite de una parte in alia, id est de oceano in oceano, et Sistuntiaci dividunt in tertia*

portione ipsam Britanniam. This passage is in the usual barbarous style of the author, and who or what he intends by the *Sistuntiaci* may be hard to determine. Dr. Gale conjectures, that for *et Sistuntiaci* may be read *et ad Itunam.* Ptolemy says, that the *Brigantes* reach from sea to sea. However, I think, we may safely conclude from this passage, that the author looked on these *civitates* as the boundary, or part of the boundary, of the third part of Britain; and that they lay cross the *isthmus*, reaching from sea to sea. And I believe all the places that are mentioned after what our author supposed to be on this *isthmus* (between *Tine* and *Solway* frith) are situated on the north side of the Roman wall, which passes through *Cumberland* and *Northumberland.* I observe that the names of these places are generally put in the *ablative*, which looks as if they were taken directly from the *Notitia*; for what other reason the *Ravennas* should have to put them in that case I know not.

AFTER the introduction we have immediately these names in the following order.

Names in <i>Ravennas.</i>	Names in the <i>Notitia.</i>	English names.
<i>Serduno</i>	<i>Segedunum</i>	{ Station at the east end of the wall.
<i>Conderco</i>	<i>Pons Aelii</i>	Newcastle.
<i>Vindovala</i>	<i>Condercum</i>	Benwall.
<i>Onno</i>	<i>Vindobala</i>	Rutchester.
<i>Celunno</i>	<i>Hunnum</i>	Halton chesters.
<i>Procoliti</i>	<i>Cilurnum</i>	Wallwick chesters.
<i>Volurtion</i>	<i>Procolitia</i>	Carrawburgh.
	<i>Borcovicus</i>	House steeds.
	<i>Vindolana</i>	Little-chesters.
<i>Aesica</i>	<i>Aesica</i>	Great-chesters.
	<i>Magna</i>	Carrvoran.
	<i>Amboglanna</i>	Burdoswald.
<i>Banna</i>	<i>Petriana</i>	Cambeck fort.
<i>Uxeludiano</i>	<i>Aballaba</i>	Watch-cross.
<i>Avalaria.</i> These two	<i>Congavata</i>	Stanwicks.
last come next, but	<i>Axelodunum</i>	Brugh.
are misplaced; and	<i>Gabrosentum</i>	Dumbrugh.
some others had been	<i>Tinnocelum</i>	Boulness.
mentioned before, as		
I shall shew presently.		

HERE it is plain that *Ravennas's* series runs parallel for a good space to that in the *Notitia.* *Pons Aelii* is omitted by him; perhaps it was not then in being, or the name might deceive him into an opinion that it was only a bridge, not a station or town. Other instances I believe may be produced of some such omissions, and perhaps for the like reason too; for I do not find *Pontibus*, nor *Ad pontem*, with some others in our *Ravennas.*

WE have among this set one instance of a strange corruption in one of the names, *Volurtion*, or *Velurtion*, for *Borcovicus**; for I think it plain from the series, that this barbarous word must be intended for the name of the same place, which the *Notitia* calls *Borcovicus.* And if this be not the same with the other, *Borcovicus* is no where mentioned (as far as I can discern) by this author, which I do not look on as probable.

AFTER

* The Greek name has probably been BOP- of some letters might become BOAOPTION or KOTIKON, which by the transposition and change Volurtion.

AFTER *Aesica* come *Magna* and *Amboglanna*, according to the *Notitia*; but these two are omitted by *Ravennas* in this his principal set of these stations; as is also *Vindolana*, which stands in the *Notitia* between *Borcovicus* and *Aesica*^a. Yet we have these three mentioned all together a little before by our geographer.

UXELUDIANO is set before *Avalaria* by *Ravennas*, though *Axelodunum* comes after *Aballaba* in the series of the *Notitia*. This is *Uxelodunum*, or as Mr. Gale conjectures *Uxelodumo* on the cup; in the *Notitia* it is *Axeloduno*. The first syllable is the same both in *Ravennas* and on the cup; and in *Gaul* there is a place named *Uxelodunum*, which possibly may be the true reading. The latter part of the name is corrupted much more by this author.

I SHALL proceed to the names of some other places mentioned a little before these stations in the *Ravennas*, and that in the same order in which he has ranged them.

VALTERIS, Bereda, Lugubalum, Magnis, Babaglanda, Vindolande, Lineojugla, Vinonia, Lavaris.

I THINK it evident that this author has intended to observe some order in the disposition of his names of the several places; and that either by pursuing a line of stations or towns, or else by setting all these together, which he found together in his authors, or which he imagined lay about the same part and near each other. This may possibly have been the occasion of setting *Magna, Amboglanna*, and *Vindolana* (as they are called in the *Notitia*) among the places mentioned here.

NONE of the other names, which I have here transcribed, differ much from what they are in the *Notitia*, or in the *Itinerary*, except *Lineojugla*; and I know not how to conjecture what that should be. One would scarce think it could be mistaken for *linea valli*, or that the author should imagine that to be the name of a place; though I am much mistaken, if he has not sometimes given us the names of people and rivers for the names of stations and towns. *Lineojugla* is here set just before *Vinonia*, as *Vindomora* is before *Vinovium* in the *Itinerary*. But what resemblance is there between *Vindomora* and *Lineojugla*? Nor can I see in the *Notitia* any name of a place that could be supposed to be any thing near the rest of those places. I think *Olenacum, Maglo* or *Maglone* and *Longovico* (which seems not to be mentioned any where else) come the nearest of any to it in sound.

THE other two stations wanting to bring the set of *Ravennas* to the series in the *Notitia*, must be fetched yet higher; namely, *Gabrocentio* and *Juliocenon*, correspondent to *Gabrosentum* and *Tunnocelum* in the *Notitia*. I think *Juliocenon* is oddly enough confounded for *Tunnocelum*. However the *I* at the beginning may render it somewhat more probable, that the true original name has been *Itunocelum*; that is, *Itunae promontorium*, of which I have spoken more fully before.

I SHALL here again transcribe from *Ravennas* the names that go before, and follow after these two, and in the same order in which he has set them.

MANTIO, Alunna, Camuloduno, Calunio, Gallunio, Modibogdo, Cantiumeti, Juliocenon, Gabrocentio, Alauna, Bribra, Maio, Olerica, Derventione, Ravonia, Bresnetenati veteranorum, Pampocalia, Lagentium.

^a *Vindolana, Magna, and Aballaba, not being to be omitted in this series. placed directly upon the wall, might for that reason*

I HAVE continued these names till they join those I transcribed before. It is hard to determine what places are intended by some of these names, they are so much disguised; but I shall briefly offer my conjectures about each of them.

MANTIO, *Mansio*, or *Mautio*, I think must be designed for *Manucium* (*Manchester*) as it is in the second *iter* of the *Itinerary*.

AZUNNA is perhaps the same with *Alone* in the tenth *iter*, mentioned also in the *Notitia*; which I have shewn to be *Whitley-castle*, in the south-west corner of *Northumberland*.

CAMULODUNO both here and in *Ptolemy* must be the same with *Cambo-dunum* in the second *iter* of the *Itinerary*, which I have largely discoursed of in another place, and shewn to be the station near *Gretland* in *Yorkshire*.

FOR *Calunio* and *Gallunio*, we have (beside *Olicana*) *Calatum* and *Ifurium* in *Ptolemy*. *Calatum* is called *Galacum* in the *Itinerary*. *Ifurium* is well known and certain; and yet if *Gallunio* be not designed for it, I remember it no where in *Ravennas*. *Ptolemy's Colania* is in *Scotland*; and therefore, I think, neither of these two can be intended for it.

MODIBOGDO has also, I believe, been taken from *Ptolemy*, and I suppose it may be the same with his *Rigodunum*, which has been by some learned antiquaries taken for *Ribchester* in *Lancashire*, the same which is thought to be called *Coccium* in the *Itinerary*. I have rather chose to place it at *Warrington*.

CANTIUMETI or *Cantaventi* (which I take for a different reading) must, I think, be designed for *Glanoventa* in the *Itinerary*, or *Glanibanta* in the *Notitia*, which I suppose to be *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*.

OUR author seems here again to enter on the *Notitia*, from whence the two following stations *Juliocenor* and *Gabrocentio* are undoubtedly taken, to which I have spoken before. I look on it as certain, that according to our author, none of these were to the north of the wall, which favours my opinion about *Glanoventa*.

ALAUNA I take for *Gallana* or *Galana* in the *Itinerary*; and imagine it may favour my conjecture about reading *Galanna*, and fixing its situation at *Old town* on *Alon* water in the county of *Northumberland*.

BRIBRA * and *Maio*, I suspect (though it is but a very doubtful suspicion) to be *Braboniacum* and *Maglo*, or else *Magi* or *Magae* in the *Notitia*, where these stand together, and in the same order as the others do in *Ravennas*. And when we are sure that our author has got among a set of stations or towns either in *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, or the *Notitia*; I believe the best way is to trace him out there as long, and as far as we can.

OLERICA seems likest *Olicana* in *Ptolemy*, *Ilkley* in *Yorkshire*; and *Derventione* is the same name as in the *Notitia*.

IF we suppose that our author still pursues the *Notitia*, I see nothing for *Ravonia* and *Bresnetenati veteranorum*, but *Olenacum* and *Bremetenracum*. But if we suppose him here to have quitted the *Notitia*, and entered on the *Itinerary*,

* *Vedra* is the river *Tine* in *Ptolemy*; but I can scarce think that *Bribra* here can be the *Ostia* *Vedrae*, or the Roman station near *South Shields*.

Itinerary; then I think *Ravonia* must be *Brovonacae*, and the other *Bremetonacae*.

AFTER this our author certainly falls in with the *Itinerary*, and some of his names are sufficiently distinct and discernible; but others of them strangely perplexed. *Pampocalia* and *Lagentium* I take to be the same with *Calcaria* and *Lagecium* in the *Itinerary*, that is, *Tadcaster* and *Castleford* near *Pontefract* in *Yorkshire*.

I HAVE now finished what I had to say with relation to those stations that are strictly on the line of the wall; the other five, which I suppose to form a secondary regular series, must, I should think, be all of them somewhere in *Ravennas*. I have already offered my opinion concerning the three first of them. *Olenacum* and *Virofidum* yet remain to be a little enquired into. *Ravennas*, after the set I have already transcribed from him, which ends with *Lavaris*, goes on thus:

CATARACTONION, *Eburacum*, *Decuaria*, *Devovicia*, *Dixio*, *Coganges*, *Corie*, *Lapocarium*.

THE two first of these are easily known; and *Decuaria*, no doubt, is *Ptolemy's Petuaria*, as *Devovicia* must be the *Delgovitia* in the *Itinerary*; all which I have considered, and enquired into on another occasion.

DIXIO and *Coganges* must certainly be *Dictis* and *Concangium* in the *Notitia*; and as I believe these stations were not very far from *Virofidum* and *Olenacum*, so one would chuse to look for them here.

CORIE, I can scarcely think to be the *Coria* of *Ptolemy*, for that is north from the wall; and I cannot find that *Ravennas* has yet mentioned any one place that is so: and he afterwards, among the northern places, has *Coriototar*, which is supposed to be *Ptolemy's Coria*. What then if we suppose it designed for *Corstopitum* in the *Itinerary*, or *Morbium* in the *Notitia*, which I find no where else in this writer?

UNLESS *Lapocarium* can pass for *Olenacum*, there is no appearance of it here. I am therefore much inclined to think, that *Lapocarium* is either *Ptolemy's Epiacum*, or *Olenacum* in the *Notitia*. Or perhaps the author in this (as I believe in some other cases) supposed these to be the names of one and the same place, and so made this one name serve for them both.

As for *Virofidum*, I am of opinion that we shall find this just after the main body of the stations *per lineam valli*, as they stand in *Ravennas*, and which I have already transcribed; for after *Avalaria* follow immediately,

MAIA, *Fanocedi*, *Brocara*.

BROCARA is certainly the same with *Brocavum* in the *Itinerary*, *Brougham* near *Penreth* in *Cumberland*. And *Fanocedi*, I believe, must be the *Virofidum* in the *Notitia*. *Maia* then is probably designed for the name of some neighbouring station; and I can think of none but *Voreda*, or rather *Arbeia*, which we have mentioned in the *Notitia*, and which I have settled at *Moresby* in *Cumberland*. If I am right in my conjecture, the modern name partakes a good deal of the two names put together. I observe, that according to one reading the name in *Ravennas* is *Fanococidi*, which would afford a specious etymology indeed to those who would indulge their fancy this way; for it sounds exactly the temple of *Cocis*, and we have an altar found in *Cumberland* (now at *Scaleby castle*) inscribed to this topical deity, DEO COCIDI.

As for the names of the places which follow these I have last transcribed, I believe they are chiefly taken from *Ptolemy*, and almost all in *Scotland*, or however all on the north side of the wall. Some of these names differ not at all from what they are in *Ptolemy*; as *Corda*, *Bremenium*, *Victoria*, *Tuesis*, *Alauna*: others but a little, as *Clidum* or *Clindum*, *Carbantium*, *Uxela*, *Trimuntium*, *Colanica*: for *Lindum*, *Carbantorigum*, *Uxelum*, *Trimontium*, *Colania*. Others again are somewhat more disguised, but yet with attention one may discover them. Thus *Devoni* must be *Ptolemy's Devana* in *Scotland*; and *Porreo*, I think, must be for his *Orrea*. And if we are once sure whereabout our geographer is, it will be more easy to make the discovery.

BUT as I have hinted already, it is a great disadvantage that this author confounds the names of people, rivers, and estuaries, with those of stations and towns, and sometimes mistakes one for the other. Thus *Voran*, I imagine, may be *Ptolemy's aestuarium Varar*, *Taba* his *Tava aestuarium*, and *Decha* perhaps his river *Divia*. By the *Segloes* (which perhaps has a *Greek* termination) and *Daunoni*, no doubt are meant *Ptolemy's Selgovae* and *Damnii*, two neighbouring people. The title or introduction prefixed to these two last names, and the rest that are joined with them, is in these words: *Sunt autem in ipsa Britannia diversa loca, ex quibus aliquanta nominari volumus*. Perhaps by *diversa loca* he means various people or countries.

THIS author sometimes has the same town twice over, as for instance *Salinae*. In the former place he has it just before *Corinium Dobunorum*, where it is probably taken from *Ptolemy*; in the other place it is set just before *Condate*, for which I know no foundation, but an opinion, the same with that of some late writers, who on account of the salt-pans at *Nantwich* have imagined this to be *Salinae*. This looks with no favourable aspect on our geographer, and seems strongly to argue his novelty. Perhaps some of the names have been taken from *Bede*, or some of our *Monks*.

HE concludes his performance with a strange general description of *Britain*. *Finitur autem ipsa Britannia, a facie orientis, habens insulam Thyle, vel insulam Dorcadas; a facie occidentis, ex parte provinciae Galliam, et promontorium Pyrenaei; a facie septentrionalis, insulam Scotiam; a facie meridionali, Germaniam antiquam*. The general meaning of this barbarous jumble I take to be this: That *Britain* is so bounded, as to have *Thyle* and the *Orcaes* on the east; and *Gaul* and the *Pyrenean* promontory on the west; the island of *Scotia* or *Ireland* on the north; and ancient *Germany* on the south. This account, though widely erroneous, seems to have been taken in a great measure from some of the ancient geographers; such as *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*: but from whence he took some particulars, will perhaps be hard to determine. That he borrowed many of his names from some *Greek* author, is plain from those to which he has neglected to give a *Latin* termination, as *Maporiton*, and *Cataractonion*. And if we had met with no names unlatinized, but what are in *Ptolemy*, one might have supposed he had taken them from him; but he has some such names, which are not to be discovered in *Ptolemy*, or any other ancient author. *Volurtion* is as odd an instance as any; for this is neither in *Ptolemy*, nor the *Itinerary*; and in the *Notitia* (as I have already observed) it is called *Borcovicus*.

I SHALL take notice of one thing more, that may be thought to add some farther authority to this geographer. *Lincoln*, which is *Lindum* in the *Itinerary* and *Ptolemy*, is expressly called *Lindum Colonia* by our author. The learned Dr. Gale seems exceedingly pleased with this: *Hoc uno vocabulo adjecto, quantum lucis affundit historiae antiquae?* "How much light does
" the

“ the addition of this one word [*Colonia*] afford to our antient history ?” The instance produced is a subscription of an *English* bishop at the council of *Arles*, in these words, *Adelphus episcopus de civitate Colonia Londi*, which according to the learned doctor is without doubt for *Colonia Lindi*. One can scarce think that *Ravennas* could confound the two names *Lindum Crocolana* into *Lindum Colonia*. But it is far from impossible, in my opinion, that *Lindi collina*, mentioned by *Bede*, should have given rise to *Ravennas's Lindum Colonia*. There is no doubt but the county has taken the name from this town. But whether the modern name of *Lincoln*, and the like *Saxon* names, have risen originally from the situation on a *collis*, or from a *colonia Romana*, continues a dispute.

I HAD some thoughts of descending in my enquiry to each particular place mentioned by this geographer; but I found my self to stick so fast at the very first entrance, that I was discouraged from proceeding any farther that way: and therefore must content my self with adding the *English*, or the *Itinerary*, or *Ptolemy's* names of the places, to those of *Ravennas*, only where I think there is any great degree of probability in the conjecture. I have not made any search for these names in *Bede*, or any writers later than the *Roman* times in *Britain*; for this would have given too wide a scope to my enquiry, and carried me beyond the bounds of *Britannia Romana*. What I have farther to add, with respect to any other particular places in this geographer, I shall insert just in the same order as the places stand in him.

I BELIEVE I should have been at a loss to have known in what part of *Britain* he intended to begin his account, if *Tamaris* had been omitted in the first set which he gives us: but this seems plainly to be *Ptolemy's Tamare*, situated on the river *Tamarus*, which now parts *Cornwall* from *Devonshire*. This shews that he begun at *Cornwall*, perhaps at the *Lands-end*. I have some suspicion that *Giano*, the first place mentioned, may be *Ptolemy's Cenio* or *Cenion*; though this in *Ptolemy* be not a town, but a river.

IN the next set we have *Stene*, which must, I think, be the *Spinae* of the *Itinerary*. *Duriarno*, the next place, is supposed to be *Dorchester*, and so the *Durnovaria* of the *Itinerary*. *Uxelis* is no doubt *Ptolemy's Uxela*, which, I am most inclined to think is *Exeter*; and then *Scadum Namorum* is without question designed for *Isca Dumnoniorum*.

THE next set offers not one known face which I can distinguish.

OUR geographer after this informs us, that, “ near the beforementioned “ city *Scadoniorum*, is the city which is called *Moriduno* ;” which name differs little from what it is in the *Itinerary*.

NEXT follow above a dozen names, altogether unknown to me. *Ibernio* is supposed by Dr. *Stukeley* to be *Bere* in *Dorsetshire*^a: however the following names *Bindogladia* and *Noviomagno* differ little from *Vindocladia* and *Noviomagus* in the *Itinerary*; and in *Venta Velgarum*, only a *B* is changed into an *V*. *Onna*, I believe, is designed for *Vindomis*, and *Armis*^b for *Aquis*, the *Bath*. *Ardaoneon*, I am inclined to think, is intended for *Sorbiodunum*, and *Ravimago Regentium*, or *Navimago Regentium*, for *Ptolemy's Neomagus Regnorum*; or else *Regentium* may be the same with *Regnum* in the *Itinerary*.

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^a *Ibernio* is set by *Ravennas* just before *Bindogladia*, and in the XII iter *Vindocladia* is just before *Durnovaria*. I should therefore have suspected *Ibernio* to have been the same with *Durnovaria* if

this had not been mentioned before under the name of *Duriarno*.

^b Perhaps the Greek word *ἄρμα* in *Ptolemy's ὕδατα ἄρμα* may have occasioned this way of writing it.

IN the next set I suspect *Leucomago* and *Cunetzone* to be *Leucarus* and *Cunetio* in the *Itinerary*. *Punctuobice* should by its place be instead of *Verlucio*. *Venta Silurum* is unvaried, and *Metambala* may possibly have been some corrupted Greek word for *Trajectus* in the *Itinerary*. But the *Itinerary* mansions *Bomium*, *Nidus* and *Abone*, must, I doubt, be fished out of the two names *Jupania* and *Albinunno*, if we find them at all. And where to find *Ptolemy's Ischalis* I know not, though I scarce think it would be omitted, unless our geographer took it to be the same with *Isca Dumnoniorum*.

ISCA AUGUSTA and *Bannio*, the first two in the following class, are doubtless *Caerleon* and *Abergavenny* in *Monmouthshire*; and *Bannio* put for *Gobannio* in the *Itinerary*. *Magnis* is in the *Itinerary*, and *Branogenium* in *Ptolemy*. It is pretty evident that *Macatonion* must be put for *Ariconium* in the *Itinerary*, and *Glebon colonia* differs little from the true name for *Gloucester*. *Salinae* and *Corinium Dobunorum* are *Ptolemy's* names for *Salndy* and *Cirencester*. *Caleba Atrebatum* differs little from the *Itinerary* name of *Silchester*. And *Anderesio*, which follows, must be *Anderida* of the *Notitia*. Five of the following are very plain, being nearly the *Itinerary* names for *Lime*, *Dover*, *Canterbury*, *Richborough* and *Rochester*; but *Londini* or *Landini* here can scarce be designed for *London*, because that occurs afterwards under the name *Londinium Augusta*.

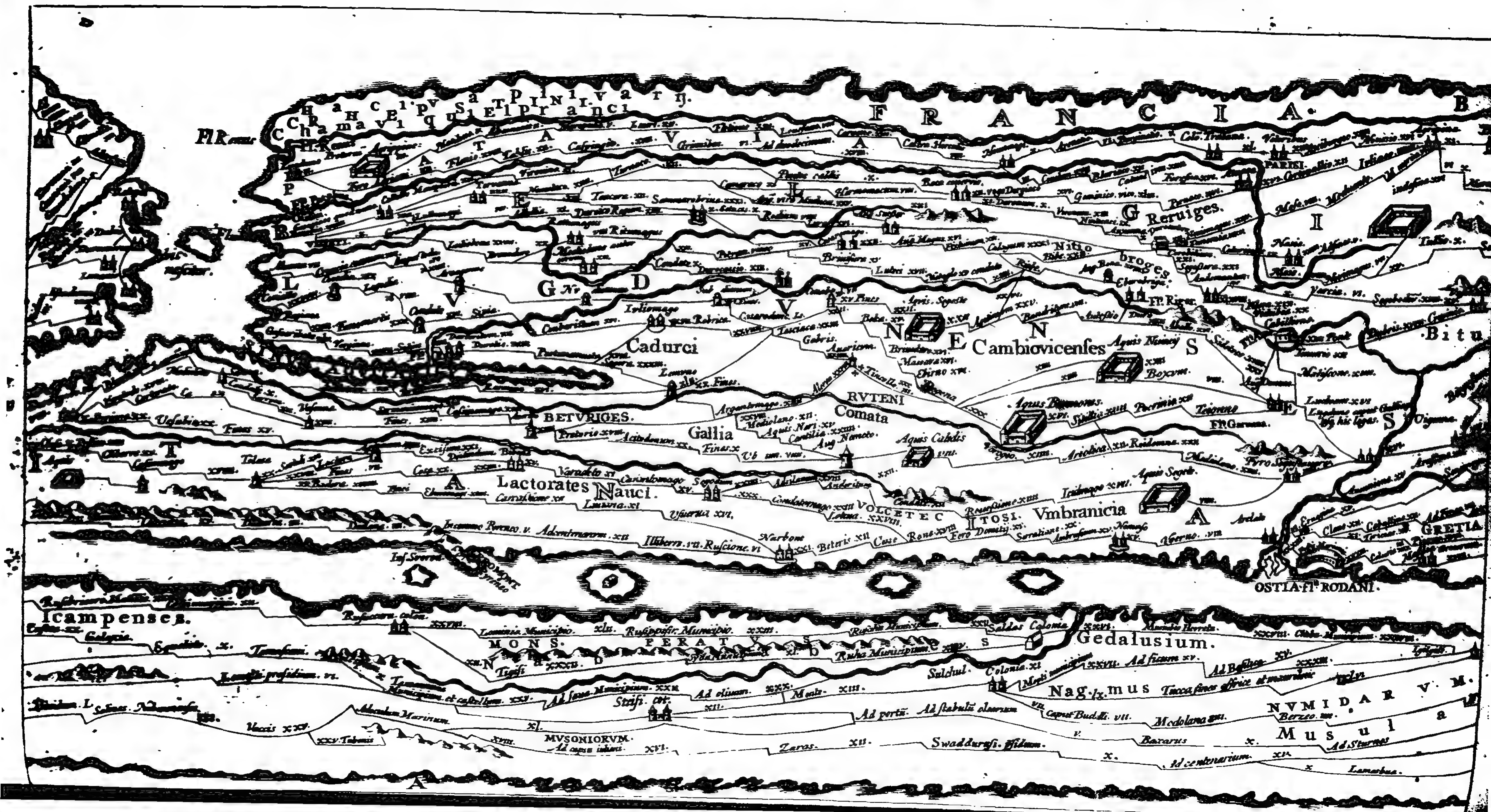
TAMESE one would think must be the river *Thames*. Dr. *Gale* conjectures it to be *Kingston*. *Alauna* and *Lavobrinta* I know not well what to refer to; but a cluster follows, most of which we are very sure of. *Mediomannum* and *Mediolanum* I have spoken to already, the one is in *Ptolemy*, the other in the *Itinerary*. *Utriconion Cornoninorum* is manifestly for *Urioconium Cornavorum*, or *Wroxeter* in *Shropshire*. *Seguntio*, *Canubio*, and *Deva victrix*, are no doubt, for *Segontio*, *Conovio*, and *Deva* (*legio xx victrix*) in the *Itinerary*. *Veratino*, *Lutudarum* or *Lugudarum*, look like *Verometum* and *Lactodorum* in the *vi iter*, and *Derbentione* speaks for itself: only as there is another *Derventione* mentioned afterwards; it looks as if there had been two places of that name, one near *Tork*, and the other in *Derbyshire*, according to Dr. *Stukeley*. *Salinis* I have spoken to before. *Condate* is in the second *iter*; and *Ratecorion* is justly thought, to be designed for *Ratae Coritanorum* or *Leicester*. *Leetoceto* is rightly thought, to be *Wall* near *Litchfield* called *Etocetum* in the *Itinerary*. *facio Dulma* is supposed to be a corruption from *Magiovinium*, *Dunstable*. However the following names *Viro-lanium*, *Londinium Augusta*, *Caesaromagum*, *Camulodulo colonia*, are plain for *St. Albans*, *London*, *Writtle*, and *Malden*, as I have determined them in my essay on the *Itinerary*.

DURCINATE, *Duroviguto* and *Durobrisin*, we have (I believe) instead of *Duroliponte*, *Durocobrio*, and *Durobrivis*, as they are called in the *v* and *vi iter*; and *Venta Cenomum* is, no doubt, the same with *Venta Icenorum*, or *Caster* near *Norwich*. *Lindum colonia* has been fully spoken to already; and *Banovallum* must, I think, be the same as *Bannavantum* in the *viii iter*, or *Darventry*. *Navione*, which follows, is perhaps designed for *Isanavatia* in the *vi iter*, and supposed by our author, to be different from *Bannavantum*, though I have shown the contrary: or perhaps *Navione* is corrupted for *Causennae*, which I can find no where else in *Ravennas*.

I HAVE little more to add concerning the following stations. I see *Loxa*, the name of one of *Ptolemy's* rivers, in the north of *Scotland* here ranged among the towns in *Scotland*. *Lucotio* is conjectured to be *Ptolemy's* *Leucopibia*. *Coriototar* has been discoursed of on another occasion*, and has generally been taken for *Curia Otadenorum*.

* See Book II. p. 248.

TABVLAE ITINERARIAE ANTIQVAE SEGMENTVM PRIMVM.



OUR author after this seems to take notice of another series of stations across another *isthmus* in the narrowest part of the island. For this I take to be the general meaning of that barbarous passage, with which these stations are introduced. *Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia, retro tramite, una alteri connexa, ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dignoscitur.* By this introduction I am inclined to think, that the following names relate to the stations along the line of the *Roman* wall in *Scotland*. But particularly to adjust or apply them is what I shall not attempt.

AFTER he has done with these, he begins with another city which is called *Jano*. *Iterum est civitas quae dicitur Jano, Maulion, &c.* But I have little to say to these, except that *Ranatonium* may possibly be designed for *Ptolemy's Retigionium* in *Scotland*.

OUR geographer concludes with the names of some rivers, which (as he says) run through *Britain*; some of them are plainly the same with those in *Ptolemy*. In Dr. *Gale's* edition some *English* names are annexed to most of them, which I have given as they stand in him, and have nothing to add to them, but that Dr. *Stukeley*^a supposes *Velox*, which is last named, to be the river *Ivel* in *Somersetshire*.

CHAPTER V.

An Essay on *Peutinger's Table*, so far as it relates to *Britain*:

Containing I. A brief account of the antiquity of itineraries. II. An enquiry into the age of *Peutinger's Table*. III. The nature and use of that Table. IV. A more particular account of that part of it, which relates to *Britain*:

By Mr. W A R D.

I. **T**HE custom of writing itineraries appears to have been very antient, for *Moses* has recorded the journies and mansions of the *Israelites* in their passage from *Egypt* into *Canaan*. That account indeed, as generally the most antient writings are found to be, is very plain and succinct, containing only the names of the several stages, without any mention of the distances between them^b. But *Herodotus* in describing the high road, which went from *Sardes* in *Lydia* to *Susa* the royal city of the *Persians*, has given us the number of mansions upon it, and their distances. The road contained thirteen thousand five hundred furlongs, and the mansions were in all one hundred and eleven; which whole space divided by the number of mansions gives near fifteen miles and a quarter for the mean distance between mansion and mansion; for it appears by the account of the historian, that they

^a It. curios. p. 146.

^b Numb. chap. xxxiii.

they were not all equally distant ^a. And *Xenophon* in his history of the expedition of *Cyrus* the younger relates the length of his marches, with the names of the towns through which the army passed ^b.

BUT how antient the practice was of laying down such itineraries in maps or tables, does not appear so evident. Some indeed have supposed *Herodotus* to design such a table in the place above mentioned, when he says, that *Aristagoras* the *Milesian*, in order to prevail with *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* to make war upon the *Persians*, shewed him a table of the whole world cut in brass, in which he observed to him the several countries, that lay between *Lydia* and *Susa*; and that the king, upon asking him the length of the way, being told it would require a march of three months, rejected the proposal. But had this way been laid out in the table, as the historian presently afterwards describes it, the king might easily have perceived the length of it himself, without asking for information. I am therefore rather inclined to think, this was nothing more than a map of the several countries, without any delineation or measures of the roads; but that *Aristagoras* having told the king the length of the march in answer to his inquiry, the historian himself chose to shew the truth of this, by reciting the number of mansions with their several distances. *Pliny* mentions several geographical writers, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, and among the rest *Diognetus* and *Baeton*, the attendants of *Alexander* the Great, whom he calls *the measurers of his marches* ^c; but whether they delineated those marches in tables, he does not inform us. *Aethicus* says, that *Julius Caesar*, when he was consul, got an order of the senate for measuring all those parts of the world, that were then subject to the *Roman* government; which was accordingly performed in thirty two years ^d. Now it is reasonable to suppose the several persons employed in this work, who were sent into different parts, and spent so many years about it, took geographical draughts of the particular countries they measured; to which perhaps those *military tables*, like that which now goes by the name of *Peutinger's Table*, might afterwards owe their original among the *Romans*. This appears to me the more probable from a passage in *Vegetius*, where having observed, that "those, who have diligently studied the art of war, affirm, that more dangers are wont to happen in marching an army, than in an engagement," he presently adds: "Therefore a general should use the utmost care and diligence to prevent an attack in his march, or to repel it easily and without loss. And first he ought to have itineraries of all the countries, where the seat of the war is, compleatly drawn out; that he may not only know the number of miles between distant places, but the nature of the ways; consider the shortest tracts, winding roads, mountains, rivers, faithfully described: for which end prudent generals are said to have had itineraries of the provinces, through which they were obliged to march, not barely written down, but also delineated; that not reason only, but likewise their sight might direct them in the choice of their rout^e." By this account of *Vegetius* 'tis plain, these military tables had been used by the *Romans* long before his time; and therefore might probably be taken from that

^a Lib. v. c. 52, etc.

^b Lib. i.

^c Itinerum ejus mensores. H. N. Lib. vi. c. 17.

^d Julius Caesar bissextilis rationis inventor, divinis humanisque rebus singulariter instructus, cum consulatus sui fasces erigeret, et senatusconsulto censuit omnem orbem jam Romani nominis admetiri per prudentissimos viros, et omni philosophiae munera decoratos, etc. Sic omnis orbis terrae intra annos xxxii a dimensoribus peragratus est, et de omni ejus continentia perlatus est ad senatum. Ed. Gronov. p. 705.

^e Qui rem militarem studiosius didicerunt, asserunt plura in itineribus, quam in ipsa acie peri-

cula solere contingere, etc. Ideoque omni cura, omnique diligentia providere debet dux, ne proficiscens patiatur incursum, vel facile ac sine damno repellat illatum. Primum itineraria omnium regionum, in quibus bellum geritur, plenissime debet habere perscripta; ita ut locorum intervalla non solum passuum numero, sed etiam viarum qualitates perdiscat; compendia, diverticula, montes, flumina, ad fidem descripta consideret: usque eo ut solertiores duces itineraria provinciarum, in quibus necessitas geritur, non tantum adnotata, sed etiam picta habuisse firmentur; ut non solum consilio mentis, verum aspectu oculorum viam profecturis eligerent. Lib. iii. c. 6.

with the learned *Velfer*, that the author of this *Table* was ignorant of geography; because the bounds of the provinces and coasts, with the course of the rivers, are not laid down in their proper figure and shape, nor the places rightly adjusted with regard to longitude and latitude, according to the rules of that art^a. For this was impracticable in such a work; and therefore could not enter into his design, nor be expected from him. It was intended particularly for the camp, and for that reason is conformed wholly to the course of the military ways. But though it could not answer all the ends of an exact geographical map; yet in many respects it must be more serviceable than a bare index of names and distances, like *Antonine's Itinerary*; which, as has been said already, and will more fully appear presently, seems to have been taken from some table of this sort.

THE names of the places are generally put in the ablative case, and I doubt not but more of them were so in older and more correct copies; for such is the unhappy fate of the present copy, which has been taken by a very ignorant and unskilful hand, that abundance of names in it are wrong spelt, and many of the numbers false, and some wholly omitted. Though upon the whole *Cellarius* asserts, that notwithstanding "it abounds with faults; yet it is "more certain in its numbers of the distances, than *Antonine's Itinerary*^b." It is so framed, that although the regular order is from west to east, it may be read conveniently either way, and from any part; the name of the first place being always considered as the term from which the march begins, and the figures on either side as expressing the number of miles from that to the next town. This method was very suitable to the nature of the work, which was designed to be consulted on all occasions, whatever expedition was intended. *Antonine's Itinerary* sets out likewise from the west of *Africa*; but then it goes round in one series (as it ought, to make it one itinerary) and terminates again with *Britain*; in which respect it differs from this *Table*. But that it should agree with it in putting the names generally in the ablative case, may justly seem very strange; when every particular *iter* is professedly so laid down, as to direct the course of the march but one way between two boundaries; and yet that it was so written at first, appears very evident. To look no farther at present than the *Itinerary of Britain*, in the first and best edition, as is generally allowed, which was printed at *Paris* by *Henry Stevens*, in the year 1512, from two manuscripts, there are not above four or five and twenty names, but what may be in the ablative case, which are these following.

Iter I.

CORSTOPILVM.
ISVRIVM.
EBORACVM, in the fifth *iter* EBVRACO.

Iter II.

CASTRA EXPLORATORVM.
ISVRIAM, some copies ISVRIA.
EBORACVM.
VICI.

Iter III.

DVROBRIVS, in the fourth *iter* DVROBRIVIS.

Iter v.

ICIANOS.
DVROBRIVIAS. Dr. Gale reads DVROBRIVIS.
ISVBRIGANTVM.

Iter VI.

VEROLAMI, in the second *iter* VEROLAMIO.
DVROCOBRIVS, other copies DVROCOBRIVIS and DVROCOBRIO.
RATAS, in the eighth *iter* RATIS.
AD PONTEM.

Iter VII.

CLAVSENTVM, Dr. Gale CLAVSENTO.

Iter VIII.

LONDINIVM at the head, at the end LONDINO.

Iter IX.

AD ANSAM.

Iter x.

GALLACVM.
BREMETONACI, Dr. Gale BREMETONACIS.

Iter XI.

DEVAM at the head, DEVA at the end.

Iter XII.

VIRICOVIORVM at the head, VIRICONIO at the end.
SCADVM INVNCIORVM.

Iter XIV.

TRAIECTVS.

Iter xv.

ISCADVM NVNIORVM. MANY

^a Velfer. Opera, p. 710.

^b Multis naevia est referta; certior autem distan-

tiarum numeris, quam Aethici seu Antonini Itinerarium. Praef. ad Geograph. Ant.

MANY of these words appear so evidently to be mistakes in the copies, by comparing them with the same names in other places, that nothing more need be said to prove them so. As to *Corstopilum* (or *Corstopitum*, as other copies read it) and *Gallacum*, though this termination be found in all the present copies; yet the mistake may easily have arisen from hence, that the letters MPM standing after the name (which the *Paris* edition often reads at length *milia plus minus*) the first M has through inadvertency been read with the name, and so occasioned its being put in the accusative case. Which supposition will likewise account for the same name being sometimes wrote in this case, and at other times in the ablative. *Castra exploratorum*, *ad pontem*, and, as I take it, *ad ansam*, and *trajectus*, are not properly names of stations, but of such places where or near to which stations were built, and so may be applied to any case.^a This seems plain from some other instances of the same edition, where the name of the station is added; as, *ad portum Ritupis*, *ad portum Dubris*, and *ad portum Lemanis*, both at the beginning and end of the second, third, and fourth *iter*; and (in the later copy) at the head of the fifth *iter*, *Luguvalio ad vallum*; and under the general title, *a Gessoria de Galliis Ritupis in portum Britanniarum*, where other editions read *portu* in the same sense. The best Roman writers often use the preposition *ad* in this sense. Thus Cicero says: *Habes hortos ad Tiberim*^a. And Servius upon that verse in Virgil,

a So we have in Livy, v. 45. afterwards canas salinas. procul ab Lan. is locus oppugnans est vi. 2.

Prima quod ad Trojam pro caris gesserat Argis, has this remark: *APUD semper in loco significat; AD et in loco, et ad locum*^b. I suppose therefore the preposition *ad* to have been omitted both before *castra exploratorum* and *trajectus*, unless this latter be a mistake in the copies for *trajectum*. The word *vici* is plainly a corruption of *viçt.* that is, *legio xx viçtrix*. Whether *Icianos* be a mistake for *Iciano* or *Icianis*, I will not undertake to determine. *Isuibrigantum* is evidently an abbreviation of *Isurio* or *Isuria Brigantum*; and *Scadum Inunciorum* with *Is cadum Nuniorum* as plainly corruptions of *Isca Dumnoniorum*. From this account of the matter no one, I think, can well doubt, but where the names of the stations are expressed in this *Itinerary*, they were at first designed to be in the ablative case; tho' through mistakes in transcribing some of the terminations have been altered in the present copies. But it is scarce credible to me, that the author or authors of it could possibly have fallen into this method, had it been an original work: *Torinus* therefore, the editor of the *Paris* edition, seems to say very justly: "Some perhaps will wonder at the stile of the work, and in some places at the *Latin*." But *Schottus*, who published the edition of *Surita*, observing that in *Sigonius's* edition the names were almost always in the ablative (whereas *Surita* had put them all, except the first of each *iter*, in the accusative) endeavours to account for this construction, by supposing the place where each stage ended was designed to be expressed by it^c, which we should express in *English* by *at* or *in* such a place. But 'tis well known that in this sense names of towns, of the two first declensions and singular number, are usually put by good writers in the genitive case. Tho' in the *Notitia* we find them sometimes in the genitive, and sometimes in the ablative.^d But could the other names bear this sense, which I don't well apprehend they can; how will it suit the heads of the *itineræ*, which express the distance from one limit to the other? And yet in the *Paris* edition both words are always put in the ablative case, excepting the two instances already mentioned. The sixth *iter* for example begins thus: *A Londinio Lindo milia plus minus CLVI*. Can this be read with any propriety: *From London at* [or *in*] *Lincoln about 156 miles*? And the rest of them are in the same form. The

a) So in *Notitia* at *Notitia* p. 11. p.

^a Pro Coelio. num. 36.

^b Aen. 1. v. 24.

^c Mirabitur fortassis aliquis ipsius operis stilum,

interdum etiam nonnullis in locis Latinitatem. *Epist. ded.*

^d Ed. Surit. sub fin.

opposite term which answers to *from*, in expressions that imply motion or distance, is *to*, and not *at* or *in*; which *Latin* writers always express by the accusative case.* This no doubt was *Surita's* inducement to act as he did, since 'tis evident he had no authority for doing it; for in the various readings he has given us from manuscripts, the names are generally in the ablative case, tho' he thought fit to alter them into the accusative. And had the author in composing this work had no other view, one would think he could scarce have avoided taking this method himself, which is certainly the most plain and obvious. 'Tis no wonder therefore that others have since followed it in their editions; as *Bertius*, and our learned country man Mr. *Burton*, from whom it has been taken into the late edition of *Camden's Britannia*. Tho' Mr. *Burton* (for what reason I don't know) has not always exactly copied *Surita*, particularly in the two last *itineraria*. The learned Dr. *Gale* indeed has been more just to his author, in putting the ablative cases generally, as he found them. But the established credit of some of those other editions, and the continued use of them, may very possibly have prevented a due inquiry into the rise and origin of this *Itinerary*.

I SHALL therefore now offer my thoughts more particularly upon this, and submit them to the judgment of the learned. *Lampridius* gives us the following account of the emperor *Alexander Severus*, relating to his expeditions. "Public notice (says he) was given of his daily marches, in so much that an edict was fixed up two months before, in which was written: Such a day, at such an hour, I shall set out from the city, and, if the gods permit, stop at the first mansion; then the stages were mentioned in order, after that the stated quarters, and then where they were to receive corn; and this was continued, till they came to the borders of the barbarians, after which all was concealed." And that such a method of proceeding was not peculiar to this emperor, but a usual practice with the *Romans*, seems probable from a passage in St. *Ambrose*, where he says: "A soldier in marching does not choose his own road, nor go where he pleases, nor aim at compendious ways, least he desert his standard; but receives an itinerary from his general, and attends to that: he marches in the order prescribed, walks with his armes, and continues his journey in the right way, that he may find the necessaries prepared for him. If he takes another rout, he gets no corn, he finds no mansion furnished; for the general orders all these things for them who follow him, and don't depart from the prescribed way either to the right or left. Nor does he tire, who follows his general, for he walks moderately; because the general does not consider his own conveniency, but what all are capable to perform; and for that reason he appoints stated quarters, the army marches three days, rests the fourth, cities are chosen that abound with water and provisions, where they may stop three, four days, or a longer time. And thus the journey is finished without fatigue." Now what related to the stages or mansions in those edicts might at first be transcribed from some military table, and put into the same form, as an *iter* in *Antonine*. Thus if a march was designed

* Itinerum autem dies publice proponebantur, ita ut edictum penderet ante menses duos, in quo scriptum esset: Illa die, illa hora, ab urbe sum exiturus, et, si dii voluerint, in prima mansionem mansurus: deinde per ordinem mansiones, deinde stativae, deinde ubi annonae esset accipienda; et id quidem eo usque, quamdiu ad fines barbaricos veniretur, jam enim inde tacebatur. In vit. Alex. Sever.

^b Miles, qui ingreditur iter, viandi ordinem non ipse disponit sibi, nec pro suo arbitrio viam carpit, nec voluptuaria captat compendia, ne recedat a signis; sed itinerarium ab imperatore accipit, et custodit illud: praescripto incedit ordine, cum armis suis ambulat, rectaque via conficit iter, ut

inveniat comitatu sibi parata subsidia. Si alio ambulaverit itinere, annonam non accipit, mansionem paratam non invenit; quia imperator his jubet haec praeparari omnia, qui sequuntur, nec dextra nec sinistra a praescripto itinere declinant. Meritoque non deficit, qui imperatorem sequitur suum, moderate enim ambulat, quia imperator non quod sibi utile, sed quod omnibus possibile considerat; ideo et stativas ordinat, triduo ambulat exercitus, quarto requiescit die, eliguntur civitates in quibus triduum, quattriduum, et plures interponantur dies, si quis abundant, commercii frequentantur. Et ita sine labore conficitur iter. Serm. v. in Psalm. 118.

designed from *Lugdunum* to *Bonna*, the two extreme stations northward in the *first segment* of *Peutinger's Table*, prefixed to this discourse^a, it would appear, that there were two roads from *Lugdunum* to *Noviomagus*; the northern of which had nine mansions between those towns, with their several distances; and the southern six: and again, that from *Noviomagus* to *Agripina* there were likewise two roads; the northern, which was the shorter, lying between two rivers; and the southern crossing one river twice. When from this view the course of the march was determined, the most ready way of taking it down would be, first to place the two boundaries at the head, then to put under them the second mansion or town, and all the rest in order after the same manner. When this was done, the particular numbers, that were next to be written, would naturally fall in such order, that the first must stand against the second name, and the rest under it in a regular series; which numbers being cast up, and the summ total set at the top, the disposition of the whole would exactly answer to an *iter* in *Antonine*. So for instance, if the stations upon the northern way between *Lugdunum* and *Noviomagus* were to be transcribed from the *Table*, in the manner of *Antonine's Itinerary*, the form of the *iter* would appear thus:

Iter A LVGDVNO NOVIOMAGI M P M. LXXIV

PRETORIVM AGRIPPINE MPM.	II
MATILONE MPM.	III
ALBAMANIS MPM.	V
NIGROPVLLLO MPM.	II
LAVRI MPM.	V
FLETIONE MPM.	XII
LEVEFANO MPM.	XVI
CARVONE MPM.	VIII
CASTRA HERCVLIS MPM.	XIII
NOVIOMAGI MPM.	VIII

I HAVE copied the words with all their mistakes, as they stand in the *Table*, which, as has been observed already, abounds with errors. Nor is there any other alteration made, but in the position of the names and figures, which are here brought under one another; and not placed in one continued row, as they are in the *Table*. But the same way of reading may be kept in either situation, by taking number II after a *Lugduno*, then *Pretorium Agrippine*, then number III in the following line, next *Matilone*, after that number V, and proceeding in that order, so as to end with *Noviomagi*. And I am inclined to think *Antonine's Itinerary* was designed at first to be read in this manner; which makes all the *itineraria* capable of being read either way in the same sense, exactly like the *Table*. Whereas in reading them backward, the first and last name must change both their construction and sense, upon any other scheme.

WHEN this method of abridging itineraries, and putting them into this form first began, I can't pretend to say; all I propose to shew is, how and for what ends probably it came to be used. And it might either prevail gradually, some of the most usual and settled marches of the *Roman* armies being first taken out and disposed in this order, to save the trouble of consulting the table upon every occasion; and as the conveniency of this was found by experience, and it became more general, a number of such *itineraria* might afterwards be collected into one body: or the whole work might be done at once by the order of some emperor, as a sort of compend, which would lie in less compass, be always at hand, and a sufficient guide upon common occasions, tho' it wanted some other advantages. And 'tis for this reason perhaps, that *Antonine's Itinerary* is not so extensive as *Peutinger's Table*,

^a This segment was taken from the edition of graphiae theatrum of Ortelius, at Antwerp 1624. Balthasar Moret, published with the Veteris geo-

Table, especially eastward; the less necessary parts having designedly been omitted, which, as occasion required, might be viewed in the table.

THE most plausible objection to this opinion, I can think of, is this: That these two itineraries are seldom found to go on long together, without some disagreement either in the number or names of places, or their distances. But to this it may be answered: That with regard to the number of places, those who first drew out the particular *itineraria*, being most probably the *metatores*, measurers or quartermasters, who constantly attended the armies^a, might not always think it necessary to conform themselves exactly to the tables in this respect; but might omit some places that stood too close, and insert others near the same line, so as to accommodate the whole in the best manner to the daily stages and mansions of the soldiers in their marches. Nor can it be doubted, but in process of time new towns were erected, old ones demolished, and the military ways in some places altered; so that if the copies of either sort were at any time conformed to such alterations, and the others not, this must necessarily occasion a difference between them. Where they disagree in writing the same name, as the copies of both are often faulty in this respect, and the *Table* by far the most; this may be owing in a great measure to the ignorance, or carelessness of the transcribers. And the same may be said with regard to the distances; as to which, upon the whole, *Cellarius* gives the preference to the *Table*.

JOSEPH SCALIGER was of the contrary opinion, to what has been here advanced, and supposed this *Table* had been taken from *Antonine's Itinerary*, and *Ptolemy*; as appears by one of his letters, written to *Hoefschelius*. The words are these: "I saw in the hands of *Paul Merula*, history professor, a " chart of an ancient itinerary printed at *Antwerp*, from a copy found in the " library of your *Peutingers* by the noble *Mark Velfer*. I desire you will " inform me, whether the copy from which it was published be ancient; for " the author seemed to me to have transcribed in a manner all *Antonine's* " *Itinerary*, and *Ptolemy*^b." This letter was written in 1599, the year after the *Table* had been first published by *Moret*; and as *Scaliger* had then only seen a print of it, in the hands of his friend, without any opportunity to examine it, or knowing the age of the copy, it was natural for that great man to suppose from the stile, that it had been transcribed in a good measure from *Antonine*. But I presume the contrary must now appear pretty evident, by what has been here offered; and the general use of the ablative case in *Antonine's Itinerary* seems wholly unaccountable from any other reason.

THE proof of this relation between the two itineraries is not barely a matter of speculation, but may help us to read them both in one determinate and consistent sense; and likewise to discover the mistakes in the copies, which may be of good service hereafter in publishing any future editions. All the copies of *Antonine* hitherto published have many mistakes, and frequently disagree with each other; and where the difference lies in the termination of the names, no one, I should think, need scruple to follow those copies, which read them in the ablative. Thus in the sixth *iter*, where the *Paris* edition reads *Ratas*, Doctor *Gale* gives us *Ratis*; which undoubtedly is the true reading, since in the eighth *iter* the *Paris* edition itself has *Ratis*, where the reason

^a Vegetius seems to make a distinction between *metatores* and *mensores*, when he says: *Metatores*, qui praecedentes locum eligunt castris: and presently: *Mensores*, qui in castris ad podium dimetiuntur loca, in quibus milites tentoria figant; vel hospitia in civitatibus praestant. Lib. II. c. 7. But in Justinian's Code these latter are frequently called *metatores*. See particularly, Lib. XII. t. 41. l. 1.

^b Vidi inter manus Pauli Merulae, historiarum professoris, chartam itinerarii veteris, Antwerpiae exaratam, ex bibliotheca Peutingerorum [fort. Peutingerorum] vestrarium, opera nobilis viri, Marci Velleri nostri. Velim scire ex te, an vetus sit ea, ex qua editio illa prodiit; nam quantum conicere potui, qui ejus auctor est, Itinerarium Antonini et Ptolemaeum fere totum descripsit. Lib. IV. Epist. 384. ann. 1599.

reason is the same. The mutual assistance these two itineraries afford each other for correcting both, we are told by *Merula* from his own observation and experience. For speaking of *Peutinger's Table* he says: "Tho' it has innumerable faults, and places out of order, yet compared with *Antonine's Itinerary* (which I have oftner than once corrected by it) they may very easily be mended and rectified^a." The truth of this observation I hope to shew myself, in some good measure, under the next head. And tho', as *Velfer* has very ingeniously remarked: *Reddendis antiquis monumentis nemo satis religiosus est, qui superstitiosus haberi metuit*^b: yet I can't but say, considering the manner in which these itineraries seem at first to have been drawn up, it would in my apprehension appear more justifiable to put all the words, which are evidently the names of stations, in the ablative case, than, as *Surita* has done, in the accusative.

THE *Cosmography* of the anonymous *Ravennas* consists chiefly of a confused and disorderly collection of the names of places, put together very probably by some ignorant monk, from a variety of writers of different ages and nations, whom he calls *philosophers*. This is plainly enough intimated by himself in several parts of his work, and at the beginning of it he says: "I have perused the books of many philosophers: and tho' I was not begotten in *India*, nor bred in *Scotland*, nor have travelled through *Mauritania*; yet I have gained the knowledge of the whole world, and of the habitations of different nations, as the world has been described in their books under the reigns of many emperours^c." But unless a good part of this collection had been taken from itineraries and the *Notitia*, he could never have put so many names in the ablative case, as he has done, particularly in *Britain*, where much the greater part of them is so. His subject did not lead him to use this case, but rather the nominative; so that he has plainly took them as he found them, without considering the design of the authors from whom they were transcribed, or accommodating them to any consistent scheme of his own.

AND now I am upon this argument, I can't omit observing, that the original of the *Notitia* seems not unlike that of *Antonine's Itinerary*, I mean as to its being an abridgement or transcript of another work. We are told by *Suetonius*, that *Augustus Caesar* left behind him a volume, containing "a *breviary* (as he calls it) of the whole empire; what number of soldiers was kept up in all parts, what sums of money were in the treasury, exchequer, and arrears of the revenue: he added likewise the names of his freedmen and servants, who might be called upon for the accounts^d." The nature of the government must always require this, and render it necessary for his successors to practise, as we find they did^e. And in the lower empire there were two books of that sort, called *laterculum majus*, and *laterculum minus*. But as the management of affairs was then very different, from what it had been in *Augustus's* time, and the number of officers greatly increased of every kind; these books appear to have been much larger and more particular, than the *breviary* of *Augustus*. The *laterculum minus* is mentioned in *Justinian's Code*, and said to be under the care of the *quaestor palatii*, or chancellor^f. It contained the names, instructions, and all other concerns

laterculum majus, laterculum minus, laterculum palatii, laterculum senatus.

^a Licet infinita ibi sunt depravata, et turbationis ordinis, tamen comparata cum Antonini Itinerario (cui et hinc medicina non semel a me petita) nullo negotio possunt corrigi, et ad sua revocari castra. *Praef. Cosmograph.*

^b Velferi Opera, p. 709.

^c Multorum philosophorum relegi libros, etc. licet in India genitus non sim, neque altus in Scotia, neque perambulaverim Mauritaniam, etc. attamen intellectuali doctrina imbui totum mundum diver-

sumque gentium habitationes, sic ut in eorum libris sub multorum imperatorum temporibus mundus ille descriptus est. *Ed. Gron. p. 737.*

^d Breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in acrio, et fideis, et vectigaliorum residuis: adjecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset. *In vit. c. ult.*

^e Vid. Sueton. in vit. Calig. c. 16.

^f L. 1, 2. C. de offic. quaest.

of inferior officers, both civil and military. The *laterculum majus* is said to have been under the inspection of the *primicerius notariorum*^a, or secretary of state, and related to the higher officers. Hence in the *insignia* of the *primicerius notariorum* both of the eastern and western empire, published by *Pancirollus* in his edition of the *Notitia*, there is a large book, over which is written in capital letters, *LATERCVLVM MAIVS*; and he is there said "to have under his care the *notitia* of all the great offices and their administration, both civil and military^b." And that the instructions sent to governours of provinces were copied out of the *laterculum*, is plain from the seventeenth *Novel* of *Justinian*^c. The same thing, as I imagine, is likewise intimated by the letters on the book, which together with their commission or patent we find in the *insignia* of several officers mentioned in the *Notitia*, particularly in those of the *Vicarius Britanniarum*, of which a copy is given us in the map prefixed to Mr. *Horsley's* learned *Essay* on the *Notitia*. The letters are, *FL. INTA LL COM ORD PR*; that is, as I would read them, *Frons libri jussu nostro transcripti a laterculis continentis mandata ordinaria principis*: in English thus, "The front of the book transcribed by our order from the *later-*
id. Laterculum Notitiae. *cula*, containing the general orders of the prince." As this book contained the whole body of instructions given to these governours, so what related to the inferior officers might probably be taken out of the *laterculum minus*, for which reason the plural number is used *a laterculis*. The *ordinaria mandata* were general rules of conduct, distinguished from such as were given in any particular case or circumstance relating to their administration^d. Now as these books must in the nature of them have contained all that we find in the *Notitia*, with respect to the several officers mentioned in it, besides many other particulars; I can't but think the *Notitia* itself may have been originally an extract from those books, or from the *latercula* out of which they were copied. And this opinion seems to me not a little favoured by the *insignia* of the several grand officers, yet preserved in antient copies of the *Notitia*, which plainly point out the relation between them, and direct us from whence to derive the origin of this compend.

quod hostiles ingenuit
 iustitiam committit
 non, qui agat, aut lo
 tenet, et propriam mun
 acceperit? Sane Ann
 177. *Spoken of by Jo.*

IV. I SHALL now proceed to consider more particularly that part of *Peutinger's Table*, which relates to *Britain*. But it happens very unfortunately, that the *Table* is somewhat defective at this west end; so that part of *Britain*, *Guienne*, *Spain*, and *Africa* is by that means lost^d. And indeed what remains of *Britain* is so imperfect, that the advantage our ancient geography might otherwise have received from this *Table* is very much lessened. All that I can propose to do therefore, will be to trace the several lines of the stations in such a manner, as they seem best to correspond with some of the *itineraria* in *Antonine*, by which I shall endeavour to adjust them. And for this purpose I shall separate the stations into five sets, and place them in an opposite column to those of *Antonine*, with which they appear to agree; omitting the *English* names, which may be seen in Mr. *Horsley's Essay* on that *Itinerary*.

THE first set very evidently falls in with part of *Antonine's* ninth *iter*.

The Table.		Antonine.	
AD TAVM	XXII VENTA ICENORVM		
SINOMAGI	XV SITOMAGO	MP. XXXI	
CONVENTONI	XV COMBRETONIO	MP. XXII	
AD ANSAM	AD ANSAM	MP. XV	

IN

^a Vid. Cujac. ad Lib. 12. t. 19. l. 13. C.
^b Sub cura viri spectabilis primicerii notariorum :
Notitia omnium dignitatum et administrationum,
tam civilium quam militarium. Pag. 147.
^c In princip.
^d Initio Columnas versus pauxilla quaedam Bri-
tanniae, Aquitaniae, Hispaniae, Africae exciderunt
Velferi Oper. p. 774.

IN the first of these columns, which is taken from the *Table*, the last station has no number of miles added to it; nor the first station in the second column, that is copied from *Antonine*: which different method exactly agrees both with the order of reading the *Table*, as before described^a; and the manner, in which I suppose the several *itineraria* of *Antonine* were first taken from some *Table* of this sort^b. For as in the course of any march by the *Table* there should be, and usually is, no number put after the name of the last station; so in reducing the several stages of such a march to the form of an *iter* in *Antonine*, the place from which it begins can have none upon the same line with it, unless the name be again repeated, and the last place left without one; which I presume was not thought so commodious, and therefore the distance between the two first stations is always placed after the second name. Indeed the limits of the *itineraria* in *Antonine* are arbitrary, and fixed at the pleasure of the author; whereas in the *Table* there seem to be no other boundaries designed to the ways, except those of nature: but this makes no difference with respect to the situation of the numbers, which give the distance between station and station. I shall now consider the several places mentioned in this part of the *Table*.

DR. GALE supposes the first station here *ad Taum* may have been at *Taesborough* in *Norfolk*, upon the river *Wentfar*, which he thinks was antiently called *Taus*, some coins having been found in those parts with these letters upon them, IC. DVRO. T.^c And we are told by *Camden*, there is yet a square entrenchment at this town containing twenty four acres^d. If this be taken for the place of the station, which is somewhat nearer the following station than *Caster*, the supposed *Venta Icenorum*, a correction of the last numerals II into X may be sufficient to reconcile the distance with that in *Antonine*. But it may seem more difficult to assign a reason for this difference, tho' it be but small, in the course of the military way between these two *Itineraries*. I can think of none more probable, than that the former in the *Table* might be the more antient, but being only a mansion without any town, or other name than *ad Taum*, when *Venta* came afterwards to be fortified, it might be disused^e.

AD TAVM.

I AM rather inclined to think that *Sinomagi*, the next name in this series, is an error in the copy for *Sinomago*, or *Sitomago*, as it is in *Antonine*, than that it was designed for the ablative of the third declension; since we have so many other names even in this first segment of the *Table*, which end in *mago*; and the last name of that set of stations, to which I shall next proceed, thro' a like mistake ends in *maci*. The distance here may be corrected from *Antonine*, by prefixing X, and changing the V into II.

SINOMAGVS.

CONVETONI for *Combretonio*, which comes next in order, is a much greater mistake than the former. But as the distance here exactly agrees with *Antonine*, there can be no doubt, but the name ought to be corrected by him^f.

COMBRETONIVM.

THE following words *ad ansam* I take to be of the same nature with *ad Taum*, that is descriptive of the place where the station was, and not a proper name of the station itself. In the *Table*, tho' this be the last station, the

AD ANSAM.

^a See pag. 508.

^b See pag. 511.

^c *Venta Icenorum*, nunc *Caster*, ad *Wentfar* fluvium, quem *Taumi* videntur dixisse Britanni; nam numismata his locis effossa praeferunt IC. DVRO. T; et in *Tabulis Peutingerianis* habes *ad Taum* stationem, forte ubi nunc *Taesborough*. Ant. It. p. 109.

^d Edit. 1722. pag. 460.

^e Mr. Baxter thinks *ad Taum* to be an error in

the copy for *ad Tavum*, and that the place designed is *Cambridge*, which very much alters the course of the road, in this part of it, from *Antonine's* ninth iter; but this might have been much better judged of by some preceding stations, had not the *Table* been defective here. Gloss. Ant. Brit. in loc.

^f In Mr. Baxter's Glossary, this name is through mistake printed *Conveton*. Ibid. in voc. *Cambo-ritum*.

the line is drawn down to the *Thames*; which may seem to favour Mr. *Horsley's* conjecture, that “perhaps a military way has lain from *Rocheſter*, or ſome “ ſtation in *Kent*, directly to *Maldon* [or near it] and a ferry over the *Thames*.” And not far from this ſtation the military way, upon which the next ſet of ſtations is placed, joins this, and forms an angle with it. As we may ſuppoſe therefore there was a large curve, or ſuddain turn of the road, near the ſtation *ad anſam*, it might be deſcribed by that name from ſuch a ſituation. *Homo anſatus* is uſed by *Plautus*^b for a man with his arms a kenbow, as we

to city & London
was the ſtation
from its ſituation
it deſcribes it
quite diſtinct pro
am. ex diſtincta
in inſcription, ſubli
dens, Dea & ſtatio
cum London. ſtatio
ſtatio & London. ſtatio
ſtatio & London. ſtatio
ſtatio & London. ſtatio
ſtatio & London. ſtatio

lay.[∞] THERE is the mark of a large town placed at the edge of this line of ſtations neareſt *Sinomagus*, to which the angle there, that is uſually made in the line at each town, ſeems to point. If this figure was really intended to repreſent that place, *Sinomagus* might poſſibly be the moſt conſiderable town in thoſe parts before *Venta*^c.

THE next ſet of ſtations in the *Table* agree with thoſe, which immediately follow the preceding in the ninth *iter* of *Antonine*.

The Table.

Antonine.

BAROMACI	XII CAESAROMAGO	MP. XII
CAVNONIO	VIII CANONIO	MP. IX
CAMVLODVNO	V CAMVLODVNO	MP. VI
AD ANSAM	AD ANSAM	

WHERE this line of ſtations in the *Table* began weſtward is uncertain, by reaſon of the defect in the copy, which has occaſioned the remaining words to be thrown together in a diſorderly manner. Tho' I am inclined to think in the perfect copies it croſſed the *Thames* at *Londinium*, and ſo took in both that town and *Durolitum*, north of the river, agreeably to the ninth *iter* in *Antonine*. The paſſage croſſes the river in the preſent copy ſeems to lie eaſt of both thoſe towns, which is apparently wrong, by its not falling in, as it ought, with the grand line on the ſouth ſide. And I can't but very much ſuſpect, that ſhort ſouth line next the river ſhould have been kept on the north for a continuation of this ſeries of ſtations, till it joined the other ſouth line at the river; and that it was drawn ſo originally. As *Antonine's* ninth *iter* contains both this ſet of ſtations and the former in one continued ſeries, in order to make the oppoſite names anſwer each other in the two columns, I have been obliged to take thoſe from *Antonine* the contrary way from what they ſtand in him, putting the loweſt at the top. And as in tranſcribing them thus backward, with the numbers affixed to each, they intirely agree with the method of the *Table*, the laſt name, like that, has no number added to it.

CAESARO MAGUS.

I THINK we need not ſcruple to take *Baromaci*, the firſt name here in the *Table*, for a corruption of *Caesaromago*^a, conſidering the exact agreement of the two itineraries with reſpect to the diſtance between this and the next ſtation.

CAVNONIVM.

CAYNONIO which follows for *Canonio*, as it is in *Antonine*, can occaſion no doubt, unleſs perhaps which is the truer reading. Dr. *Stukeley* in his map of *Britain* has writen it *Caunonium*, with whom Mr. *Baxter* agrees^e. Here is likewiſe the difference of one mile, with reſpect to the diſtance from

^a *Effay on Antonine's Itinerary*, pag. 447.
^b *Quis hic anſatus ambulat?* *Perſ.* 11. 5, 7.
^c See *Camden*, edit. 1722. p. 456.
^d *Ravennas writes this name Caesaromagum, which I take to be a miſtake for Caesaromagus*
(or, as it is in the Vatican copy, *Caesaromago*) ſince *magus*, as we are told in *Camden* from *Pliny*, formerly ſignified a city. Edit. 1722. p. 456.
^e *Gloſſ. Ant. Brit. in voc.*

from this to the next station, between the itineraries; but which of them may be the more accurate, I shall not undertake to determine.

As to the next station, both the *Table* and *Antonine* agree in writing the name *Camuloduno*. But the former gives us no more than v miles, and the latter vi, to the following station; which difference may be no easy matter to determine with exactness, considering the various opinions of our best antiquaries in fixing the place of either of these stations. CAMVLODVNVM.

AD ANSAM, the common *terminus* or boundary both of this and the preceding series in the *Table*, has been sufficiently spoken to already.

THE third series of stations lies on the south of the *Thames*, the whole of it in *Kent*, and falls in with the latter part of *Antonine's* second *iter*.

The Table.

MADVS
RARIBIS
BVROLEVO
DVROAVERVS

Antonine.

XVII VAGNIACIS
VII DVROBRIVIS
VII DVROLEVO
DVROVERNO
MP. IX
MP. XVI
MP. XII

THE affinity of the three last names in the two columns, and the order of them, make it very probable, that the same places were intended in both itineraries; tho' two of them are very wrong spelt in the *Table*, and all the numbers are wide from the truth.

CAMDEN supposes *Madus* and *Vagniacae* to be two names of the same place, and both of them to denote *Maidstone*. And he takes *Madus* for the more modern name, as thinking the *Table* was of a later date than *Antonine*^a. But of this I have given my thoughts so fully already, that nothing more need be said to it here. Dr. *Gale* seems doubtful, whether *Madus* be designed for the name of a river, or a town of the same name upon the river, which he supposes to be the *Medway*^b. I can scarce think it signifies a river here, because I find no other instances in the *Table* of the names of rivers so placed among the stations; unless we may suppose it to be a mistake for *ad Madum*, as there was before *ad Taum*. And if it be taken for a town, which is Mr. *Baxter's* opinion^c, the termination is undoubtedly wrong; perhaps for *Madis*. But the greatest difficulty is with respect to the number; for I believe it will be hard to find any place upon the *Medway* at that distance, that will suit the course of this march to the next station *Durobrivae*, which all agree to be *Rocheſter*. So that 'tis highly probable, the number xvii in the *Table* should be altered into ix from the other *Itinerary*. MADVS.

RARIBIS the next name, if taken for *Durobrivis*, is not a wider mistake, than some others found in the *Table*^d. If this be allowed, and the true distance DVROBRIVAE.

^a Britann. p. 227. edit. 1722.
^b Ant. Itin. p. 75.
^c Gloss. Ant. Brit. in voce *Madniacis*.
^d If before there was any bridge built cross the *Medway* at this place, the Romans had upon any particular occasions laid a bridge of boats over the river for the convenience of a passage, *raribis* here may possibly be for *ratibus*; in the same sense as *pontibus* in the seventh *iter* of *Antonine*, the preposition *a* being omitted, like *ad* before castra exploratorum in the second *iter*. For tho' none of these words denoted the proper name of any station, yet in laying down the course of a military way the place of any particular station might be thus expressed either in the accusative or ablative. But as I remember no authority to support this conjecture, I mention it only as such. Tho' upon the supposition of its being true, the name *Durobrivae* must, I think, be of a later date.

distance to the next station be xvi miles, according to *Antonine*, we must suppose an error in the *Table* of v for x and i for v.

DVROLEVVM. AFTER the mistake in the preceding name, *Burolevo* for *Durolevo* must appear very tolerable. But in the number for the distance there seems to be the like slip of v for x, as before, to make the two itineraries agree.

DUROVERNVM. *DUROAVERUS*, the name of the last station in this set, for *Duroverno*^a, is not so gross an error in the spelling, as in the construction. Here is no number of miles put after this name in the *Table*; not, as I imagine, that it was the limit of any military way, but thro' a defect in the copy. For all places have the distance put after them towards the following station (unless where it be omitted thro' mistake) till we arrive at a natural boundary, as I have said, which is generally the sea; and even there frequently, when a military way passes along the coast. The mark of a considerable town is set to this station, as *Canterbury* was in those times.

ANTONINE's second *iter* is continued from *Durovernum* to the haven at *Ritupae*, where it terminates. But in the *Table* the military way does not go directly to that haven, but falls into another line, which passes along the coast from *Ritupae* to *Dubrae*, pretty near the middle of it. As I take this to be a mistake, since the main road must without doubt have gone straight forward from *Durovernum* to *Ritupae*, I have concluded this set of stations at *Durovernum*.

THE next series lie all upon the coast, and are three in number.

The Table.

RATVPIS.
DVBRIS.
LEMAVIO.

RVTVPÆ.
DVBRAE.
LEMANAE.

THAT *Ratupis* here is a mistake for *Ritupis*, or *Rutupis*, as we find it spelt by the generality of *Latin* writers, seems very probable; as likewise *Lemavio* for *Lemanis*^b. The number of miles is not subjoined to any of these stations; and *Antonine* here intirely leaves us, for none of his *itineræ* lead either from *Ritupae* to *Dubrae*, or from *Dubrae* to *Lemanae*. The last stage indeed of his third *iter* goes from *Durovernum* to *Dubrae* xiv miles, and of his fourth from *Durovernum* to *Lemanae* xvi miles; but there is no direct way in the *Table* for either of these stages. As these stations upon the coast were all havens, and of consequence populous places, and much frequented by the *Romans*; each of them has the mark of a considerable town.

THE fifth and last set of stations (if they may be called a set) which remain to be considered, are but two, and these seem to have changed their places.

The Table.

ISCA DVMNOMORVM
RIDVMO

XV ISCA DVMNONIORVM
MYRIDVNO

Antonine.

XV

THESE

^a The Vatican copy of *Ravennas* has *Duroaverno*, which possibly may have been the genuine reading here. But however that be, *Cellarius* mistakes in giving us *Duraverus* from the *Table*. *Geogr. Ant. Tom. i. p. 261.*

^b Mr. Baxter's opinion here is somewhat different, when he says: *Peutingerianæ vero Tabulæ plenius Lemavio pro Lemavon, de flumine puto Lemana. Gloss. Ant. Brit. in voc. Lemanis. But the termination Lemavon no ways suits the general method of the Table.*

THESE stations are found both in the twelfth and fifteenth *iter* of *Antonine*, but the former name is very much disguised in most copies^a, which may receive light from the *Table*, that comes so near the truth; tho' in the latter *iter* indeed Dr. *Gale* has published both names as they ought to be read^b. I imagine there can be no doubt, but the same stations were designed in the *Table* as in *Antonine*, since the distance agrees so exactly; and therefore the situation of them in the former may be safely corrected by the latter. Tho' what the first syllable of the latter name might be in the *Table* is uncertain; since in one place of *Antonine* 'tis spelt *Muridunum*, and in the other *Moridunum*, with the latter of which *Ravennas* also agrees^c. But the greatest mistake of the *Table* is in transposing the situation of the names, for *Isca Dumnoniorum* was the more westerly station of the two; and therefore as the general order of the *Table* is to proceed from west to east, I have put that station first in both columns, to shew the agreement of the two itineraries, as was done before in the second series. Here is the mark of a great town, that seems to refer to *Isca*, tho' it is very much misplaced.

ISCA DVMNO-
NIORVM.
MYRIDVNVM.

I HAVE now gon over all the places in *Britain*, that time and other accidents have left us in this antient itinerary: Had this part of it been preserved intire, it would doubtless have afforded us much greater light into our *Roman* geography. But as the west end of the *Table* when rolled up was always outermost, and so most liable to be sullied, and defaced, by constant use; 'tis highly probable the more antient copy, from whence *Peutinger's* was taken, might be so far obliterated in that part, as not to be legible, which might occasion the defect in this latter copy, and that disorder both of the names and lines which we find in *Britain*, more than in other parts of the *Table*.

THO' indeed if we pass over into the continent, we shall easily perceive too many marks either of a blind copy, or a very ignorant scribe. The island that lies between must be *Vectis*, or the *isle of Wight*. But having past that, and got to the north of the *Rhine*, we meet with a strange jumble of barbarous words in a barbarous country, out of which *Bertius*^d makes these following: CHAUCI, AMPSIVARII, CHERUSCI, CHAMAVI, QVI ET FRANCI: who were all inhabitants of this part of *Germany*. The word FRANCIA, which follows, shews that to have been the antient country of the *Franci*. The next tract south of the *Rhine* is called PATAVIA for *Batavia*, the seat of the *Batavi* in *Belgic Gaul*; and the river that bounds it southward, which is the *Mosa* or *Maes*, is called *Patabus* for *Batavus* from the name of the inhabitants. The river below this has no name to it, but must be the *Sequana* or *Seyne*; between which and the former lies BELGICA, as 'tis here writen, but generally by others *Belgium*. In this province we have the *Osifini* and *Veneti*, whom *Strabo* likewise places in this part of *Gaul*, different from all other writers, who place them south of the *Seyne*. But the *Osifini*, as they are writen here, are both by *Strabo*^e and *Ptolemy*^f called 'Οσιόμιοι, and agreeably by *Latin* writers *Osismii*^g. We come next to the LVGDVNENSES, who according to *Ptolemy*^h inhabited that part of *Gaul*, which lay between the rivers *Sequana* and *Liger*, now called the *Loire*, and in the *Table* thro' mistake *Riger*. Having passed the SINVS AQUITANICVS, the first river we come at seems to be *Ptolemy's* Καρίντελοςⁱ, called by *Latin* writers *Carantonus*, now *Charente*;

VECTIS.

FRANCIA.

BATAVIA.

BELGIUM.

LVGDVNENSIS.

AQUITANIA.

^a See Vol. III. of Leland's Itinerary, published by Mr. Hearne.

^b Ant. It. p. viii.

^c See Mr. Hortley's Essay upon that writer, p. 491.

^d Lib. I. c. 23. rer. German.

^e Geogr. Lib. IV. p. 195, edit. Casaub.

^f Geogr. L. II. c. 8.

^g Casaubon observes that *Osifini*, for *Osismii*, is found in some editions of *Caesar*. Comment. in Strab. L. IV. p. 93.

^h Geogr. L. II. c. 8.

ⁱ Ibid.

HISPANIA.

AFRICA.

Charente; and the next *Garumna*, the *Garonne*; from whence we proceed to the *Pyrenaeen* mountains, which not only limited this province of *Aquitania*, but were likewise the antient boundary between *Gaul* and *Spain*. The few towns therefore between these and the *Mediterranean* sea lie in *Spain*, and all of them in the province *Tarraconensis* towards the coast. If we cross the *Mediterranean* at this west end, the defect of the *Table* brings us upon *Mauritania Caesariensis*, where we meet with a monstrous name ICAMPENSES, which, unless it can be a corruption of *Caesariensis*, I must leave to the conjecture of others.

BUT I forget, that I proposed to proceed no farther than *Britain*; and therefore 'tis time to think of the old caution: *Manum de tabula*. And yet I know not how to dismiss it without observing, that no antient record, which time has left us of the *Roman* affairs, appears to me a stronger proof either of the power or policy of that state, than this *Table*. Indeed not only their historians, but likewise their monuments and inscriptions, which are yet extant in most countries where they came, acquaint us with the extent of their conquests; but those evidences lie wide, and require time and thought to collect them into one view, and therefore don't convey the idea of the *Roman* power in so strong a light, as when we see in a manner the whole world, that was then known, laid out as distinctly almost as a private estate. This shews us on what foundation some of their emperours might assume to themselves, as they did, that haughty title of VICTORES OMNIUM GENTIUM. And when we survey their military ways, and consider the number, nature, and vast extent of them, with the stations every where erected upon them at proper distances; they seem to be much more difficult and surprising works, than even their porticos, temples, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, or any other public buildings, tho' they were not so polite and elegant. Nor could any thing in point of policy more contribute to secure their conquests. What could be a greater encouragement to their officers and soldiers to enter upon distant expeditions; than to observe the whole course of their way, the nature of the countries through which they were to pass, the daily stages they were to make, and the several towns in which they might expect accommodations, so plainly represented to their sight? This must render all places familiar to them, and induce them to think themselves every where at home, by seeing the marks of their former labour and victories. And whatever insurrections might happen in any part of the empire, a view of the *Table* would be serviceable for sending immediate assistance to quell them. By this might be found what forces were nearest, what rout they should take, where and in what manner they might best be supported. No wonder therefore that *Vegetius* recommends such tables, as highly useful to generals of armies. And since one of them has happily escaped the ravage of time, it is much to be wished, some person of leisure and ability would undertake to redress the injuries it has received from ignorant and unskilful hands; than which nothing can be of greater service both to the *Roman* geography and history.

F I N I S.

A
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF
OCCURRENCES
RELATING TO THE
Roman *affairs in* BRITAIN.

A
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
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OCCURRENCES *relating to the Roman affairs in* BRITAIN.

A.V.C.	A.C.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
698	55	Cn. Pompeius M. M. Licin. Crassus.			Julius Caesar makes his first attempt upon Britain. p. 9.
699	54	Dom. Aenobarbus. Claudius Pulcher.			He makes his second attempt, and penetrates to Verulam. p. 10.

Britain neglected for near an hundred years. p. 19.

A.D.					
792	40	Caius Caligula. A. fine collega.	Caius Caligula		Caius receives Adminius a fugitive son of Cunobeline. p. 20.
793	41	Caius Caligula. A. Sent. Saturninus.			Caius's mock fight upon the shore. p. 20.
794	42	Claudius Aug. Caecina Largus.	Claudius.		The Britons complain of protecting fugitives. p. 21.
795	43	Claudius Aug. L. Vitellius.		A. Plautius.	Plautius sent over. p. 37. Vespasian commands the second legion. p. 78. surprises the Silures. p. 21.
796	44	Vibius Crispinus. Statilius Taurus.			Claudius comes over, and is victorious: after a short stay he returns. p. 22, 24, 37.
797	45	Vinut. Quartinus. Statilius Corvinus.			Vespasian under Plautius conquers two nations and the isle of Wight. p. 22.
798	46	Valerius Asiaticus. Junius Silanus.			Plautius's wife the first Christian in Britain. p. 23.
799	47	Claudius Aug. L. Vitellius.			An inscription to Claudius of this date. p. 21, 22.
800	48	A. Vitellius. Vipsan. Poplicola.			Titus serves as a tribune in Britain. p. 22.
801	49	Pompei. Longinus. Verannius Nepos.			The Roman affairs in confusion here. p. 37.
802	50	Antistius Vetus. Suillius Rufus.		Ostorius Scapula.	Ostorius succeeds Plautius, and conquers the Brigantes. p. 37.
803	51	Claudius Aug. Scipio Orfitus.			Caractacus overcome, delivered up, and sent to Rome. p. 26, 37.
804	52	Cornelius Sulla. Salvius Orho.			Cartimandua seeks protection of the Romans against her husband Venutius. p. 26, 27.
805	53	Junius Silanus. Hater. Antoninus.		A. Didius Gallus.	Didius after the death of Ostorius carries on the war. p. 27, 37.
806	54	Asin. Marcellus. Acilius Aviola.	Cl. Tib. Nero.		Nero succeeds in the empire. p. 27.
807	55	Nero Cl. Caes. Antistius Vetus.			
808	56	Volus. Saturninus. Cornelius Scipio.			
809	57	Nero Cl. Caesar. Calpurnius Piso.		Veranius.	Veranius succeeds Didius, and dies within the year. p. 37.
810	58	Nero Cl. Caesar. Valerius Messala.		Paulin. Suetonius.	Paulinus succeeds Veranius. p. 37.
811	59	Vips. Apronianus. Fonteius Capito.			Paulinus gains advantages over the Britons. p. 37.
812	60	Nero Cl. Caesar. Corn. Lentulus.			Attempts the reduction of Mona. p. 27, 37. Agricola serves under him p. 39.
813	61	Caesonius Pactus. Petro. Turpilianus.			Boadicea revolts, routs Cerialia, destroys the colony and Verulam, but is afterwards defeated. p. 37.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
814	62	Marius Celsus. Afinius Gallus.	Nero.	Petr. Turpilianus.	Petronius succeeds to the Government of Britain. p. 37.
815	63	Mem. Regulus. Virginus Rufus.			
816	64	Lecanius Bassus. Licinius Crassus.			
817	65	Silius Nerva. Julius Atticus.		Trebel. Maximus.	The first campaign of Trebellius Maximus. p. 37.
818	66	Sueton. Paulinus. Pontius Telesinus.			
819	67	Fonteius Capito. Julius Rufus.			The fourteenth legion ordered out of Britain. p. 82.
820	68	Silius Italicus. Galer. Trachalus.	Galba.		The civil war. Britain joins Vitellius, Trebellius flies to Vitellius. p. 37.
821	69	Sulpicius Galba. Vinius Rufinus.	Otho. Vitellius. Vespasian.	Vectius Bolanus.	Vitellius sends back the fourteenth legion. p. 82. appoints Bolanus, and sends for supplies. p. 38, 46.
822	70	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.			Agricola tribune of the twentieth legion. p. 39, 46. The fourteenth legion leaves Britain. p. 83.
823	71	Imp. Vespasianus. Cocceius Nerva.		Petilius Cerialis.	Cerialis reduces part of the Brigantes. p. 38, 46.
824	72	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.			He advances Agricola in the army. p. 39, 46.
825	73	Fl. Domitianus. Valer. Messalinus.			
826	74	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.			Agricola leaves Britain and governs Aquitania. p. 46, 47.
827	75	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.		Julius Frontinus.	Cerialis is succeeded by Frontinus. p. 46.
828	76	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.	Vespasianus.		Frontinus reduces the Silures. p. 39. An inscription. p. 316.
829	77	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.			Agricola made consul from the first of July. p. 47.
830	78	Cej. Commodus. Cornelius Priscus.		Julius Agricola.	Agricola cuts off the Ordovices and reduces Mona. p. 39, 47.
831	79	Imp. Vespasianus. Titus Vespasianus.	Titus p. 46.		He tries the firths, erects garrisons, subdues the remainder of the Brigantes. p. 39, 47.
832	80	Imp. Titus Vespas. Fl. Domitianus.			Conquers beyond the Tay. p. 39. and fortifies the west of the Brigantes. p. 40.
833	81	Plautius Silvanus. Annius Verus.	Domitian.		Fortifies the isthmus between Glota and Bodotria. p. 40, 159.
834	82	Imp. Domitianus. Flavius Sabinus.			Takes shipping and conquers the west of Caledonia. p. 40.
835	83	Imp. Domitianus. Virginus Rufus.			Sends a fleet to the north of Bodotria. The adventure of the Ulpianus. p. 40.
836	84	Imp. Domitianus. Junius Sabinus.			Overcomes Galgacus, his fleet sails round Britain. p. 41.
837	85	Imp. Domitianus. Aurelius Fulvius.		Sallustius Lucullus.	Lucullus supposed to succeed him. p. 41, 48.
838	86	Imp. Domitianus. Corn. Dolabella.		Trebellius.	Antoninus Pius born. p. 51. Trebellius governor of Britain, but uncertain at what time.

No farther account for above thirty years. It is supposed the Romans lost much of their conquests here. p. 40, 41, 48.

869	117	Quinctius Niger. Vips. Apronianus.	Acl. Hadrianus.	Julius Severus.	Hadrian's reign begins. p. 49. The sixth legion comes to Britain. p. 79.
870	118	Imp. Hadrianus. Claudius Fuscus.			The second legion in Cumberland. p. 78.
871	119	Imp. Hadrianus. Junius Rusticus.		Licinius Priscus.	Licinius succeeds Severus, the Britons revolt. Inscriptions Cum. XLVI. p. 270, 305.

of occurrences in Britain.

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
872	120	Catilius Severus. Aurelius Fulvus.	Hadrianus.	Licinius Priscus.	Hadrian comes over, p. 49, 51, 305. builds his wall.

The transactions in Hadrian's reign uncertain. No account for eighteen years.

890	138	Sulpit. Camerinus. Quintius Niger.	Antonin. Pius.	Lollius Urbicus.	Antoninus Pius succeeds to the empire. p. 51. The second legion in Northumberland. p. 78.
891	139	Imp. Antoninus P. Bruttius Præfens.			The legate overcomes the Britons. p. 51. Saturninus commands the Roman navy here. p. 52.
892	140	Imp. Antoninus P. Aurelius Caesar.			Antoninus builds his wall. p. 52. The Brigantes invade Genunia. p. 52. An inscription Sc. xxv.

No occurrence for fourteen years.

906	154	Aurelius Verus. C. Sextil. Lateranus.	Antonin. Pius.		An inscription Cho. III.
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No occurrence for eleven years.

917	165	Servilius Pudens. Cornelius Scipio.	M. Aurel. Ant. L. Verus.	Calphurn. Agricola.	Cal. Agricola sent into Britain, and is victorious. p. 52. Inscription Nor. LXXXVII.
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No occurrence for twelve years.

929	177	Imp. Commodus. Plaut. Quintillus.	Commodus.		An inscription. p. 271.
930	178	Vettrius Rufus. Scipio Orfitus.			
931	179	Imp. Commodus. Candidus Verus.			
932	180	Bruttius Præfens. Quint. Gordianus.			
933	181	Imp. Commodus. Antistius Burrus.			
934	182	Pet. Mamertinus. Trebellius Rufus.			
935	183	Imp. Commodus. Aufid. Victorinus.			The Britons pass the wall, and defeat the Romans.
936	184	Eggius Marullus. Papirius Aelianus.		Vlpus Marcellus.	Marcellus is sent against them.
937	185	Triarius Maternus. Metilius Bradua.			He is very successful, but ill requited by Commodus. p. 54.
938	186	Imp. Commodus. Acilius Glabrio.			Perennis commands the army. p. 54.
939	187	Tullius Crispinus. Papirius Aelianus.			The army mutiny. p. 54.
940	188	Allius Fuscianus. Duillius Silanus.			Is appeased by Pertinax. Perennis delivered up. p. 54. An inscription Cum. LVI.
941	189	Junius Silanus. Servilius Silanus.		Helv. Pertinax.	Helvius Pertinax made governor of Britain. p. 54.
942	190	Imp. Commodus. Petr. Septimianus.		Clodius Albinus.	Pertinax desires to be recalled. Albinus made his successor. p. 54.
943	191	Ca. Apronianus. Metilius Bradua.			Inscriptions. Cum. LVII. p. 307.
944	192	Imp. Commodus. Helvius Pertinax.			Commodus appoints Junius Severus to succeed Albinus, but dies soon after. p. 55.
945	193	Sofius Falco. Julius Fructus.	Pertinax Julian. Sever. Albin.		After Pertinax and Julian, Severus, Niger and Albinus are competitors for the empire.
946	194	Imp. Severus. Clodius Albinus C.			Britain adheres to Albinus. p. 55, 56. Niger killed.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
947	195	Flavius Tertullus. Flavius Clemens.	Sept. Severus. Clod. Albinus.		No governor in Britain is mentioned because Albinus commanded here in person.
948	196	Domitius Dexter. Valerius Messala.		Virius Lupus.	Albinus slain in Gaul, the time not determined. Britain divided into two provinces. p. 56.
949	197	Claud. Lateranus. Mauritius Rufinus.			
950	198	Hater. Saturninus. Trebonius Gallus.	Sept. Severus. Ant. Caracalla.		Inscriptions. Yor. 1. p. 311.
951	199	Cornel. Anullinus. Aufidius Fronto.			
952	200	Claudius Severus. Aufid. Victorinus.			
953	201	Annius Fabianus. Nonius Mucianus.			
954	202	Imp. Severus. Imp. A. Caracalla.			The emperors return from Syria. p. 57.
955	203	Septimius Geta. Sept. Plautianus.			Antoninus marries Plautilla. p. 57.
956	204	Fabius Cilo. Annius Libo.			
957	205	Imp. A. Caracalla. Sept. Geta Caesar.			Insurrections of the Britons. p. 56, 57, 312, 313.
958	206	Annius Albinus. Fulv. Aemilianus.			Severus goes against them with his two sons. p. 56, 57.
959	207	Flavius Aper. Allius Maximus.			He begins his wall cross Britain. p. 61, 62, 63, 268. Cum. XLIV.
960	208	Imp. A. Caracalla. Sept. Geta Caesar.			Severus finishes his wall. p. 128. leaves Geta, goes with Car to the Caledonians. p. 60. York. xviii.
961	209	Aur. Pompeianus Lollian. Avitus.			Concludes a peace. p. 62. The legio secunda Augusta at Caerleon. p. 63, 78, 321.
962	210	Acilius Faustinus. Macer Rufinianus.	Ant. Caracalla. Septim. Geta.		Severus at York. p. 63. The war breaks out, Severus dies. p. 63.
963	211	Loll. Gentianus. Pomponius Bassus.			The emperors make peace and sail from Britain. p. 67.
964	212	Pompeius Asper. P. Asper.			
965	213	Imp. A. Caracalla. Caelius Balbinus.			Inscriptions Northum. cxii, cxiii.
966	214	Silius Messala. Aquilus Sabinus.			
967	215	Aemilius Lætus. Anicius Cerealis.			An inscription. p. 185, 269.

No occurrence for seven years.

974	222	Imp. F. Elitogabalus. Sever. Alexander C.	Alex. Severus.		An inscription. p. 69. Cum. LI.
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No occurrence for fifteen years.

989	237	Titius Perpetuus. Rust. Cornelianus.	Maximinus.		An inscription Cum. ix.
990	238	Vlpus Crinitus. Procul. Pontianus.	Gordianus III.	Maccilius Fuscus.	This legate mentioned in an inscription. p. 67. Dur. xi.
991	239	Imp. Gordianus. Acilius Aviola.			
992	240	Vettius Sabinus. Venuſtus.		Cn. Lucilianus.	This legate mentioned in an inscription. p. 67. Durh. xii.
993	241	Imp. Gordianus. Cl. Pompeianus.			

of occurrences in Britain.

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
994	242	Aufid. Atticus. Afin. Praetextatus.	Gordianus III.	Nonnius Philippus.	This legate named in an inscription. p. 67, 68. Cum. LV. Gordian slain.
995	243	Julianus Arrianus. Aemilius Papus.			
996	244	Peregrinus. Fulv. Aemilianus.	Philipp. Arabs.		
997	245	Imp. Philippus. Fabius Titianus.			
998	246	Bruttius Praefens. Numm. Albinus.			
999	247	Imp. Philippus. Philippus Caef.	Philippus. Philippus Fil.		An inscription. p. 187. Cum. LVIII.
1000	248	Imp. Philippus. Imp. Philippus F.			
1001	249	Fulv. Aemilianus. Vettius Aquilinus.			
1002	250	Messius Decius. Annius Maximus.	Decius.		
1003	251	Imp. Decius. Etruscus Messius.	Gallus. Volufianus.		
1004	252	Imp. Gallus. Imp. Volufianus.			An inscription Yorkf. III.
1005	253	Imp. Volufianus. Valerius Maximus.	Valerianus. Gallienus.		
1006	254	Imp. Valerianus. Imp. Gallienus.			
1007	255	Imp. Valerianus. Imp. Gallienus.			
1008	256	Valerius Maximus. Acilius Glabrio.			
1009	257	Imp. Valerianus. Imp. Gallienus.			
1010	258	Memmius Fuscus. Pomponius Bassus.			An inscription. Nor. LIV.
1011	259	Fulv. Aemilianus. Pomponius Bassus.	Gallienus.		The thirty tyrants. p. 68. An inscription. Cum VII.

No occurrence for seventeen years.

1028	276	Imp. Tacitus. Fulv. Aemilianus.	Probus.		Vandals and Burgundians sent to quell insurrections. Proculus and Bonofus competitors for the empire.
1029	277	Imp. Probus. Anitius Paulinus.			Britain recovered by Victorinus for Probus. p. 68. 69.
1030	278	Imp. Probus. Furius Lupus.			
1031	279	Imp. Probus. Ovinus Paternus.			
1032	280	Gratus. Junius Messala.			
1033	281	Imp. Probus. Junius Tiberianus.			
1034	282	Imp. Probus. Pomp. Victorinus.	Carus.	Carinus.	Carus gives this province to his son Carinus. p. 69.
1035	283	Imp. Carus. Aur. Carinus Caef.	Carus. Carinus.		Carus killed by lightning. p. 69.
1036	284	Imp. Carinus. Aur. Numerianus.	Carin. & Nu- merian. Diocl.		Numerian slain by Aper. p. 69.
1037	285	Imp. Diocletianus. Aristobulus.			Diocletian overcomes Carinus. p. 69.
1038	286	Junius Maximus. Vettius Aquilinus.	Diocletianus. Maximianus.		Associates Maximian. p. 69. Inscription. Cho. II.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
1039	287	Imp. Diocletianus. Imp. Maximianus.	Diocletianus. Maximianus.		<i>The emperors adopt Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Caesars. p. 69.</i>
1040	288	Imp. Maximianus. Pomp. Januarius.			<i>Carausius commander at sea seizes Britain. p. 69.</i>
1041	289	Annius Bassus. Rag. Quinctianus.			<i>The emperors attempt to subdue him. p. 69.</i>
1042	290	Imp. Diocletianus. Imp. Maximianus.	Diocl. Maxim. Carausius.		<i>They make peace and associate him in the empire. p. 69.</i>
1043	291	Junius Tiberianus. Cassius Dio.			
1044	292	As. Hannibalianus. Au. Asclepiodotus.			
1045	293	Imp. Diocletianus. Imp. Maximianus.			
1046	294	Const. Chlorus C. Gal. Maximian. C.			
1047	295	Nummius Tuscus. Corn. Anullinus.			
1048	296	Imp. Diocletianus. Const. Chlorus C.			
1049	297	Imp. Maximianus. Gal. Maxim. Caes.	Diocletianus. Maximianus.		<i>Allectus kills Carausius and keeps Britain three years. p. 69.</i>
1050	298	Anicius Faustus. Severus Gallus.			
1051	299	Imp. Diocletianus. Imp. Maximianus.			
1052	300	Const. Chlorus C. Gal. Maxim. Caes.			<i>Britain recovered by Asclepiodotus. p. 69.</i>
1053	301	Postum. Titianus. Popil. Nepotianus.			<i>An inscription to Maximian. Cum. xvi.</i>
1054	302	Const. Chlorus C. Gal. Maxim. Caes.			<i>An inscription. p. 303.</i>
1055	303	Imp. Diocletianus. Imp. Maximianus.			
1056	304	Imp. Diocletianus. Imp. Maximianus.	Constantius. Galerius.		<i>Diocletian and Maximian resign to Constantius Chlorus and Galerius. p. 70.</i>
1057	305	Imp. Galerius. Imp. Const. Chlor.			<i>Constantius obtains Britain. p. 70.</i>
1058	306	Imp. Galerius. Imp. Const. Chlor.			
1059	307	Val. Constantinus. Maxim. Hercules.	Galerius. Constantin. M.		<i>Constantius dies in Britain. Constantine is victorious against the Scots and Picts. p. 70.</i>
1060	308	Val. Diocletianus. Imp. Galerius Max.		Pacatianus.	<i>An inscription. Nor. LXXI. Constantine leaves this island. p. 70, 71.</i>

No occurrence for ten years.

1070	318	Valerius Licinius. Crispus Caesar.	Constantin. M.	<i>An inscription. Cum. LIX.</i>
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No occurrence for nineteen years.

1089	337	Fabius Titianus. Felicianus.	Constans, Con- stanti. Constant.	<i>Constantine Junior obtains Britain. p. 72.</i>
1090	338	Polemius. Vrsus.		
1091	339	Imp. Constantius. Imp. Constans.		<i>Constantine invades Constans. p. 72.</i>
1092	340	Sept. Acyndinus. Valerius Proculus.	Constans.	<i>Constantine slain. p. 72.</i>

of occurrences in Britain.

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
1093	341	Ant. Marcellinus. Caelius Probinus.	Constantius.		
1094	342	Imp. Constantius Imp. Constans.			
1095	343	Memmius Furius. Pifidius Romulus.			Constantius comes over to Britain against the Scots and Picts. p. 72.
1096	344	Sallustius. Domet. Leontius.			
1097	345	Post. Amantius. Rufus Albinus.			
1098	346	Imp. Constantius. Imp. Constans.			
1099	347	Fl. Rufinus. Fl. Eusebius.			
1100	348	Fl. Philippus. Fl. Sallia.			
1101	349	Fabius Catullinus. Vipius Limentus.			
1102	350	Sergius. Nigrinus.	Constantius. Magnentius.		Constantius slain by Magnentius who is acknowledged emperor by Britain. p. 72.
1103	351	Imp. Magnentius. Fl. Galla.			
1104	352	Imp. Constantius. Const. Gallus Caef.			
1105	353	Imp. Constantius. Const. Gallus Caef.	Constantius.	Gratianus Funarius.	Magnentius overcome by Constantius. Gratianus governs Britain. Paulus sent to Britain. p. 72.
1106	354	Imp. Constantius. Const. Gallus Caef.			
1107	355	Arbetio. Mavort. Lollianus.		Martinus.	Paulus burnt. p. 72.
1108	356	Imp. Constantius. Julianus Caesar.			
1109	357	Imp. Constantius. Julianus Caesar.			
1110	358	Fabius Datianus. Neratius Cerealis.			
1111	359	Eusebius. Hypatius.			
1112	360	Imp. Constantius. Julianus Caesar.	Constantius.		Inroads of the Scots. p. 72.
1113	361	Fl. Taurus. Fl. Florentius.	Julianus.	Lupicinus. Alypius.	Lupicinus sent against them. p. 72. Alypius banished. p. 72.
1114	362	Fl. Mamertinus. Fl. Nevitta.			
1115	363	Imp. Julianus. Sallust. Promotus.	Jovianus.		
1116	364	Imp. Jovianus. Fl. Varronianus.	Valentinianus. Valens.	Bulchobaudes.	The Scots, Picts and Saxons infest Britain. Nectaridus slain and Bulchobaudes. p. 73.
1117	365	Im. Valentinianus. Imp. Valens.		Severus.	Severus sent over and recalled. p. 73.
1118	366	Fl. Gratianus. Fl. Dagalaiphus.		Jovinus.	Jovinus succeeds. p. 73.
1119	367	Fl. Lupicinus. Fl. Jovinus.		Theodosius.	Theodosius finds the Scots plundering Augusta, now London. p. 73.
1120	368	Im. Valentinianus. Imp. Valens.			Theodosius repels the Scots. p. 73. He desires that Civilis and Dulcinius may be sent. ib.
1121	369	Aurelius Victor. Fel. Valentinianus.			Repairs the praetenturae. p. 73.
1122	370	Im. Valentinianus. Imp. Valens.		Fraomarius.	Fraomarius an Alman king sent over with the authority of tribune. p. 73.

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No occurrence for twenty three years.

A.V.C.	A.D.	Consuls.	Emperors.	Governors in Britain.	Occurrences.
1145	393	Imp. Theodosius. Fl. Abundantius.	Theodosius Ar- cad. Honorius.	Chrysanthus.	Chrysanthus vicarius in Britain. p. 74.

No occurrence for fifteen years.

1160	408	Fl. Philippus. Anicius Bassus.	Theodosius. Honorius.		Marcus Gratian and Constantine usurp the purple in Britain. p. 74, 75.
1161	409	Imp. Honorius. Imp. Theodosius.			Constantine draws an army into Gaul and exhausts the Province. p. 74.

No occurrence for thirty three years.

1194	442	Fl. Eudoxius. Fl. Dioscorus.	Theodosius. Valentinian.		Britain much harassed by the Picts and Scots, p. 75.
1195	443	Anicius Maximus. Fl. Paternus.			The Britons apply to the Romans and have a legion sent. p. 75.
1196	444	Imp. Theodosius. Decius Albinus.			They make a second application and have another legion. p. 75.
1197	445	Im. Valentinianus. Fl. Nonius.			The Notitia written. p. 75.
1198	446	Fl. Actius. Aur. Symmachus.			Britain abandoned by the Romans. p. 75.

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After the manner of

G R U T E R and *R E I N E S I U S*.

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 CC. charissimae conjugis, *Durb.* xxxii.
 D. numeral. *Scotl.* i. iv.
 DD. dedicat. *Tor.* xviii.
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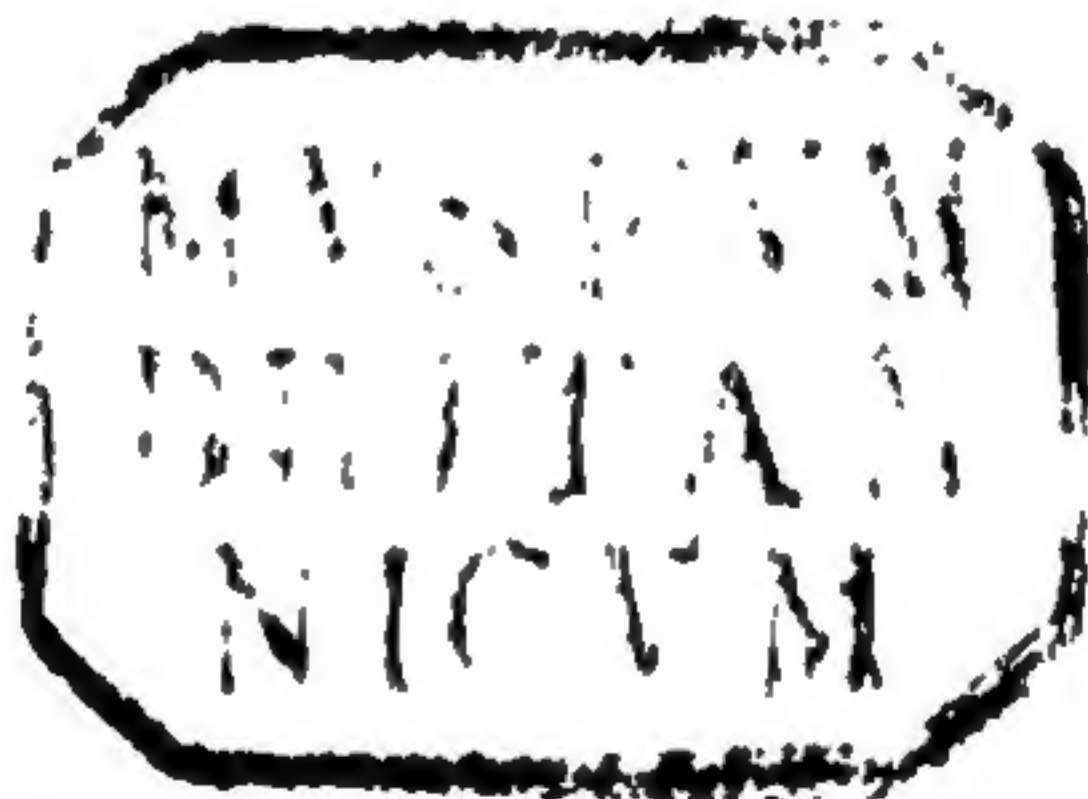
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